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THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

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ART. 1.—1. *The Hebrew Text of the Old Testament Revised from Critical Sources.* By S. DAVIDSON, D.D., of the University of Halle. London: Bagster and Sons. 1855.

2. *An Historical and Critical Commentary on the Old Testament. With a New Translation.* By M. Kalisch, Phil. Doc., M.A. *Exodus.* London: Longman and Co. 1855.

3. *Specimen of a Revision of the English Scriptures of the Old Testament, from the original Hebrew, on the basis of the Common English Version, compared with the earlier ones on which it was founded. Book of Job.* Prefaced by Professor CONANT, Rochester Theological Seminary. New York and London: Trübner and Co. 1855.

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THE works placed at the head of this article point significantly to an energetic movement in the public mind of the age. It requires no prophetic eye to discern that the subject here brought before us, is one which must ere long be discussed in the highest quarters, and by the most powerful thinkers. However strong the reluctance may be on the part of many, among the clergy and the laity, to see the principle of reform applied to the authorised version of our Scriptures; certain it is, that the question of improvement and advancement in this, as in every other branch of human inquiry, is one that is becoming daily more and more urgent. Strange, indeed, it would be, if the event were otherwise. In an age of books, the best of all books cannot but be, in some sense, exposed to the same scrutinizing eye and awakened intelligence that is now directed towards every production that bears upon it the impress of mind and genius. And in a book where, independently of its higher claims to attention, there is so much of these merely human qualities alone, to create an intense interest for all it records — for all it teaches—for all it reveals—there cannot but be matter of regret, if in every respect it is not so perfect as we could imagine it to be; and this, from its connexion with the ordinary instrumentality necessary for the translation of the original languages, and thus handing down this book to us in the vernacular tongue.

That such a volume should differ greatly and essentially in many respects from all other volumes; that some portions of it should lie under the veil of that obscurity which must attach to ages almost coeval with the existence of man; that several of its books are much older than the Argonautic expedition; that others surpass the antiquity of Homer; that many of them must be dated higher than the foundation of Rome; and that even its latest parts are as old as the Cæsars,—are circumstances that may at once account for imperfections and discrepancies in the original, or in manuscripts of the original of this volume, which we can never expect to see entirely removed. It must surely, however, be admitted, that it is a most laudable attempt to remove as many of these as possible, by the efforts which human scholarship and research can bring to bear upon this subject. There are few, therefore, who would deny to the critical labours of Kennicott, De Rossi, and Davidson, their just desert of praise, unless they are incapable of understanding the nature of such services in the cause of Biblical learning. And yet, for all general purposes, it must be acknowledged, that the labours of these eminent men are thrown away, if our English version of the Bible is to profit nothing by such aids; and is still condemned, in spite of all this vast accumulation of erudition and knowledge, to remain in the same unimproved state which it has been during the last two hundred and forty-five years. It would be a sad reflection, could we indulge it, that Biblical science and criticism have been so long expending their energies upon a field, from which we can never hope to reap anything for our English Bible. But such undoubtedly is the conclusion to which we must arrive, if we refuse to admit the importance or necessity of its revision. It should never be forgotten, that the majority of persons who read the Bible are of necessity prohibited, by want of time or education, from reading it in the original languages. Hence it becomes of the more consequence that they should have not merely a good translation of it provided for them, but the very best that can be made. They have just reason to complain, if those to whose authority the guardianship of this work is entrusted, do not permit them, whatever be the defects of this translation, to share in the benefits of that increased measure of learning and ability which has been so largely bestowed, especially of late years, upon the elucidation of the original text of the Holy Scriptures.

Perhaps it will be replied to this argument, that it is the office of commentators, and of public instructors, to supply this light, and thus make up by their teachings what cannot be gained always from the written word itself; and that no translation could ever be made so perfect, as to remove all the disadvantages of reading the Scriptures in a language which is not the original one. The latter of these assertions may at once be admitted, but the justness of the former is not so apparent. For how few are there, comparatively speaking, who have time or opportunity to read learned commentaries! And even if they were able to do so, the number of these is so perplexing, that they would be as much at a loss as ever for the real meaning, or for an authority that might be equivalent at least to the present reading. And then as to pulpit ministrations, we cannot help thinking that the minister who should frequently indulge in a habit of correcting the present authorised version in his sermons, would be looked upon with some degree of jealousy, as one who was rather attempting to display his learning than to benefit his hearers. By many persons such a mode of enlightening an audience is considered to savour of pedantry or affectation, as an attempt to be wiser than what is written, and an innovation upon the long-established claims of the present version to something like indisputable authority. For these reasons there are but few of the clergy, we believe, who adopt this method of teaching; and if they were more disposed to so, there would be another obstacle to it, for the passages of the English Bible most needing correction are not those which would be most frequently handled in the pulpit. And yet notwithstanding this, it is but too obvious that many passages occur in the lessons selected by the Church for instruction, and especially in the Psalms, which are probably passed over by the majority of hearers carelessly, or without the attention they deserve, because they convey no definite idea to their minds; not to speak of other words or expressions which long usage has sanctioned, but which would scarcely be tolerated in any other book selected for public reading and improvement.

It may be, however, that there are still many who will be inclined to doubt the truth of these observations, and who, though sensible of some defects in the present version, are not prepared to admit that they are either such in degree or number, as to call for remarks of this kind; and there are, perhaps, few persons except those who have taken diligent note of these matters, and obtained something like a collected view of them, who are exactly aware of the nature or extent of such objectionable passages. Scattered over a wide surface, or recurring only now and then or looked at in a very cursory manner, these faults are scarcely seen; or if seen, regarded only as a few harmless weeds amidst an overflowing crop. It is not until such are numbered and classified that they are found to deserve a closer observation. They are then discovered to have a noxious quality, or to occupy a place that might have been much better filled; that to reconcile ourselves to such things by custom, is only to excuse our own negligence, to delude ourselves by erroneous impressions, in many instances, and, upon the whole, to rest satisfied with an inferior acquisition; and this, too, where every portion of it is of the highest value.

On these grounds, then, we are satisfied that the question of revising the English Bible, unnecessary as it may still seem in the eyes of the many, will be found ultimately, if not immediately, one of the highest importance. But to view it in the right light it must be made to rest on sufficient evidence; and as it would appear that this evidence does not seem of great weight to all who are interested in it, we shall make it our business in this article, by a multitude of examples, to show that there are a sufficient number of defects in the present authorised version of the Bible to justify, in the fullest sense, any reasonable attempt that may be made for its improvement. As a necessary preliminary, however, to our main argument, which is founded on the state of the existing text, it will be desirable to take a general view of the history of the present English Bible, and to offer some remarks upon the attempts which are now making to obtain a new, or more perfect, translation.

The process by which our Bible arrived at its present stage of comparative excellence, should be well understood by all who take an interest in this question. By studying this process we shall discern that fresh attempts to improve it are only in harmony with its previous history. It was not by one but by successive steps, that it advanced to that high position which it has gained, and which it well deserves still to maintain. Very strong eulogiums have been pronounced upon it as a faithful translation,—as the best of translations,—as a standard of good Saxon English,—and one in all respects worthy of our nation and of our religion. Far be it from us to wish, or attempt to shake the faith of our readers on any of these points; or to abate in any degree their love or reverence for this volume. Our views of its excellence *upon the whole,* are perfectly in harmony with whatever has been written in its praise. In a general sense we do not dispute its claims to the veneration it has long enjoyed—to a veneration scarcely inferior, for the most part, to that which has been paid to the divine documents themselves, of which it professes still to be a living representative. We cannot but revere the ancient form, majestic, yet simple; beautiful, yet energetic, in which celestial Truth here long ago arrayed herself to speak to us in our own tongue of the wonderful works of God. We acknowledge the divinity that seems to have animated this form—to have breathed in her solemn tones—and marvellously caught up the melodies of the old prophetical lyre. Her notes of warning have stirred up multitudes as with the blast of a trumpet. To her gentler accents many have listened as to an angel's voice. Even by her stillest whispers men have been awed into silence, with a feeling akin to that of the expectant prophet upon Mount Horeb. There is in this general character of impressiveness which belongs to the Bible of every tongue, and of every age, something indescribable in words; or if in words they must be those of its own—words of one of the wisest of wise men, contemplating some allegorical embodiment of ineffable beauty and power—"Who is she that looketh forth as the morning, fair as the moon, clear as the sun, and terrible as an army with banners?" And what if our national Bible be an old book? It has not grown old in the same degree as other books of its age. It does not wear much of the black-letter aspect, although it belongs entirely to the black-letter days; a fact significant of a peculiar character, exempting it from some if not all of the usual incidents of book mortality, and rendering it no less a wonder, in this period of its hoary antiquity, than it was in the freshness of its youth.

Let it not be imagined, however, that these marvellous attributes pertaining to the English Bible, are the fruit of one particular period of its history. A great mistake is sometimes committed by those who forget that the last translation (as it is called) was in effect not a translation at all, but merely a careful and critical revision of what had long preceded it. Coverdale's Bible, first printed in 1535, gave birth to the one printed in 1539, under the special patronage of Cranmer; and in 1540 and 1541 editions of this Bible, with some slight revisions, were "appointed to be read in the churches," by successive mandates from Henry the Eighth. These Bibles, known commonly as Cranmer's Bibles, from having had (*i. e.* first in 1540 and 1541) his prologue prefixed to them, again gave birth to that Bible which, under the auspices of Queen Elizabeth and Archbishop Parker, came forth first in the year 1568; and this, from its revision having been principally conducted by bishops, took the name of the Bishops' Bible. Another intermediate publication of the sacred volume had appeared previously at Geneva, under the direction of the English refugees residing there; but this was founded also upon the older version, now known as Coverdale's and Cranmer's Bible, though the corrections in it were very numerous and important. This and the Bishops' Bible, formed the basis of our present authorized version, made in the reign of James I., who enjoined, in his first rule for carrying on this work, "that the ordinary Bible read in the church, commonly called the Bishops' Bible, should be followed, and as little altered as the original will permit." In numerous cases, however, the Geneva Bible seems to have been, for some reason preferred by the committee appointed for carrying out the king's design. In all these previous translations, as well as in the one that was the result of this particular revision, so much of the same structure as to style and language was preserved; so many of the same words were retained in each of them; that to assign the distinctive character of a new *translation* to either of them, after the days of Cranmer's or the Bishops' Bible, would be, in our opinion, entirely a misapplication of terms. The tenor of the king's injunctions just cited would have been altogether disregarded, if any change amounting to this had in reality taken place. A new translation implies, according to our views, a complete change in the structure of the sentences throughout, in most of the words adopted to express the original sense, and in great part at least of the terms used to describe the same things or the same events. Our meaning will be understood by taking almost any two independent translations of any ancient author, which have been made in our own language. There will be found in all such cases so much difference, even if the sense is nearly the same, as to give the correct idea of a new translation.* As the simplest method of showing the close resemblance between the several Bibles referred to, we shall exhibit the two following specimens from the Old and New Testament:—

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* There are various examples of what may be called *new* translations of the English Bible; for instance, that of Dr. Geddes, 1792. See Dr. Cotton's Editions of the Bible, *passim.*

GENESIS CHAP. I. FIRST FIVE VERSES.

COVERDALE'S BIBLE.	CRANMER'S BIBLE, 1540.	GENEVAN BIBLE.	BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1568.	BIBLE OF 1611. The authorised version.
In the begynnynge God created heaven and earth: and the earth was voyde and emptie, and darcknes was upon the depe, and y^{e} sprete of God moved upō the waters.	In the begynning God created heaven and earth. The earth was voyd and emptie and darcknesse was upō the *face* of the depe, ād the sprete of god moved upon the face of the waters. And God sayde: let there be made lyght, and there was lyght made. And God sawe the lyght that it was good. And God made a devisyon betwene the lyght and darcknesse. And God called the lyght daye: and the darcknesse called he, nyght. And y^{e} evenyng ād the mornynge was made one daye.	1. In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. 2. And the earth was without forme and void, and darknes was upon the deepe, and the Spirit of God moved upon the waters.	1. In the beginnyng God created y^{e} heaven and the earth. 2. And the earth was without fourme and was voyde: and darknes *was* upon the face of the deepe: and the spirite of God moved upon the face of the waters.	1. In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth. 2. And the earth was without form and void: and darkness *was* upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.
And God sayde: let there be light, and there was light. And God sawe the light that it was good. Then God deuyded y^{e} light from the darcknes, and called the light Daye: and the darcknes Night. Then of the evenynge and mornynge was made the first daye.		3. Then God sayd Let there be light: And there was light. 4. And God sawe the light that it was good, and God separated the light from the darknesse. 5. And God called the light, Day, and the darknesse he called, Night. So the Evenning and the Morning were the first day.	3. And God sayde, Let there be lyght and there was lyght. 4. And God sawe the lyght that it was good: And God devided the lyght from the darknes. 5. And God called the lyght day, and the darknes night: and the evenyng and the mornyng were the first day.	3. And God said, Let there be light: and there was light. 4. And God saw the light that it was good; and God divided the light from the darkness. 5. And God called the light Day, and the darkness he called Night. And the evening and the morning were the first day.

ST. MATTHEW CHAP. II. FIRST FOUR VERSES.

COVERDALE'S BIBLE.	CRANMER'S BIBLE, 1540.	GENEVAN BIBLE.	BISHOPS' BIBLE, 1611.	BIBLE OF KING JAMES.
When Jesus was borne at Bethleē in Jury, in the tyme of Herode the kynge. Beholde, there came wyse men from the east to Jerusalē sayynge: Where is the newborne kynge of the Jues? We have sene his starre in the east, and we come to worship him. When Herode yᵉ kynge had herde thys he was troubled and all Jerusalē with hym, and he gathered all the hye Prestes and Scribes of yᵉ people, and axed of them where Christ shulde be borne.	When Jesus was born at Bethleē of Jewry, in the tyme of Herode the kynge. Beholde there came wyse men frō the east to Jerusalem sayinge. Where is he that is borne kynge of Jewes? For we have sene hys starre in the east, and are come to worshyppe hym. When Herode the kynge had hearde these thinges he was troubled, and all the cyte of Jerusalem wyth him. And when he had gathered all the chefe prestes and scrybes of the people togeather, he demanded of them where Christ shulde be borne.	1. When Jesus was borne in Bethlehem, in Judea, in the dayes of Herode the king: behold there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem. 2. Saying, where is the king of the Jewes that is borne? for wee have seene his starre in the East, and are come to worship him. 3. When king Herode hearde (*this*) he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. 4. And gathering together all the chiefe Priestes and Scribes of the people, he asked of them, where Christ should be borne.	When Jesus was borne at Bethlehem, a citie in Jurie, in the dayes of Herode the kynge: beholde there came wise men from the east in Hierusalem. 2. Saying: where is he that is borne kyng of Jewes? For we have seene his starre in the East, and are come to worship hym. 3. When Herode the kyng had hearde these thynges, he was troubled, and all (*the citie of*) Hierusalem with hym. 4. And when he hadde gathered all the chiefe Priestes and Scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christe shoulde be borne.	1. Now when Jesus was born in Bethlehem of Judea in the days of Herod the king, behold there came wise men from the east to Jerusalem. 2. Saying, where is he that is born king of the Jews? for we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him. 3. When Herod the king had heard *these things* he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. 4. And when he had gathered all the chief priests and scribes of the people together, he demanded of them where Christ should be born.

This tabular view may assist our readers in enabling them to form some opinion of the change that was effected in our English Bible in the reign of James I., and will probably induce most of them to agree with us, that it exhibits more of the hand of the reviser than of the translator. Brief as these examples are, they may suffice to establish our conclusion, that whatever credit is due to those who were engaged upon the Bible of that period, and which is now our authorized version, belongs to them, not as the authors of this translation, but as the judicious editors and correctors of a work which was already made to their hands; but upon which they bestowed in some instances the *limæ labor* of the elaborate critic; in others the touches of the literary sculptor, chiselling out the work into finer or more exact lineaments than his predecesor had given it; or, lastly, on some rare occasions, softening down an old feature, or bringing out a new one more strictly in accordance with the beau-ideal of the original.

It will thus be evident, how in certain cases the last version has not made any advances upon the first, though in the generality of cases there is, as might be expected, the widest interval of correspondence between Coverdale's Bible, and that which we now use. It would have required, indeed, a much more extended view of these several versions, to have exhibited this and other particulars in such a way as might still more unequivocally demonstrate that all the several Bibles which have existed from the time of the Reformation to the present day, and possessed any authority as the standard translations of Scripture, must have been moulded, so to speak, on the same block. For the further proof of it we must refer to works* in which these versions are printed side by side; and as we shall have occasion in the course of this article to furnish a variety of other evidences illustrative of this matter, and bearing on it, we need not here enlarge, except to remark, that whatever be the differences between the several versions of our Bible, a precedent is afforded of the highest value in relation to the question of successive translations, or successive revisions, whichever we may call it. Neither of these several revisions of the Bible were judged superfluous.

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* Bagster's "Hexapla" may be referred to as a useful book for this, as regards the New Testament. But by some strange oversight, the version which in some respects was more important than the rest, viz. the Bishops' Bible, is omitted in that work. Dr. Cotton's work entitled "Editions of the Bible and Parts thereof," contains various comparative specimens of the different versions in English, from the earliest period. See p. 286, *et seq.* Second edition. But our illustrations are not borrowed from this volume.

One did not vitiate, nor even always supersede, the other. Neither of them after the first was an attempt to do much more than to improve the previous version by a careful revision. Each of them was in some respects improved in turn by such revision; and the last of the Bibles submitted to this process, has only become what it now is, by having been exposed, in its successive transitions from one ordeal to another, to the scrutiny, first, of some of the most pious, learned and gifted minds of the age, connected immediately with our early Reformation; next, of that which followed when this Reformation was more matured; and, lastly, of another at a period of comparative tranquillity, when all the fruits of the Reformation had developed themselves in a host of sound scholars, acute Bible critics, and able Protestant divines, with a king at their head almost as accomplished as any of them in theological learning, and justly entitled in this respect to the epithet bestowed on him, of being the Solomon of his day.

That the work thus undertaken, and thus executed, should not, however, have been so complete and perfect in every sense as to supersede all future attempts of the same kind, was only to be expected from the nature of the task, and the necessary imperfection of all human efforts, labouring upon one so laborious and difficult. Besides the changes which, like the human body, language undergoes from one distant period to another, rendering a multitude of words and phrases far more obsolete, in our day, than were the equivalent ones in the reigns of James I., it is obvious that at the time of this last revision there was a prevailing school of theology, which could not but leave some traces of its strong features impressed upon various passages of our Bible. Biblical science was then also deficient of many of the helps which it has subsequently obtained from the labours of eminent scholars in the collation of original MSS. Further, it must not be overlooked, that the great national work (we may almost call it) undertaken by Bishop Walton, of publishing the Polyglott Bible, with the Lexicon of Castell, had not as yet facilitated the ordinary path of scriptural philology, by throwing the combined light of the most ancient versions upon the dark, arduous, and rocky steeps by which only the arcana of the sacred writers, in their original tongues, can be reached. Oriental learning remained, even to a later season, in a somewhat incipient stage of its progress; and it was not until such men as Pococke, Schultens, Bochart, and others, appeared, that the stores of the Arabic, Syriac, and other kindred dialects were opened, to supply the key which can alone unlock some of the most mysterious chambers of imagery belonging to the Old Testament. For all these reasons, it is no disparagement to the excellence of our present Bible to say, that it labours under certain imperfections in the translation, from which it could not have been exempted except by miracle; and that the history of its progress, up to the time when it was last remodelled, countenances rather than discourages any proper attempts that may be made to advance it still another stage in the way of improvement. Its past changes are fully coincident with the theory of its future and possible development into a higher grade of beauty and perfection. Admitting here, for the sake of argument, that there are still remaining in it, a considerable number of passages that require some degree of alteration or emendation, to adapt them to the age in which we live, or to vindicate more fully any truths of God's word, or to make that word more perfectly in accordance with the spirit or letter of the original revelation, how can we be justified, on good grounds, in withholding our assent to the present movement? For it is one only in accordance with the example of ages and persons we are accustomed to venerate. It is, moreover, we may say, demanded by the sacred interests of divine truth itself, which are not to be satisfied by any depreciation of her standard vehicle of all that is good and valuable. The difficulties of obviating this evil are to be overcome at all hazards; for truth is a matchless treasure, which we are not to sell at any price, and to do all to buy. The more beautiful the material, the more perfect we wish and ought to wish that it may appear. The imperfections we suffer to rest upon it, through our own neglect, are as dust upon the diamond, not indeed sufficient to destroy its value, or to alter in any degree its genuine and intrinsic character, like flaws within the gem, yet something that cannot but soil, if it does not pollute; alike disagreeable to the eye and to the mind as obstructive of the brilliancy and purity we would fain see in every part of so valuable a substance;—something in short that continually reminds us of our own indolence and indifference to what should be all glorious without as well as within; and this, too, in proportion to the ease with which such casual adjuncts on the surface might be made at least to disappear for the present, if not finally and for ever removed.

It is, therefore, that we hail with sincere pleasure all efforts now making for this great object. And among these we must undoubtedly rank these works placed at the head of this article. Dr. Davidson's revision of the Hebrew text stands foremost as a most praiseworthy attempt to give us, at one view, whatever may be gained by collation of the ancient MSS. to assist in the removal of some of the difficulties necessarily found in all translations from an uncertainty as to the genuine reading of the original. Although, indeed, it must be confessed that a vast number of these various readings are of no essential importance, being merely doubtful matters of Hebrew grammar, differences in the vowel points, or variations as to the affix or prefix particles, in no great degree affecting our present English text; and although it may be that in some instances Dr. Davidson has rejected readings which other scholars equally distinguished have received as genuine, we are still highly indebted to him for the work which he has given us—one of labour surpassingly great—as all will acknowledge who have any experience in subjects of this kind. The principal merit of such a conspectus must be, that it greatly facilitates the task of those whose duty it may be to examine upon what foundation we may rest our confidence in the accuracy of the Hebrew reading, by which our present English text was corrected or constructed. Whenever this work shall be repeated for the purpose of revising our standard version, by authority, unquestionably the volume before us will have its value greatly increased, and must then find its appropriate place, as being among the most valuable contributions for that end which the present age has furnished.

The volume of Dr. Kalisch may also be regarded as an important one in the annals of Biblical literature. It would be much more so, if the work to which it belongs were completed. It contains a body of learned and yet readable notes, which are its most remarkable feature. The size of the whole work, if ever published, must however preclude it from popular use, for the volume embraces only the Book of Exodus, which, with the notes, fills upwards of 600 pages. Many years must, therefore, evidently elapse before a translation and commentary on this scale can be published, Embracing also, as it does, a portion of our Bible, requiring perhaps no great number of textual emendations, it cannot be classed so highly, in reference to the subject of this article, as some other of the works we shall have to notice. The eulogies pronounced upon this volume by the periodical press appear to us somewhat extravagant. We have not to object to much that we have seen in this professedly *new translation,* neither can we entirely approve of it in all respects. Some of the inconsistences of it may deserve a passing notice; for instance, the word *Passover* is rendered by the Hebrew word, *a Pesach* in Exod. xii. 11, and elsewhere. And the expression, *The Eternal,* is substituted for Jehovah in three verses of the sixth chapter, (3, 6, 8), and also in c. xxxiv. 6; "*and proclaimed the Eternal.*" This, also, we think indefensible, for although, the original word may well admit of this signification, and though it has been adopted in some foreign Bibles, yet as this is certainly one of the most mysterious names of the God of Israel, it should have been left, we think, in the sublime obscurity of the original language; and if our word—*Lord*—is to be changed, it ought to be for the strictly Hebrew and unobjectionable word, Jehovah, for which there are undoubtedly strong reasons. But one of the strangest things in this work is the manner in which it deals with a great number of words and expressions in our present Bible, by placing them underneath the textual page, referring to them with this explanatory remark in the Preface, "*Those renderings of the English version which we consider as erroneous conceptions, have been noted at the foot of our translation*". Our readers will best judge for themselves of the justness of this designation by a few examples which we shall give below. Saving these *erroneous conceptions,*[*] in which, though the phraseology is varied, the sense which Dr. Kalisch's translation gives is much the same, there are but few corrections of the English text which can be deemed essential. They do not, we believe, exceed a dozen in the whole book. To some of the principal of them we shall have occasion to refer in our general list; and we have therefore only to add here that Dr. Kalisch's volume is far more valuable as a repertory of ancient Jewish commentaries, and of modern criticisms of the German *orthodox* school of philology, than for its usefulness as a new translation.

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[*] The following are examples: "Waxed exceedingly mighty" (E.V.); "grew exceedingly strong"(K) "And so get them up out of the land"(E.V.); "and go up out of the land" (K). "Store cities" (E. V.); "treasure cities" (K). "To wash herself" (E. V.); "to bathe" (K). "The babe wept" (E. V.); "a weeping boy" (K). "Backside of the desert" (E. V.); "behind the desert" (K). "A bush" (E. V.); "a thorn bush" (K) (*questionable*). "I will now turn aside" (E V.); "I will first go thither" (K). "In the midst of the sea" (E. V.); "through the sea" (K). "He hath triumphed gloriously" (E. V.); "he is gloriously exalted" (K). "His chosen captains" (E. V.); "his choicest warriors" (K). "They be almost ready to stone me" (E. V.); "there is but little wanting and they will stone me" (K), &c. We have a great objection to the arrangement of the notes, and to the placing of the sheets after the Hebrew fashion, which begins the book at the wrong end, as we should call it. The notes following in the same order makes the reading of them at first quite a puzzle, especially where they are, as in some instances, of great length. As this is intended to be an English book, not a Hebrew one, we are at a loss to understand why the English order of placing the sheets should not be followed.

Of the American translation, which stands third in our list, we shall speak hereafter, as well as of the work of the Bishop of Norwich, which is much to our purpose. But as the argument which we are concerned to establish, rests mainly on the state of the existing version, it will be necessary at once to furnish a series of proofs as to its defective condition throughout; and for this purpose nothing less will suffice than an extended survey, which will carry us through the chief books of the Old Testament and the greater part of those of the New. Premising, then, that a survey of this kind must rather resemble a map of a small size adapted to a large country, in which only the principal places for observation can be dotted down, our readers must not expect to see more than we can bring forward on this limited scale. Our criticisms will be generally, therefore, short, and suited to the rapid rate at which we must travel over this extensive track, furnishing hints rather than arguments, and results rather than the details, by which we may hope to bring others to the same conclusions as those to which, by study and comparison, we ourselves have long ago arrived.

GENESIS.

In this book we have not noticed a great many passages requiring emendation in our English Bible. Obscure and difficult texts are frequent, but they are not such, we believe, as would be essentially improved by a fresh translation. The following, however, appear to us deserving of some emendation.

Ch. i. 2. "Without *form* and *void*." *Tohu* and *Bohu*, are words thus rendered in conformity with the Vulgate. But the translation conveys no definite ideas. In Deut. xxxii. 10, Bohu is rendered, a waste: in Job xi. 24, a wilderness; in Isaiah xxxiv. 11, the two words, "the line of confusion and the stones of emptiness." Its boundaries were no longer defined, and its stones in a state of confusion. This corresponds with the idea of the Septuagint, αορατος και ακατασκευαστος, rendered by Sir L. E. L. Brenton, "unsightly and unfurnished," and by Dean Howard* "viewless and unfashioned." "The earth was a desert and void of order," would, perhaps, better express the obscure Hebrew terms here used.

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* The notes appended to his translation of the Septuagint of Genesis are well deserving of attention, and will no doubt be highly valued by those for whose use they are specially intended—candidates for honours in the theological examination at Cambridge in 1856.

Ch. ii. 3. "Created and made." The apparent tautology here, does not exist in the Hebrew. It might be avoided by rendering, "*which God created and fashioned;*" literally, "*according to the fashioning.*"

Ch. ii. 5, 6. These verses seem to need some correction. They may be rendered thus, "Now before any plant of the field was in the earth, and before any herb of the field grew, although the Lord God had not caused it to rain upon the earth, and there was not a man to till the ground, yet there went up a mist from the earth," &c.

Ch. iv. 7. The words, "*sin* lieth at the door," would be, according to the opinions of many eminent writers, Michaelis, Faber, Magee, and others, better translated, "*a sin offering.*"

Ch. vi. 16. "A *window* shalt thou make to the ark." The Hebrew word, *Tsohar*, does not mean a window, in any other passage. Simon supposes it to mean a *roof;* which is very probable, from the kindred Arabic root. The word used for *window*, ch. viii. 6, is a different one to that employed here.

Ch. xx. 1. "God did *tempt* Abraham." There is no reason why the Hebrew should not be rendered by the much more suitable word, *tried* or *proved.* After Coverdale to the period of the Geneva Bible, all the versions had *prove* or *proved.* The Bishops' Bible again introduced, without apparent necessity, the present rendering.

Ch. xxviii. 21. "*Then* shall the Lord be my God;"—an objectionable translation, as implying that the Lord had not been Jacob's God up to this time. Altering thus, all will be plain and satisfactory. "So that I come in peace," &c. *and* "the Lord shall be my God;" (*i. e.* prove himself to be my God) "*even* this stone which I have set for a pillar," &c. In a history of the Bible we remember to have seen, a few years since, published by a clergyman, this passage, as given in the E. V., was made the foundation of a disparaging estimate of the character of Jacob.

Ch. xxx. 16. "I will greatly multiply thy sorrow *and* thy conception." More properly it should be, "thy sorrow, *even* thy conception." Conception and sorrow are here placed as identical terms.

Ch. xl. 20. "He *lifted up the head* of the chief butler and baker." This could not be as referring to the same treatment of both. The Septuagint has, " he remembered the first estate of," &c. The margin reads, *reckoned;* meaning, probably, something like our phrase of counting heads; a much better sense than that in the text.

Ch. xliv. 5. " Whereby he *divineth*." Much learning has been expended on this passage, (See Dr. Wait's Jewish Antiquities, &c., p. 138, *et seq*.) But it is quite unnecessary here to suppose that Joseph practised " divination by the cup." What seems to be meant is, that by the cup being placed where it was, Joseph found out or investigated what had been done; and so the words should have been given without ambiguity, or without implicating his character as a magician.*

Cp. xlv. 20. " Regard not your *stuff*." The latter word supplies but a remote idea of what is intended. *Sacks* or *vessels*, or, perhaps, conveyances of some kind, are meant.

Ch. xlix. 6. " Digged down a wall." A very strange rendering, or, rather, *reading*. For the Hebrew reads by a different pointing שׂ, for שׁ, Sar for Shor, *i. e.* " they murdered a prince." The margin has, *houghed oxen*, which nearly agrees with the Septuagint; but neither of these two latter readings suits the dignity of the subject.

EXODUS.

Ch. iii. 19. " No: not by a mighty hand." This follows the sense of Abarbanel, which Dr. Kalisch also adopts, " *even* not by a mighty hand." As the fact contradicts this sense, we prefer the marginal reading, " *but* by a strong hand," *i. e.* except, or " although he will let you go," &c. which is in accordance with the actual occurrence.

Ch. iii. 22, compared with xii. 35, 36. The Hebrew Septuagint and Vulgate lend no countenance to the word *borrow*, of which much evil use has been made, as if the Israelites had been divinely instigated to a dishonest action. The proper rendering, as all scholars have now agreed, is, *they shall ask* (or demand) of their neighbour, &c. The whole may be rendered in perfect agreement with the original ch. xii., *ut supra*. " The Lord gave the people favour in the sight of the Epyptians," so that they gave them gladly, or freely. So Simon's Lexicon has it. The word *spoiled* would be better exchanged for *carried* off *spoil:* this word is sometimes used in our version in a good sense, as by St. Paul, 2 Cor. xi. 8. Kalisch's version unfortunately mars the sense unjustly, by rendering in ch. iii., "they shall *plunder*," and here, "they *plundered*," Egypt: thus converting an ambiguous sense into one positively injurious. Onkelos, Jonathan, and a variety of modern commentators, give the sense "you shall *empty out*." The practice referred to in our emendation is supported by a passage in Tacitus (Germ. 21): "On the departure of a guest it is the custom to give him whatever he may ask for," &c.

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* As long ago as 1598 the celebrated Hugh Broughton, in his " Epistle to the Learned Nobilitee of England," touching translating the Bible, animadverted strongly on this passage, p. 13.

Ch. viii. 9. "Glory over me." A departure from some of the old translations for the worse, which read, "Appoint then the time to me." This agrees with the Septuagint. It has been supposed by Kalisch and others that the meaning is, "Take advantage over me; say thy request, and I will do it." But if such is the sense the present rendering by no means expresses it clearly.

Ch. xii. 9. "The *purtenance* thereof." A word put for intestines, or paunch, for which we know no authority but Hudibras, except this passage. The translation of Kalisch has retained this queer word without remark. It appears in all the former translations, but might be discarded for one at least more intelligible.

Ch. xiii. 18. "The children of Israel went up *harnessed*," &c. This is an extraordinary word. The sense of the Hebrew, though somewhat uncertain, seems most probably to mean that of "well arranged, well marshalled," in an orderly, soldier-like manner. As to *armour*, which is the only other signification the word has in the English Bible, and elsewhere, except in relation to horses, it is out of the question here. Pococke supposed it meant *five in a rank*. This is improbable, for various reasons. The word, however, must have been a favourite one; and, with all the translators who alike use it, no doubt it meant *armed;* but this could not have been possible; and we are surprised that Dr. Kalisch's translation should have retained such a word.

Ch. xv. 3. "The Lord is a *man* of war." This language might easily have been modified to render it more suitable to our ideas of God, איש has often the sense of strong or mighty. "Jehovah is mighty in battle," would therefore be more consistent with the majesty of the subject in this place.

Ch. xvi. 15. "They said one to another *it is manna*," &c. On this Dr. A. Clarke remarks: "This is a most unfortunate translation, and one which contradicts itself. 'It is manna, for they wist not what it was.'" Almost all the ancient versions have, "*What is this?*" Dr. Kalisch has, "*What is that?*"

Ch. xvii. 16. The marginal rendering here is adopted by Dr. Kalisch, and appears to us greatly preferable to the one at present in the text.

Ch. xxi. 13. "And if a man lie not in wait, but God deliver him into his hand," &c. This passage reads somewhat harshly. The Hebrew will fully justify an alteration, more in accordance with the general doctrine of Scripture, as to God's providence. Dr. Kalisch's translation, which we approve, is, "but God lets him fall into his hand."

Ch. xxiv. 10. Instead of the reading here, "paved work of a sapphire stone, and as it were the body of heaven in his clearness," Dr. Kalisch has what we consider a great improvement in the language of this passage: "Like a work of pellucid sapphire, and like heaven itself in its clearness."

Ch. xxvi. 14. "A covering above of *badgers'* skins." To this the objection is that the badger is an animal not found in Arabia. The ancient versions for the most part read, "*violet-coloured* skins;" and we have little doubt that this is the true sense.

Ch. xxxiv. 7. "Clear *the guilty.*" The last two words here being in italics, might lead to the supposition that they were not in the original; but the fact is, that the verb rendered *clear,* which is in the Pihel conjugation of the Hebrew, is in the lexicons rendered, *purum reddidit,* purgavit, &c.: so that no italics ought to have been employed in this place. Cranmer's Bible and the Bishops' had, "not making one innocent," without any mark of distinction. The Genevan had, "not making the guilty innocent." The words "the guilty" were printed in a different type; and this no doubt gave rise to the italics in the present case.

NUMBERS.

Chap. xvi. 1. "Took men." The last word not being in the original, and the verb in the singular, this cannot be a correct rendering. It has been proposed, therefore, to translate it thus: "Now Korah, son of Izhar, &c., he took Dathan and Abiram," &c.

Ch. xxiii. 21. If Balaam spoke here as a true prophet, (in the first clause) his words were extravagant. But the words of the original may with more propriety be rendered, "He hath not regarded iniquity *against* Jacob," &c., *i. e.* so as to punish it.

Ch. xxiv. v. 3. "Whose eyes *are open,*" should be, "whose eyes are *opened:*" for the present text expresses nothing more than is true of every man who is not blind or asleep; it is a reference to chap. xxii. 31.

Ch. xxiv. 6. "Trees of *Lign* aloes." A French word has strangely crept in here, for which, perhaps, there is no authority in English but this passage. The former translations, up to the time of the Genevan, had, "tents which the Lord hath pitched." The Genevan Bible, simply *aloes*.

Ch. xxiv. 14. "I will *advertise* thee." One of the words of Latin idiom is here employed, which first came in with Cranmer's Bible, and was copied in the Genevan and Bishops'; the earlier Bibles of Coverdale and Matthews had, "I will *show* thee." *Advertise*, has now a sense entirely different in our language to that in the text.

DEUTERONOMY.

Ch. xxxii. 5. This verse, compared with verse 4, evidently reads with unnatural abruptness. Its clauses should be transposed and the ellipsis in italics, which is unnecessary, omitted. "Ah, perverse and crooked generation! their spot is not that of his children—they have corrupted themselves." Thus it perfectly harmonizes with what precedes.

Ch. xxxii. 29. "That they would consider *their latter end*." These words may convey an incorrect idea of the wish of Moses. There is no reason to think his words have any reference to death, and preachers who adopt it in that sense pervert the text. The Vulgate renders, *novissima*. The Septuagint, τον επιοντα χρονον—"that they would consider the future," or future events, would be the precise meaning; referring no doubt to what follows. Coverdale's Bible has here—"that they would consider what should happen unto them hereafter." All the subsequent Bibles have deviated from this correct rendering, to the one in our present version.

Ch. xxxii. 42. "From the beginning of *revenges* upon the enemy." Revenges cannot be a proper word, *retribution* would be better. The Genevan Bible has, "before I begin to take vengeance of the enemy," which is better than the present text. But the passage is susceptible of a very different meaning. See the Septuagint and other ancient versions.

JOSHUA.

Ch. vii. 24, 25. The clause, "all Israel with him," has been removed in our present translation from its proper place, which is in the Hebrew immediately after the words, "all that he had." The consequence of this is, that the translation, as it now stands, seems to make a distinction between the family of Achan and "all Israel." The former Bibles in English, retain the clause referred to in its proper place, following in this the Septuagint and Vulgate. In the latter version, the last two clauses of verse 26 are: "They consumed with fire all things that were his." The cattle and property were thus sacrificed. But the family of Achan were, with all Israel, made spectators of the judgment of God. A somewhat modified reading is therefore necessary in this passage to vindicate the narrative from implying what it really does not. For a larger exposition of this text see Dr. A. Clarke's commentary.

JUDGES.

Ch. iv. 10. "With ten thousand men at his feet,"—more properly, as we should say, "with ten thousand foot soldiers," or infantry. So also chap. v. 15, "he was sent on foot into the valley," instead of with his *foot men*, or infantry. Both are remarkable misconceptions on the part of the translators, but this they shared in common with all their predecessors, and in this they seem to have followed the Septuagint; which is the more remarkable, as in Num. xi. 21, and in this same book of Judges, chap. xx. 2, and elsewhere, the same Hebrew word is rendered "*footmen*," *i. e.* foot soldiers.

Ch. v. 24. "Blessed *above* women shall Jael the wife of Heber be." The Septuagint has "Blessed among women." So the Vulgate. And the preposition here rendered as the superlative is much more commonly used to signify *inter*. Coverdale's Bible has "*among*;" Cranmer's Bible altered the word to "*above*;" which the subsequent translations followed.

Ch. v. 26. "She smote off his head." This is another instance of alteration for the worse; and which does not accurately consist with the Hebrew. "She smote his head," so the Bishops' Bible reads; and there is no reason to suppose that Jael did more than was necessary to destroy Sisera; and why therefore the translation "smote *off*" does not appear, except that they followed the Genevan Bible in this place.

Ch. xi. 31. "And I will offer *it* up for a burnt offering." So much has been written on this passage, in connexion with the context, that it would be superfluous here to state the reasons why we should render, "I will offer *him* a burnt offering," instead of the present reading.

I. SAMUEL.

Ch. xv. 32. "And Agag came unto him *delicately.*" It would be difficult to say what the translators exactly meant by the last word, though all the older revisions have it. One of them (Becke's) in a side note says, "*pompously.*" Probably, *with a mincing effeminate air,* is what they meant. The Septuagint version has, "*trembling.*" This is probably akin to the meaning. Simon considers the Hebrew word to mean "*vacillavit*" (with a tottering step). Castell considers it to mean "*in bonds,*" and refers to Job xxxviii. 31, and the Targum. The Vulgate has "*pinguissimus et tremens.*" The last clause is, in the Septuagint, "Is the bitterness of death thus?" The present rendering is not in accordance with the ancient versions, but has an opposite sense.

Ch. xvii. 22. "David left his *carriage* in the hand of the keeper," &c. What plain reader would not suppose from this that David had come to the battle-field in some *wheeled* vehicle? The marginal reading is "*vessels.*" None of the old versions had *carriage.* Becke's Bible had "*panniers.*" Cranmer's, the "*gear;*" the Bishop's Bible, "David left the things *which he bare* in the hands," &c., in which it followed the Genevan version.

Ch. xvii. 39. "He *assayed* to go; for he had not proved *it.*" There is a strange ambiguity in this sentence. Coverdale had, "he began to go, for he had never been used to it before." None of the ancient versions are quite satisfactory. The Septuagint expresses a sense indicative of a reading different to the present Hebrew text: "He was wearied after one or two steps of the work;" probably the meaning is, "he was acting foolishly in going thus." See Simon's Lex. on the verb יאל. Cranmer's Bible and the Bishops' render: "And he assayed to go, and because he never proved it, David said." This is at least somewhat more intelligible than the present version.

Ch. xix. 24. "He *stripped off* his clothes and lay down *naked.*" Nothing more here is meant than that of David's throwing off his royal robes or military dress; and when we read, as in other passages, similar expressions, (see 2 Sam. vi. 20; Micah i. 8, and John xx. 7) it would be entertaining notions contrary to the truth, to suppose that nakedness in the abstract is intended. As an old writer observes, "the Greeks and Latins, when they laid aside the upper garment, used expressions of a similar kind, but, to avoid the idea of absolute nudity, the rendering should be Saul 'stripped himself of his upper garment, and lay almost naked on the ground.'" L. Howell's History of the Holy Bible, 1716, vol. ii. p. 18.

II. SAMUEL.

Ch. xii. 31, compared with 1 Chron. xx. 3. If the second of these passages is to be taken as an exponent of the first, it represents David in a light the most unfavourable, and his conduct would be revolting even in a heathen conqueror. There can be, however, but little doubt that the translators have been mistaken here, for the best Hebrew critics agree that no more is meant than that the people of Rabbah and the cities of the children of Ammon were con demned to heavy labour with the saw, with harrows of iron (probably iniron mines), cutting wood with axes, and in the labours of the brick-kiln.

Ch. v. 8. "He shall be chief and captain." These words are remarkable, for having been interpolated from another place, (the parallel passage) 1 Chron. xi. 6; not being in the original text *at present* as the italics denote. But their insertion here is perfectly justifiable to complete the sense. The whole passage, however, labours under obscurities; and Dr. Kennicott's translation of it is a great improvement: "And David said on that day, whosoever (first) smiteth the Jebusites, and through the subterranean passage (or gutter) reacheth the blind and lame which are hated of David's soul, because the blind and lame continued to say, he shall not come into this house,—shall be head and captain; so Joab went up first, and was chief captain."* By the blind and lame here, were probably meant *idols*. See Psalm cxv. 5, 7.

Ch. xxiv. 1, compared with 1 Chron. xxi. 1. The word *Satan* in the first of these passages, was omitted by some oversight of the transcribers of the original, for it is found in the latter passage, describing the same event in the same language. In the former example cases of an exactly similar kind are given. As the word Satan is placed here in Samuel in the margin, there seems no sort of reason why it should not have been put into the English text, at least in italics. As the passage is now read in our public service this is more necessary; and as the larger number of our Bibles are printed *without marginal references*, this is inexcusable, for in such a reading, we are undoubtedly, in the minds of many, giving countenance to an antiscriptural doctrine (see James i. 13). We have no doubt, however, that if there were any well-founded scruples as to the insertion of the word *Satan*, instead of the pronoun (he), *i. e.* God, it would not be at all inconsistent with the Hebrew to render: "And David *was moved* against them to say," &c.

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* See 2 Sam. xxi. 19 compared with 1 Chron. xx. 5; and 2 Sam. xxiii. 8, compared with 1 Chron. i. 11, where there are similar instances of words left out in the first case and supplied in the second; proving evidently a deficiency in the ancient MSS. of this book of Samuel, which was supplied in the Chronicles. Perhaps there are no instances more remarkable than these in the Bible. But others occur, and our next example must be classed as one of them.

II. KINGS.

Ch. vi. 25. "Bochart has exhausted this subject," says Dr. A. Clarke, "to prove that a kind of *pulse* is here meant, by the words rendered 'a cab of dove's dung.'" The translation is quite indefensible. See an excellent summary of the argument *contra* in L. Howell's History of the Bible, vol. ii. p. 119.

II. CHRONICLES.

Ch. xiii. 3. The extravagant numbers here assigned to the armies of Abijah and Jeroboam, may justly lead to the idea of some error in the Hebrew MSS. The Vulgate has 40,000 and 80,000. Dr. Clarke's long and learned note may be consulted in proof of the improbability of these large numbers being the correct ones. He thus concludes it, "Corruptions in the numbers of these historical books we have often had cause to *suspect* and to complain of." We have referred to this example expressly for the purpose of remarking that in a revision of the English Bible, it would be necessary that these discrepancies should be thoroughly examined, and if there be room for much doubt, the *smaller* numbers should always be preferred.

We doubt not that the historical books of the Old Testament, will supply a large amount of passages in which there will be found a necessity for corrections, of various kinds, and of which the instances furnished, offer examples of what might be done in the way of improvement; though we are far from believing that the urgency which calls for such improvement, is so generally felt or so strongly imperative as in other portions of the sacred volume. The Book of Job stands at the threshold of what may be called truly its "difficiliora loca;" but even here we must not linger, as there are still more important portions of this volume demanding our speedy notice. It may not, however, be irrelevant to observe that this book, belonging as it does to the highest and most ancient efforts of Hebrew poetry, partakes in all respects of the incidental circumstances of this kind of writing. Hence the allusions are often extremely obscure; the transitions of thought are abrupt, and the thoughts themselves are at times so much above the ordinary level of human conceptions, that the only wonder is, it does not abound with a greater number of difficult or uncertain passages. If it be true also, as some have conjectured, that this book was originally written in the Arabian tongue, it will not be matter of surprise that those, the most conversant with that language should have been its most successful interpreters. Schultens, and others since his day, have doubtless removed some of its obscurities, and our present version could not but be greatly improved by scholars of this class being now employed upon it. We may here therefore notice with some commendation, the specimen we have already seen of that translation of it which is now preparing for the American Bible Union by Professor Conant. We consider several of the alterations adopted in this version as judicious ones. Take for example, chap. i. 5. Instead of "*cursed* God in their hearts," this revised version has "have forsaken God in their hearts;"—and so again in verse 11,—for, "he will *curse* thee to thy face," we have, "renounce thee to thy face:" and again, in chap. ii. 9, for that most improbable reading, "curse God and die," we find, "bless God and die." The grounds of these altered readings are sufficiently apparent to all who are conversant with the general meaning of the word ברך. It has been shown that there is but one passage in the Old Testament, which can be regarded as at all sanctioning the sense of cursing (1 Kings xxi. 10), and that this may with more propriety be rendered "renouncing God and the king."

Another passage evidently requiring some emendation in our present Bible is, chap. iii. 8: "Let them curse it, that curse the day, who are ready to raise up their mourning." The oldest of our printed versions has, instead of the last two words, "*Leviathan*," which the present Bible so far approves, as to place it in the margin, following, in the text, the Syriac and Arabic sense of the passage. Professor Conant renders: "Let them that curse days curse it; they that are able to rouse up leviathan." It is explained in reference to *serpent charmers*—whose incantations are supposed to possess peculiar potency; a sense which we should certainly adopt in preference to the utterly unintelligible one of our existing version.

These two passages may serve as a specimen of some of the extraordinary ambiguities incident to the Book of Job, from its very nature and subject. The following list will briefly indicate defects capable of more easy correction in our authorised Bible.

Ch. iii. 13, 14. "Then had I been at rest with kings . . . . which *built desolate places* for themselves." It is obvious here, the translation should be, "places *now desolate*."

Ch. xii. 5. "He that is ready to slip with *his* feet, *is as* a lamp despised in the thought of him that is at ease." For which may be substituted the more obvious sense of the passage in the original: "for as to him who is about to slip with his feet, contempt is ready, in the thoughts of him who is at ease;" or, inverting the order for the sake of perspicuity, it might be thus: "For in the thoughts of him who is at ease, contempt is ready to be bestowed upon him who is about to fall."

Ch. xiii. 8. "Will ye accept his person? Will ye contend for God?" Rather "will ye place yourselves in his stead?" An idiomatic expression.

Ch. xiii. 12. "Your remembrances are like unto ashes," more properly "your high-flown speeches" (literally *swollen heaps*) "are like bodies of clay."

Ch. xvii. 2. "Doth not mine eye continue in their provocation?" rather, "in the provocation of which these have caused me." The translation here adopts the Hebraism.

Ch. xxvi. 5. "Dead things are formed from under the waters, and the inhabitants thereof." The Chaldee version is the only one that seems to have caught the spirit of the passage:—"Can the trembling giants be re-begotten, when their hosts are under the waters?" Coverdale has significantly, "The giants and worthies that be slain and lye under the water, with their companions; yea and all they which dwell beneath in the hell are not hid from him;" alluding thus to Gen. vi. and vii. The present meaningless rendering came from Cranmer's Bible.

Ch. xli. 24. "His heart is as firm as a stone; yea as hard as a *piece of the nether mill-stone*." "As fast as the stythye (anvil) that the hammer-man smiteth upon;" so Coverdale's, Cranmer's and the Bishops' Bibles, following the Septuagint and Vulgate. The Genevan Bible supplied the reading of the present text. The word "*nether*" used here and in several other places has become obsolete, and might be suitably exchanged here and elsewhere for "*under*."

Ch. xli. 25. "By reason of breakings they purify themselves." The obscurity of this clause is as insurmountable in the original as it is in the translation. But the Arabic supplies at least some meaning in the following paraphrase, "For dread of him the powerful fear and the strong are humbled."

The opening verse of our Burial Service must not be forgotten as one of the sublimest, and most frequently recurring passages in this book, and one also which is particularly valuable from its being supposed to embody the faith of our Old Testament saint, in the great and distinguishing doctrine of the New.

Ch. xix. 25—27. Beautiful and striking as this passage is, even in its very imperfect translation, we cannot but see that it affords a wide scope for improvement; as within the compass of three verses there are no less than six words supplied in italics, which are meant to imply that they are not in the original text. There seems to have been a strange confusion among the ancient versions in respect to this passage. The Vulgate reads it thus: "For I know that my Redeemer liveth, and in the last day I shall arise from the earth, and again I shall be surrounded with my flesh, and in my flesh I shall see my God; whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another." This seems to have been followed by the older translators in English, for the most part, till the time of the Genevan Bible, which renders it thus: "For I am sure that my Redeemer liveth, and he shall stand the last day on the earth. And though after my skin *worms* destroy this *body*, yet shall I see God in my flesh. Whom I myself shall see, and my eyes shall behold, and none other *for me*." The verity of the Hebrew, might, we think, be preserved, and very little violence done to present associations with the passage, by adopting the improved rendering of Dr. Kennicott, with a slight modification: "For I know that my Redeemer liveth; and at the latter day he shall arise over *this* dust; and after my skin is thus mangled, yet in my flesh I shall see God; whom I shall see for myself and my eyes shall behold and not estranged." The word, "*worms*," is not in the original, and the concluding words "*not another*," are rather a gloss than a translation.

In this same chapter, and in the introductory verses to this most remarkable passage, we have an instance of one of the most singular anachronisms met with anywhere. In verse 23, Job is made to exclaim—"Oh! that my words were now written! Oh! that they were now *printed in a book.*" This extraordinary and somewhat absurd error of making Job acquainted with the art of printing, is the more observable, as it does not appear in any former translations. Coverdale's, Cranmer's, and the Bishops' Bibles had, "put in a book." The Genevan, "written even in a book." So unhappy an attempt to improve upon what had gone before it, on the part of some one among the last revisers, seems to us to afford evidence that there was no competent supervision of the whole work by the general body of the translators (so called), or surely such innovations as *this* could not have been overlooked.

THE BOOK OF PSALMS.

Of all the books of the Old Testament this probably opens the largest field for critical emendation in our present Bible. This may be attributed partly to the obscurity of the original, in a multitude of passages. Many of these Hebrew poems resemble in this respect the ancient Greek chorus. They abound in ellipses and abrupt transitions, and there is so great a diversity of style and age among them as to make the exact usage of words often doubtful. Of this we have ample proofs in the variety of readings found in the ancient versions, and also in the number of translations of this book which have been made in our own language.* The revisers of our present translation seem to have been willing to hand down a record of their own doubtfulness, as to the precise meaning of many passages of the Psalms, by leaving them for use in the daily service of the church in the original translation of Henry VIII's. reign.† It must be acknowledged, however, that to have now two translations, which are in many instances so widely different, is a circumstance of more perplexity than profit, and scarcely seems consistent with that full respect which is due to either. For instance, what can be more dissimilar in sense than the following passages, which are professedly translations of the same book?—

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* Dr. Cotton's work on "The Editions of the Bible, and parts thereof," supplies us with a list of about fifteen different translations of the Psalms in prose, since the end of the last century.

† In the second edition of the Bishops' Bible (1572), the original version of the Psalms which we now use in the Prayer Book was printed side by side with that translation.

Ps. xxix. 1. "Give unto the Lord, O ye mighty, give unto the Lord glory and strength." (B. V.)

"Bring unto the Lord, O ye mighty, bring young rams unto the Lord." (P. B. V.)

Ps. lviii. 1. "Do you indeed speak righteousness, O congregation." (B. V.)

"Are your minds set upon righteousness, O ye congregation?" (P. B. V.)

Ps. lviii. 9. "Before your pots can feel the thorns, he shall take them away, as with a whirlwind, both living, and in his wrath." (B. V.)

"Or ever your pots be made hot with thorns: so let indignation vex him, even as a thing that is raw." (P. B. V.)

Ps. cii. 5. "By reason of the voice of my groaning my bones cleave to my skin." (B. V.)

"For the voice of my groanings, my bones will scarce cleave to my skin." (P. B. V.)

Ps. cv. 28. "And they rebelled not against his word." (B. V.)

"And they were not obedient unto his word."* (P. B. V.)

If such diversities are to be deemed incompatible with that perfect confidence which we ought to teach the multitude to repose in the meaning of this, the most devotional book of the Holy Scriptures, there is surely great reason why such discrepancies of language should be removed, and why a clearer and more decided expression of the sentiments contained in many passages of this part of the oracles of God should be attempted. To exhibit some of the imperfections of both the translations just referred to, we select the examples that follow.

Ps. xvi. v. 10. "Thou wilt not leave my soul in *hell.*" The use of the last word, both in B. and P. B. version, is highly objectionable, as it should be limited to the place of torment. The *grave* would be a more appropriate word, though this also is insufficient to convey the idea of the Hebrew Sheol., or the Greek Hades, the place of departed souls, without reference to a place of misery.

Ps. xviii. 17. "They *prevented* me in the day of calamity," &c. The use of the word "*prevent*" here, as in many other passages, is a use unknown at present, and different also to that of one of the collects of the church beginning, "Prevent us, O Lord, in our doings," &c.

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* To these may be added passages in which the New Testament has determined the sense to be that which is followed in neither of these versions, as Ps. xl. 8, where the B. V. has, and also the P. B. V., "mine ears hast thou opened," instead of the reading of the Septuagint, "a body hast thou prepared me," as given in Heb. x. 5. So Ps. lcvii. 7, "Worship him, all ye *gods.*" But the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac, confirmed as they are by Heb. i. 6, should be followed here in preference to the present reading.

Ps. xxii. 20. "Deliver .... my *darling* from the power of the dog." The use of the word "*darling*" here, and in Ps. xxxv. 17, is questionable on many accounts. It should be exchanged for "that which is dear unto me." The Targum has "*my spirit*;" the Septuagint, "my only beloved;" both preferable readings, we think.

Ps. xxvii. 2. "When the wicked, even mine enemies, came upon me to *eat up my flesh*." David's enemies certainly were not cannibals, and there is no need, therefore, to render it thus. This expression was a proverbial Hebraism, which would be more appropriately expressed in our language by the words, "to devour my substance," or, "my reputation."

Ps. xxxi. 9. "My soul and my *belly*." (B. V.) The Hebraistic mode of speaking here, should be exchanged for the English equivalent *body*, which the P. B. V. properly has.

Ps. xxxiii. 12. "Blessed are the people whose God is the *Lord Jehovah*." (P. B. V.) The latter word is here an improper addition, or explanation without meaning; for the word rendered Lord is properly Jehovah; and the B. V. would be improved by rendering also, "whose God is Jehovah."

Ps. xxxv. 10. "All my bones should say, Lord, who is like unto thee?" The observation under the previous examples applies to this. Bones are the Hebrew synonym for *body*.

Ps. xl. 18. "Fie upon thee—fie upon thee." This expression, which occurs also in P. B. V. lxxi. 24, is but a trivial mode of expressing the Hebrew interjection, aha! aha! as in B. V. But the force of the original, which can scarcely even be thus expressed, should be rendered paraphrastically, "who speak tauntingly."

Ps. xlv. 5. "Good luck have thou with thine honour." (P. B V.) How much more dignified is the B. V., "And in thy majesty ride prosperously."

Ps. xlvi. 9. "Knappeth the spear," (P. B. V.) for "cutteth the spear." (B. V.) The word "knappeth" put for "snappeth."

Ps. xlix. 14. "They lie in *the hell* like *sheep*." (B. P. V.) "Like sheep they are laid in *the grave*." (B. V.) The first of these renderings must be considered a highly improper one, and evinces the necessity of exchanging the word *hell* for *grave* in all cases where there is no manifest reference to the place of punishment,* as in Ps. xvi. and elsewhere.

Ps. xlix. 5. " Wherefore should I fear in the days of evil, when the iniquities of my heels shall compass me about?" The B. version and the P. B. both use the same very objectionable phrase, " *the iniquity of my heels*," which is the Hebraistic mode of saying, " when *iniquity at my heels* compasseth me about." The iniquity of the enemy was behind him, and ready to supplant or overthrow him. So the Syriac version has it, and the Geneva Bible, which reads, " When iniquity shall encompass me about as at my heels."

Ps. lix. 6. " They go to and fro in the evening: they *grin* like a dog," &c. (See also v. 14. P. B. V.) This rendering is grotesque and unworthy of such a place. The B. V. has " they make a noise like a dog."

Ps. lxviii. 4. " Magnify him that rideth upon the heavens as it were upon a horse." (P. B. V.) The B. V. has simply, " Extol him that rideth upon the heavens." The introduction of the gross simile destroys its dignity.

Ps. lxviii. 6. " But letteth the runagates continue in scarceness." (P. B. V.) The B. V. has, as the equivalent, " But the rebellious dwell in a dry land." Though the latter version avoided the unseemly rendering of the former in this passage, it did not do so in the following, ver. 21, where in both verses we read, " God shall wound the hairy scalp," &c.

Ps. lxix. 23, 24, 26, 29. This Psalm, in these verses, contains a number of imprecations. The verbs used are generally in the Hebrew in the future tense; therefore are not of necessity to be rendered in the optative mood; and it is to be regretted that the milder sense of a prophetic future has not been adopted here. So. Ps. lv. 15, " Let death seize upon them, and let them go down quick into hell, for wickedness is in their dwellings;" (B. V.), where the verbs are both unequivocally *future*, is one of the strongest instances, perhaps, and we may say the worst, of this kind of rendering which is found, however, too plentifully elsewhere. (See Ps. cix. and cxl. 10, 11, especially.)

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* Lowth has proposed to render this difficult verse thus:—

"They lie in the grave like sheep:
Death shall be their shepherd, and have dominion over them.
Their honour shall be no more: their form shall moulder away;
The grave shall be their habitation."

This nearly agrees with Houbigant's translation, and will be sufficient to show the necessity of emendation in a passage which does not agree with any ancient version. The Genevan Bible has, in the last clause " Their beauty shall consume when they shall go from their house to the grave." The Bishops' Bible " Their beauty shall consume away; hell shall receive them from their house."

Ps. lxxi. 24. "My lips will be *fain* when I sing unto thee." (P. B. V.) Few persons, perhaps, are conscious of the exact meaning of the word *fain*, as thus used, unless they should chance to recollect the parallel in the B. V., "My lips shall greatly rejoice." The examples of the use of this word are rare, and belong to the period which may be called, perhaps, the Chaucerian era of our language. We find one, and we believe there is only one, in the Canterbury Tales:—

> "To the manciple he toke the gourde again,
> And of the drinke the coke was full fain,
> And thanked him."—*Manciple's Prologue.**

It occurs also in Piers Ploughman—

> "Then was I as fayne as foule (fowl) of fayre morrowe."

In Coverdale's Bible it is "I wolde fayne synge praises."

Ps. lxxv. 3. "The earth is weak, and all the inhabiters thereof; I bear up the pillars of it." (P. B. V.) "The earth and all the inhabitants thereof are dissolved," &c. (B. V.) As this is evidently spoken by David, or the writer of the Psalm, of himself, the *land* of Judea can only be meant. So also Psalm lxxxii. 5, and other places, where the word *earth*, instead of *land*, confuses the sense.

Ps. lxxvii. 3. "My sore ran, and ceased not in the night season" (P. B. V.), and so B. V. It may be very doubtful if this is the true sense. None of the ancient versions agree with it. Symmachus and Jerome have, "My hand was extended all night." This reading is placed in the margin of the Genevan Bible. The Bishops' Bible is very singular and curious here, "My hand all the night catched and ceased not;" and the marginal note is, "the hands of them that lie a dying be plucking and catching."

Ps. xciii. 2. "He hath made the *round* world so sure that it cannot be moved." (P. B. V.) There is nothing in the original that contains the idea of roundness; and the B. V. has simply, "the world also is establshed;" the same gloss is employed in P. B. V. lxxxix. 12.

Ps. cx. 1. "The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou at my right hand," &c. We have here a forcible instance of the propriety of, sometimes at least, using the original names of the Divine Being to express the precise meaning. "Jehovah said unto Adonai, or, the Lord," is the only translation that could convey the idea of what was truly signified. As the passage has been pointed in our present MSS. by the Masorites, the word Adonai is intended to apply to David, just as we should say to a great man, or nobleman, *my lord.* In the present translation this application reduces the passage, (and this is one of the most remarkable of the Psalms for its typical and expressive character,) to a mere common-place address; whereas if we were to render (as might be done with justness) "Jehovah said to the Lord," (*Messiah*), placing the last word in italics, the whole passage would have its proper force.

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* Kingston, 1561, ed. Fol. 88 reverse.

Ps. cx. 3. This verse affords but an incorrect idea of genuine sense in either of the present versions. Although all the ancient copies of the Bible differ considerably, and our older translations also, vary from one another here, the passage will be brought back to something like the genuine sense if we render, "Lo! the beauties of holiness! a progeny is thine, surpassing the morning dew-drops." The Genevan Bible has, "Thy people shall come willingly at the time of assembling thine army in holy beauty; the youth of thy womb shall be as the morning dew."

Ps. cxxxviii. 2. "Thou hast magnified thy name and thy word above all things," (P. B. V.), which is certainly a more intelligible sense than that of the B. V., "Thou has magnified thy word above all thy name."

Ps. cxxxviii. 3. "Thou . . . strengthenedst me with strength in my soul." (B.V.) This is an instance of the manner in which the Hebrew is so closely copied as to produce an unmeaning tautology in our language. The P. B. V. has avoided it by giving the corresponding English idiom, "and enduedst my soul with much strength."

Ps. cxli. 5. It is impossible to suppose this verse expresses the sense of the Psalmist, "an excellent oil which shall not break my head," according to B. V.; or, "precious balms," as in the P. B. V., possessed of the same qualities, are incongruous ideas in relation to the object mentioned. The Septuagint, Vulgate, Syriac, and Ethiopic, nearly agree in translating thus, "Let the righteous chastise me in mercy; but let not the oil of the wicked anoint my head."

Ps. cxli. 7. "Let their judges be overthrown in stony places, that they may hear my words, for they are sweet," (P. B. V.) This, as well as the B. V., are, no doubt, capable of amendment, though the allusions are somewhat obscure. It has been proposed to translate it, "Their judges have been dismissed in rocky places, and have heard my words," &c. Alluding to David's treatment of Saul in the cave of Engedi.

Ps. cxlvii. 17. "He casteth forth his ice like *morsels*." Both versions render thus. What the translators meant by the last word we cannot tell, or what improvement it was upon the Bishops' Bible, which had "*fragments*." The translation perhaps, to be intelligible and consistent, should be what the Vulgate suggests—"like small berries."

Ps. cl. 5. "Praise him upon the *loud* cymbals; praise him upon the *high sounding* cymbals." (B. V.) There does not seem much distinction to our ears between *loud* and *high-sounding*. The P. B. V. has "*well-tuned* cymbals" and "*loud* cymbals;" probably the meaning of the second epithet is, the festive cymbals, or, the cymbals of triumph. Walton's Polyglott has, "in cymbalis orationis." With this Ellys agrees, in his learned dissertation: (see Fortuita Sacra, De Cymbalis); and it is sanctioned by the Septuagint version.

The foregoing list of passages requiring correction of one kind or other, in the Book of Psalms, must of necessity convey but a very slight idea of the extent to which an emendatory process should be applied in this part of our English Bible. No portion of it, perhaps, requires a larger number of such emendations, and this becomes a more imperative duty in proportion to the more frequent use of that part of the Old Testament, a large measure of it being selected for devotional and daily reading in the Morning and Evening Services of the Church. Whatever, therefore, are its defects or errors, they more frequently meet the eye and offend the good taste of the worshipper than in any other portions of the sacred volume. It will be observed from our selection, brief as it is, that there are passages here, either in the Prayer Book version, or in that of the Bible, (more frequently in the former of these), which jar upon the ear in the present improved state of our language, or leave but a confused impression upon the mind, to say the least of it. To the critical eye and to the critical mind these passages, whenever they recur, cannot but be offensive, as degrading the sense of the divine writers. And though the habit of hearing them often, may in some degree have lessened the force of this impression, it is certainly one which destroys a portion of their value, even where the result is merely that of ignorant acquiescence. In this case the words of St. Paul are as strictly applicable as to those who spoke in the jargon of unknown or but half interpreted tongues. "If I pray in an unknown tongue my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful. What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also." (1 Cor. xiii. 14, 15).

But next in frequency of use and in value to the Church of all ages, we must undoubtedly place some of the prophetical writings, especially the book of Isaiah. No book of the Bible has deservedly received more of the attention of critics in our own and other countries during the last century; yet still the Church, in its public capacity, is no whit the better for all this expenditure of labour and of talents upon this part of the Word of God. The observations made respecting the book of Psalms are equally applicable here. Although upon the whole we readily admit that this, like other parts of the English Bible, is a noble monument of our language, it is very far from being in all respects what we should wish to see it, and what it might easily be made. The difficulties here are not so insurmountable as some of those in the book of Job, or of the Psalms. But they are of much more frequent occurrence in the Bible, as we now read it, than in the former book. There is scarcely a chapter in which there are not some words or sentences requiring correction, either for the sake of perspicuity, or to bring out a sense in more strict unison with the mind of the prophets, or in greater harmony with ancient versions. Occasionally, also, we meet with passages which are deprived of half their point and significance, by too close an adherence to the reading of the present Hebrew manuscripts, or to their Masoretic punctuation, which in divers instances are sadly at fault with the Septuagint, Vulgate, or other ancient copies of the Scriptures. New manuscripts have also greatly assisted the search after a more correct interpretation of this book; and these, by collation or comparison with those versions (whose manuscripts must have been much older than any we now possess), have aided scholars greatly in the task of exploring their way through difficulties that must otherwise have proved a hopeless barrier. The key has thus been supplied to those dark sentences which ever and anon present themselves, like locked gates in the midst of a well cultivated garden or park-like enclosure. But for the help of this we must have been content to proceed no further, or, stimulated by wild curiosity, to overleap the fence and proceed on our way at all hazards.

Vitringa and Lowth are among the most honoured of those names, which will ever thus be associated with the book of the prophet Isaiah. The work of the latter critic is so well known that it would have been superfluous to say any thing in its praise, had there not been a certain class of philologists who have affected to underrate its value; but how justly, will be apparent from the declaration of one who was certainly as competent a judge in such matters as any we shall now find among us. The late Dr. A. Clarke, in his valuable commentary, has always treated the criticisms of Bishop Lowth with the greatest respect, and in his preface to Isaiah, makes the following remarks:—

"Bishop Lowth's translation is by far the best that has ever been made of this sublime prophet; as he thoroughly understood the language, so he entered deeply into his spirit. Were it allowable I should be glad to supersede what is called the *authorised* version, and put that of the learned bishop, with a few genuine alterations, in its place, as being abundantly more correct and nervous, rendering the sacred text more clearly, and consequently more intelligibly, so that the common reader *can understand this text better without a comment, than he can the authorised version with one.*"

We need not further point out the peculiar merit of this version, but in order to show what may be done, and what has been done for the improvement of our English version of this book, we shall proceed as before to give instances which will illustrate our observations, first noticing a few of Lowth's corrections which seem worthy of special commendation.

Isaiah, ch. v. This chapter is one of the lessons read on the second Sunday in Advent, and there are several verses of it in our present translation which fall short of their proper significance. Thus we read at

Ver. 3. "Therefore hell hath *enlarged* herself and opened *her* mouth without measure," &c. Assigning the feminine gender here to the word *hell*, is, at first sight, an inconsistency, for the gender in the Hebrew does not of necessity require this, and the sense is thereby weakened. Lowth has—

"Therefore Hades hath enlarged his appetite,
And hath stretched open his mouth without measure."

Again, ver. 18, we read, "Woe unto them that draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin as it were with a cart rope;" a passage of which we venture to say, few general hearers understand to what the prophet alludes. Lowth's version brings it much nearer to their comprehension:—

"Woe unto them who draw out iniquity as a long cable;
And sin as the thick traces of a wain."

As the allusion is here to that of one who spins thread or yarn, first commencing with smaller threads and then at last uniting them into a thick rope, the words *spin out* might be advantageously put for *draw out.* Our present version might thus be made to express the force of the Hebrew, by a very slight alteration. "Woe unto them that spin out iniquity by very slender threads; till *their* sin becomes as thick as a cart rope."

Ver. 26. Jehovah is here represented as *hissing* to the nations from the end of the earth. Lowth substitutes the word *hist*, which is easily understood to mean some kind of signal, or summons; but the word *hiss* is perfectly ambiguous. We think the passage should be rendered "he will call every one of them by a signal from the ends of the earth."

Ch. xxx. This is another of the chapters read on the fourth Sunday in Advent, and is perhaps one of the most striking in the book. But it supplies a wide field for emendation in the present version.

Ver. 1. "That cover with a covering, but not of my spirit;" Lowth appropriately alters "who ratify covenants, but not of my spirit."

Ver. 19. "For the people shall dwell at Jerusalem; thou shalt weep no more," &c.; Lowth's amended translation is—

> "When a holy people shall dwell in Sion—
> When in Jerusalem thou shalt implore him with weeping."

Ver. 22, is one of the most objectionable renderings in this chapter, for reasons we need not particularize, it is quite unsuitable for public reading. But Lowth gives the passage in language of sufficient purity:—

> "And ye shall treat as defiled the covering of your idols of silver,
> And the clothing of your molten images of gold.
> Thou shalt cast them away as a polluted garment;
> Thou shalt say unto them,—Be gone from me."

Something of the same process of purification should be adopted for other passages in this book; for example, xxxvii. 12; lxiv. 6. On the latter passage in particular, we commend our readers to Dr. A. Clarke's notes for some very pertinent remarks.

Let us, however, not be mistaken in this observation. The Hebrew people and the Hebrew customs might admit of much license with regard to language, which no one could think was now suitable for a popular assembly. Times and manners change; and language which at one period savoured of nothing impure, at another period is held to be the very reverse. This may not be owing to any higher degree of real refinement in heart and life in the present age. It is only the indication that our virtues are more skin-deep—more on the surface of society. Adam's fig-leaf was not put on till he had lost his innocence; but after the fig-leaf has been once worn, it cannot be laid aside without outrage to decency. We cannot, therefore, but think that in all portions of Scripture selected for public reading, the innocent simplicity of ancient times, as to language, should be conformed to the usages of modern speech. That the Bible should be considered as the only book which is to be allowed a license of exemption in this matter, and to treat it thus, is, we conceive, to do it a great injury. It is to strip away the robe of a dead language from what is most venerable in itself, only to expose it to an unseemly humiliation.

To resume our inquiry. Upon ver. 28 of this chapter, we remark that it does not appear a very intelligible operation, "to sift the nations with the sieve of vanity." In Lowth's version we read what there can be but little difficulty in understanding as to the operation here meant.—

> "He cometh to toss the nations with the fan of perdition."

So again, in ver. 32, "*the grounded staff*," is an extremely obscure idea, if it conveys one at all. But in Lowth the meaning is perfectly clear. We give the whole passage, as thus restored to its full beauty.

> "And it shall be that wherever shall pass the rod of correction,
> Which Jehovah shall lay heavily upon him (the Assyrian),
> It shall be accompanied with tabrets and harps;
> And in fierce battles shall he fight against them."

So also, instead of the expression, ver. 26, "healeth the stroke of their wound," Lowth reads, "healeth the wound which his stroke has inflicted."

Emendations of this kind, exemplified as they can be here only in one or two chapters, will still make it the more manifest how much might be done for the improvement of the English Bible throughout this book. A few other instances of passages requiring some special notice shall be given. One of the most remarkable is the following:—

Ch. ix. 3. "Thou hast multiplied the nation, *and not* increased the joy." This sense of the passage is quite at variance with the whole context. But if we read, "Thou hast increased *its* or *their* joy;" that is, if, instead of the Masoretical reading לא, we adopt that which is intimated in the margin of our Bible, לו, and which is confirmed by the Syriac, Targum, Arabic, and eleven MSS. (two of them ancient), we shall have a sense perfectly congruous with what immediately follows. Some further improvement, however, is necessary to bring out the exact force of ver. 5. Lowth's version is not so much of an advance upon the present reading as we should desire:—

> "For the greaves of the armed warrior in the conflict,
> And the garment rolled in blood,
> Shall be for a burning, even fuel for the fire;
> For unto us a child is born; unto us a son is given."

We think a slight alteration would convey the idea of the prophet more distinctly. His design is evidently to contrast a state of war with that reign which was to be one of peace under the child that was to be born; and the result of much attention to the passage convinces us that it should be translated thus: "For every battle of the warrior is accompanied with the din of arms, with the garment rolled in blood, and with subsequent burnings of the military spoils, affording fuel for fire. *But* unto us a child is born," &c.

Ver. 6. The expression "*everlasting Father*," requires to be exchanged for one more agreable to the character of the Messiah. The Vulgate and Arabic versions read, "the Father of the future age," *i. e.* dispensation.

Ch. xxv. 7. "The *face* of the *covering* cast over all people," is a rendering defective in this respect, that in following the Hebrew idiom it misplaces the two substantives we have marked in italics. Lowth's version is, "The covering that covered the faces of all the peoples." The word *face* or *faces* in the Hebrew MSS. is supposed to be misplaced: an unnecessary supposition, as we can easily read it as it stands—face-covering, *i. e.* the badge or sign of the condemned criminal about to be executed: a metaphor used most significantly of the condition of all mankind before the gospel age, when Christ came to remove this death-betokening symbol. "And the veil which is spread over all nations;" or rather the web which is *drawn out*, *i. e.* spun out, viz. the web of destiny. This accords with the sense of the Vulgate, which retains here this most striking metaphor. The defectiveness of the Septuagint in the book of Isaiah is nowhere more apparent than in this verse, which it renders thus: "And the Lord of Hosts shall make a feast for all the nations; on this mountain they shall drink gladness; they shall drink wine; they shall anoint themselves with ointment in this mountain. Impart thou all these things to the nations; for this counsel is for all nations." It is but justice, however, to say that all the ancient versions are so widely apart from each other in this passage, that the discrepancies can duly be accounted for, by the supposition of an equal discordancy between the original Hebrew MSS. from which they were made.

Ch. xxvi. 19. An important verse, as containing a strong allusion to the doctrine of the resurrection, but labouring under much obscurity in the present translation. The violent ellipsis in the words "*together with*," and the strange metaphor in the words, "thy dew is as the dew of herbs," require consideration. Lowth has greatly improved this passage in his version. He reads:—

> "Thy dead men shall live: my deceased they shall arise.
> Awake and sing ye that dwell in the dust,
> For thy dew is as the *dew of the dawn*."

The last phrase, which answers to that in our version "*dew of herbs*," and which seems at first sight to have but little point, is confirmed by several of the ancient versions. The fact, that at dawn the dews are most heavy, illustrates here what would otherwise be inexplicable. It is thus a reference to the morning of the resurrection. Paraphrasing a little, the sentence will come out thus: "Thy dew," *i. e.* the dew that rests upon the graves of the dead, "is the dew of the dawn," *i. e.* the dew significant of the dawn. We see in this example how much of the energy of the Hebrew may be compressed into a few words, and these, at the first view, scarcely intelligible.

Ch. lii. 15. "So shall he sprinkle many nations." As containing a supposed doctrine, this verse is too remarkable to be overlooked. Simon says, the Hebrew verb here employed means "exultare faciet admiratione." The sense of *greatly astonishing* seems to be the true one, if the supposed parallelism of Hebrew poetry is to be admitted in this place; and this sense is sustained by all the ancient versions except the Vulgate.

The examples we have now adduced, will suffice, we think, to satisfy most readers as to the propriety and necessity of an entire revision of this book. They might have easily been multiplied twenty-fold from our own collection, had space allowed. But with all existing defects in the present translation, we are free to allow, that the edition of the Bible in 1611 was a great improvement upon the previous ones in phraseology at least, if not in sense. To illustrate the progress of Biblical language in successive periods of our history, and thus to show what might be expected upon a further revision of this part of the sacred text, we shall now furnish two examples, which will, if we mistake not, be decisive as to this part of our argument.

ISAIAH LX. 1, 2.

COVERDALE'S BIBLE.	CRANMER'S BIBLE.	GENEVAN BIBLE.	BISHOPS' BIBLE.	KING JAMES'S BIBLE.
And therefore get the up by tymes, for thy light cometh and the glory of the LORDE shall rise up upō y^{e}. For lo, while y^{e} darknesse and cloude covereth the earth, and the people, the LORDE shal shewe the light and his glory shal be sene in the.	Get the up by tymes, be bryght (Jerusalem) for thy lyght commeth, and the Lorde is rysen up upō the. For lo, whyle the darcknesse and cloude covereth the earth, and the people, the Lorde shall shewe y^{e} lyghte and his glory shall be sene in y^{e}.	1. Arise, O (Jerusalem) be bright, for thy light is come, and the glorie of the Lord is risen upon thee. 2. For beholde darkenesse shall cover the earth, and grosse darknesse the people; but the Lord shall arise upon thee and his glorie shall be seene upon thee.	Get thee up betymes, and be bright (O Hierusalem) for thy light commeth, and the glorie of the Lord is risen up upon thee. 2. For lo, whyle darknesse and cloude covereth the earth and the people, the Lorde shall shewe thee light, and his glory shall be seene in thee.	1. Arise, shine, for thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee. 2. For behold the darkness shall cover the earth, and gross darkness the people: but the Lord shall arise upon thee, and his glory shall be seen upon thee.

CHAP. LXIII. 1.

Who is he this that cometh from Edom, with stayned reade clothes of Bosra: (which is so costly cloth) and cometh in so neēbly with all his strēgth? I am he y^{t} teacheth rightuousnes and am of power to helpe.	What is he, thys y^{t} cometh frō Edō w^{t} redd coulored clothes of Bosra: (whych is so costly cloth) and cometh in so myghtilye w^{t} all his strength. I am he that teacheth ryghtuousnes, and am of power to helpe.	1. Who is this that commeth from Edom, with red garments from Bozrah? he is glorious in his apparel, and walketh in his great strength: I speake in righteousnes, and am mightie to save.	What is he this that commeth frō Edom with red coloured clothes from Bosra? He is honourablye arrayed and commeth in mightyly with his power: I am he that teacheth righteousnesse and am of power to helpe.	Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah? this *that is* glorious in his apparel, travelling in the greatness of his strength? I that speak in righteousness mighty to save.

It is to be regretted that ver. 4 should be somewhat marred in the English version, by an alteration of the tense from the present to the future, so that the sublime personification of the Messiah speaking in the first person, thus loses much of its effect. In this the present translation adheres to the Targum, which renders: "I will tread them in mine anger," but departs in this from the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Arabic readings. The whole of the verses from 1 to 4, appear with so much greater advantage in Lowth's translation, that we shall place them here for comparison; and that the reader may judge of the manner in which such passages admit of improvement:—

1. Cho.—Who is this, that cometh from Edom?
With garments deeply dyed from Botsra?
This, that is magnificent in his apparel;
Marching on in the greatness of his strength?
Mes.—I, who publish righteousness, and am mighty to save.
2. Cho—Wherefore is thine apparel red?
And thy garments as of one that treadeth the wine-vat?
3. Mes.—I have trodden the vat alone;
And of the people there was not a man with me,
And I trod them in mine anger;
And I trampled them in mine indignation;
And their life-blood was sprinkled upon my garments;
And I have stained all mine apparel,
For the day of vengeance was in my heart;
And the year of my redeemed was come.

Here our review of this book might well close; but there is one passage more which will not perhaps be deemed superfluous, as it exhibits what we cannot but deem a fault in the English version—a want of sufficient dignity in rendering the anthropomorphic qualities attributed to the Divine Being according to the prophetic style. We shall here place side by side the Bible translation and that of Lowth, placing what we consider objectionable in the former in italics.

Bible Version.	Lowth's Version.
Ch. xlii. 13. The Lord shall go forth as a mighty *man*, he shall stir up jealousy like a *man of war;* he shall cry, *yea roar*, he shall prevail against his enemies.	13. Jehovah shall march forth like a hero; Like a mighty warrior shall he rouse his vengeance. He shall cry aloud: he shall shout amain: He shall exert his strength against his enemies.

14. I have long holden my peace: I have been still and refrained myself: now will I *cry* like a travailing woman: I will destroy and *devour* at once.	14. I have long holden my peace: shall I keep silence for ever? Shall I contain myself? I will cry out like a woman in travail. Breathing short, and drawing in my breath with violence.

We must not quit this subject without remarking, that in more than one of the chapters of Isaiah (see chaps. xiii. and xiv. especially), great scope will be found for the labours of those most conversant with the natural history of the Bible, in revising the names of several of the animals which here, and in the Pentateuch, have been greatly mistaken. This science is now in a far more advanced state than it was even in the days of Bochart or of Lowth; and hereafter, we can hardly doubt, that fabulous creatures such as unicorns, dragons, and satyrs, will be displaced from the volume of truth, to have their names supplied by others which are really the handywork of God, or the proper tenants of a wilderness like that of the present plains of ancient Babylon.

JEREMIAH.

Of the authorised version of this book we are not disposed to think that its revision, like that of Isaiah, would be very laborious or difficult. By the assistance of Dr. Blayney and other commentators, certain passages might no doubt be greatly benefited. The style of this prophet being much simpler than the former, and nearer to that of ordinary life, we may expect to find fewer matters for correction. But that there are some things here to amend, will be evident from the few following instances.

Ch. xvii. 9. "The heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked: who can know it?" The expression "*desperately wicked,*" introduced, by the last revision, has no authority from the Hebrew, or the ancient versions. The precise meaning of וְאָנֻשׁ הוא seems to be, "and humanity itself." As this passage is one upon which considerable stress has been laid by some divines, in support of the doctrine of the utter depravity of human nature, it seems only just to say that whatever countenance Scripture may give to that doctrine, it cannot be sustained from this text. In proof that the genuine meaning of it was a little overstrained at the last revision we submit the following tabular view of the older translations of the English Bible from the time of Wicklif to the present.

Old MS. Bible of the age of Wiclif.	Coverdale's Bible.	Cranmer's Bible.	Genevan Bible.	Bishops' Bible.
Schrewed is the herte of a man: and unserchable: who schal knowen it.	Among all thinges lyvynge, man hath the most disceatfull and unserchable hert who shall knowe it.	Among all thynges, man hath the most disceatfull and stubberne herte. Who shall then know it?	The heart is deceitfull, and wicked above all things. Who can know it?	[The same exactly as Cranmer's Bible.]

Ch. xx. 7. "O Lord thou hast *deceived* me and I was deceived," &c. It has been objected to this passage that it savours of irreverence. The Hebrew verb פתה here used, means often to *persuade;* and the translation would be greatly improved if this word were introduced in the room of the present; and the verses 14 to 16, being now evidently out of place, should come in immediately after the 7th, to read with propriety as a continuation of the prophet's lament.

Ch. xxii. 23. "O inhabitant of Lebanon . . . . how gracious *shalt* thou be when pangs come upon thee?" The precise meaning of the word *gracious* here, it would not be easy to tell, though probably it means, in the way of irony, *condescending*. The version "quam gratiosa eris," appears in Walton's Polyglott (in the interlinear Latin version), but is unsupported by any of the ancient versions. "How wilt thou groan!" is the sense of the Septuagint and Syriac, and so nearly the Vulgate. The meaning is evidently: "How shalt thou be pitied," or, "what favour shalt thou obtain?" If the preterite is here put, as Simon supposes, for the future, perhaps the best translation would be: "How pitiable an object wilt thou become!" Tremellius has "Quam gratulaberis!" None of the former English versions, except the Genevan, sanction the ironical sense. This has, "How beautiful shall thou be!" Coverdale's Bible reads, "How great shall thy mourning be!" and Cranmer's and the Bishops' Bible, "O how little shalt thou be regarded!"

Ch. xxii. 29. "O earth, earth, earth, hear the word of the Lord." The word earth, instead of land, in a prophecy that relates to Coniah only, is a blemish, inasmuch as it gives an unnatural importance to a declaration of a local nature, and the same thing has already been noticed (see Ps. lxxv. 3,) in a preceding note.

Ch. xxiii. 6. "And this is his name whereby he shall be called the Lord *our Righteousness*." Although this is a text to which great importance has been attached by many, as being supposed to imply the doctrine of "imputed righteousness," it would be uncandid to ignore the fact that the Hebrew will not fairly bear this translation. The words in the original strictly mean, "And this is his name which Jehovah shall call him, our Righteousness;" or, perhaps, still more literally, "This is the name which they shall call Jehovah, our Righteous One." The first of these translations is nearly that of Dr. Blayney, and agrees with the Septuagint. The second is in accordance with the Vulgate. The first English Bible (MS.), instead of "the Lord our Righteousness," had "Our rigtwise Lord;" Coverdale's Bible, "the Lord our rightuous Maker;" Matthew's and Taverner's editions of this Bible, the same; Cranmer's Bible introduced the present translation, which corresponds also with the Genevan and Bishops' Bibles. But, as it has been well observed by an eminent critic, "No doctrine so important as that which has been supposed to be contained in this passage, should be made to rest on an interpretation so dubious and unsupported, as this text."

Ch. xxiv. 2. "And the other basket had *very naughty figs*." The words here marked in italics, though retained from all the older versions of the English Bible, have so trivial and childish a sound that there can be no question as to the propriety of their being altered.

EZEKIEL.

The subjects of this book are for the most part exceedingly mystical, and the phraseology is proportionately obscure in many parts. The Church of England has selected only nine chapters out of forty-eight to be read in her daily service—a proof that its topics were considered as much less edifying, for the most part, than that of the preceding prophets. Professor de Rossi's testimony may afford some idea of the difficulties of this book in the original, for he observes, that "there is so much inconsistency and variation among the manuscripts, especially in the suffixed pronouns, that he was weary of the labour of collation, and could more truly say of the whole book than Norzius did of one passage of Zachariah, 'my soul was perplexed with them, I turned away my face from them.'" Archbishop Newcome has removed some of the difficulties of this book, and a more complete and judicious collation of MSS., aided by the labours of Dr. Davidson, may yet do much for the improvement of the English text. But upon the whole we have noted fewer passages for correction in this than in either of the former books, and these of less importance. The following, which occur in the few additional lessons of the Church selected for Sunday reading (which do not appear to us, however, to be the best that might have been chosen for the purpose) we must notice in a very summary manner.

Ch. xiii. 18. "Kerchiefs upon the head of every stature to hunt souls." Ch. xiv. 4. "Stumbling block of his iniquity." Ch. xviii. 25. "Neither hath come near to a menstruous woman." Ch. xx. 25. "Statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live," instead of "statutes that were not profitable, and ordinances conducive to life." Ch. xx. 28. "The provocation of their offering," for "their provoking offering." ver. 47. "The flaming flame," for the violent flame, or raging flame, literally flame of flame, the Hebrew superlative.

DANIEL.

On this book also we find it unecessary to detain our readers with more than a few very cursory observations.

Ch. iii. 6. "A burning fiery furnace," for "a heated furnace of fire."

Ch. iii. 21. "Their coats, their hosen, and their hats." Words more expressive of oriental costume should be employed in conformity with all the modern usages of translation.

Ch. iii. 25. "Like the Son of God," for "a son of the Gods." The present translation makes the king say what he did not intend, *i. e.* according to the meaning usually affixed to the expression "the Son of God" in the Holy Scriptures.

Ch. v. 25. "Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin." A discrepancy exists between this and the verses following, and which ought to be corrected, as it is undoubtedly the result of some oversight, for the Septuagint and Vulgate read simply, "Mene, Tekel, Peres," as Daniel himself expounds it. Upharsin is merely the word Peres, with the conjunction ו prefixed and the plural termination added. But in our present version it reads as if it were quite a different word.

Ch. ix. 24—27. This prophecy of the "seventy weeks," as it is called, will need many emendations, whenever the present translation is revised, No less than thirty various readings in the Hebrew MSS. have been collected by Kennicott and De Rossi, and many of them of great importance.

It will be sufficient to refer to the amendments which have been proposed by Dr. Blayney, Faber, Houbigant, and others, on this passage; which must be regarded as one of the most remarkable prophecies of the Old Testament, but upon which it is impossible for the interpreters of prophecy to argue with any effect or advantage, until the precise meaning is more accurately given in some newly authorised version.

THE MINOR PROPHETS.

These books are so confessedly obscure and difficult in many passages, that it cannot be a matter of wonder to find many passages requiring correction, as they now stand in our Bible. Since the last revision of it, the learned bishops Pococke, Newcome, and Horsley, as well as other continental writers, have devoted much labour to clearing away the difficulties of the original: and those who should now undertake the work of improving the present English text would have a comparatively easy task. We must content ourselves, however, with a very small selection of passages in illustration of existing defects, having already exceeded the proposed limits of our sketch of examples from the Old Testament.

Hosea iv. 2. "Blood toucheth blood." A very ambiguous sentence, from its strictly copying the Hebrew idiom; though, if it had been thought necessary to retain it here, the literal rendering should be "bloods touch bloods." Nine readers out of ten would, we think, suppose these words to refer to murder, in the sense that "one murder begets another." And so it has been applied by some commentators. But a reference to the Targum of Jonathan may satisfy us that the true meaning applies to *incestuous intercourse*. Coverdale's Bible had, "one blood guiltiness followeth another." So Cranmer's and the Bishops'. The present rendering was adopted from the Genevan, and seems to sanction the principle that no sense is better than a good sense, if at all a doubtful one; a principle which would, if carried out, leave a very large number of passages in the New as well as the Old Testament, under the veil of the native idioms of the Bible.

Among all the writings left us of the minor prophets the Song of Habbakuk is to be regarded as the most beautiful and sublime. And it cannot but be matter of regret with many that the Church should not have added to her Sunday readings from this book, which is confined to a solitary chapter. Rivalling, however, as it does, some of the sublime strains of Isaiah, its beauties are somewhat impaired in several sentences. Of this the instances that follow are sufficient evidences.

Ch. iii. 4. "He had horns coming out of his hand," &c. Rather "rays of light proceeded from his hands, and *there* (that is, even in the splendour of these) his power was hidden."

Ch. iii. 9. "Thy bow was made quite naked;"—"Thy bow was made quite ready for action," *i. e.* "drawn out of its case." "According to the oaths of the tribes," in other words, declaring the purport of thy most solemn promises to the tribes of Israel. "Thou didst cleave the earth with rivers;" rather, "thou didst divide the streams of the great river of the land;" alluding to the passage of the Jordan.

Ch. iii. 10. "The overflowing of the water passed by." More properly, "the inundating waters swept along." An allusion to the rising of the waters of the Red Sea to overwhelm the Egyptians. "At the light of thine arrows they went, and at the shining of thy glittering spear." Better rendered thus, "In the continued light of these * thine arrows went forth. In the splendour of these, the lightning of thy spear."

Ch. iii. 13. "Thou woundest the head out of the house of the wicked by discovering the foundation unto the neck." A difficult verse, but which may be rendered with more perspicuity thus, "Thou hast wounded the head even unto the neck, belonging to the house of the wicked, by laying bare the foundation," viz. in the death of the first-born.

Ch. iii. 14. "Thou didst strike through with his staves the head of his villages." Instead of this confused sense we may understand the meaning to be, "Thou didst pierce through, in the midst of his tribes, the head of their warriors (Pharaoh)."

Ch. iii. 16. "My belly trembled," or, "my body," as before explained (see note on Psalm xxxi. 9). "My lips quivered at the voice," quivered while speaking. "Rottenness entered into my bones," or, "there was no strength left in my bones." And instead of the present rendering in the remaining clauses of the verse, we should read by a modification of Newcome and Green's versions, "because I would be at rest before the day of trouble; when the invader shall go up against the people, he will carry them away captive;" alluding to Nebuchadnezzar.

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* *i. e.* The sun and moon.

Haggai. ii. 7. "And the desire of all nations shall come." Although this text has usually been understood to refer to the Messiah in person, and to his advent, it is impossible to sustain such an idea in the passage; for in the Hebrew it is evidently nothing more than a parallel text to that in Isaiah lx. 7. So thought Professor Lee, whose opinion as expressed in his college lectures we happen to have recorded in our notes. We cannot, therefore, help regretting that the Hulsean Lecturer for 1846 should, in his admirable volume of sermons, have given additional countenance to a grammatical mistake as to the Hebrew text, when he entitled his volume, "Christ the Desire of all Nations," &c. It should be mentioned, however, in justice to the present translation, which reads "*desire*" for "*desirable things*," that it had the authority of the two older versions, the Genevan and Bishops' Bibles, as well as the Vulgate and the Targum, on its side. But the Septuagint, Syriac, and Arabic versions literally follow the exact meaning of the Hebrew text: and as no manuscript sanctions any other reading, and as it is plainly in strict conformity with the context, no biblical scholar could probably now be found who would acquiesce in the validity of this important rendering, "the *Desire* of all nations."

It will be seen from our remarks on this and former passages, that in translating such of them as may have been used to confirm or establish any doctrine, we consider it an indispensable duty to inquire into the correctness of the rendering, without regard to any doctrine, however valuable, with which such passages may seem to stand connected. It is now no time to attempt to prop up the truth upon insecure foundations. Happily for us, there is no doctrine or duty in the word of God which rests upon a single verse or two for its support; and therefore to build upon any doubtful passage what relates to our faith or practice, is only to betray the cause of truth into the hands of the sceptic or caviller. We shall have occasion to take these observations with us into that field of investigation which we shortly purpose to pursue through the pages of the New Testament.

ART. II.—*Histoire Critique des Doctrines Religieuses de la Philosophie Moderne.* Par CHRISTIAN BARTHOLMESS, Membre Correspondant de l'Institut, de l'Academie des Sciences de Berlin, de celle de Turin, &c. Paris: 1855.

WHETHER we feel inclined to acknowledge it or no, the *entente cordiale* between philosophy and theology is as distant as ever. In vain did Vincenzo Gioberti endeavour to bring it about; in vain has Victor Cousin proclaimed to the whole world the union of "the immortal sisters," who, according to M. Villemain's witty expression "*n'ont jamais fait bon ménage ensemble:*" we must not,—nay, we cannot if we would—remain blind to the fact that the respective claims of reason and revelation are still far from being settled. Some progress, however, has taken place lately in the views with which these conflicting claims are stated and acknowledged; and although both in England and elsewhere we see "newspaper-theologians"* describing as pantheism, neologism and rank infidelity, every effort of the human mind to discuss the great questions connected with its own nature, yet we are bound to recognise that a more charitable, a more christian spirit is gaining ground every day. The philosophers of the present day have, no doubt, often been led astray, especially in Germany, by their imagination, and by what the French call *l'esprit de système;* nor would we for a minute stand up in defence of all the doctrines they have propounded; but it is no use saying that "German-dreams" are not worth the slightest notice, and the very stir which these "dreams" have occasioned goes far to refute the pooh-pooh of certain parties who are interested in discountenancing anything like independent research and psychological analysis. It is therefore our purpose, with M. Bartholmèss as our guide, to examine a little into the religious doctrines of modern philosophy, and to ascertain how the principal schools of metaphysicians since Descartes have endeavoured to solve the various questions bearing upon the existence of God, the immortality of the soul, and, in short, what is generally designated as natural theology.

Without stopping at the introduction, in which our author has nobly pleaded the cause of philosophy against its assailants, we go on to examine the character he gives of Descartes, as the founder of a new system, and as the father of modern metaphysics. When we study a little closely the ideas prevailing at the present time amongst thinkers, and the explanations they give of the phenomena of the human mind, we cannot but be struck by the influence which Descartes still enjoys. Hegel was a Cartesian, and his celebrated axiom, "being and thought are identical," is an expression akin to the one of the Tourangeau philosopher, "The soul is a thinking substance." The best proof that Descartes propounded the true principles of spiritualism is to be found in the unsparing but at the same time unjust war waged against him, by a set of imprudent writers, whose *beau ideal* of a reform in the sphere of human science is the destruction of every spiritual element.* But, on the other hand, we assert with equal conviction, that the system of Descartes had its defects, defects which the philosopher himself was no doubt unconscious of, but which his disciples were not long in deducing from the master's works.

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* "Teologi di Gazette," says Gioberti.

"The principal of these defects," says M. Bartholmèss, "is the application of geometry to metaphysical subjects . . . . . Hence, amongst the Cartesian thinkers the ambition of assimilating throughout the exact sciences to speculative and moral studies,† hence even the useless attempt to make geometry sit as a kind of judge over the things of the soul and of God. This way of considering spiritual life could lead to nothing else but an excessive spiritualism. The notions of thought, transformed into a kind of mathematical element compared to the geometrical point, became not only *the* power absorbing all our other faculties, the will included; not only the sole substance of our soul; but God himself, considered in his intimate, immutable and universal nature. It was God, because it was deemed the *ultima ratio* of all things, the generating principle of every being, the great root of every development. Thought was the invisible subject of all attributes, of all modes of existence; it was, in short, the ever identical principle of qualities and motions, quantities and perfections of every possible kind."

Descartes, no doubt, did not draw the conclusion we have just now stated, and which, as M. Bartholmèss truly says, from its very clearness, bears a suspicious look about it: but it is nevertheless inherent to his method; it is, in plain language, the identification with thought, both of the creation and the Creator. So extravagant an idealism as this could not but lead sooner or later to a reaction, ending in the deification of matter. In considering the state of public opinion in Europe, at the time when Descartes gave out his famous "*cogito, ergo sum,*" we see that his new philosophy was a protest against the scepticism then rendered so popular by the writings of Montaigne, Charron and Sanchez. The great blunder committed by the Cartesian school has been to detach the axiom from the *ensemble* of the system, and to adduce it singly, as the summary of all science and the key to all knowledge; and certainly this was giving the most distorted view of human nature by suppressing at once its noblest parts—the feelings and the affections.

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* As a remarkable instance we would refer the reader to M. Feuerbach's works, more especially his "*Theses for the Reform of Philosophy.*" 1842.

† Mathematico habitu vestire. *Leibnitz.*

> "The intellect, vast, capacious, quick as we may imagine it, is not the whole of the *me*. To think, to know, to understand, is not the same as to love, to obey, to resist. 'How great,' says Pascal, 'is the distance between knowing God and loving him!' Shall we venture to maintain that the most learned man, he whose powers of observation are the greatest, whose conceptions are the boldest, is, *ipso facto*, the best of human beings, gifted with the most honest heart, the noblest moral character, the holiest soul? These two classes of facts are as wide apart from one another as error and falsehood, illusion and hypocrisy of sophistry. If the *thought of thought*, to speak like Aristotle, is not the *soul of the soul*, to use Fénélon's expression, it is still less *the will of the will* . . . . . We go further than this; to think is not identical with to know . . . . The real and final purpose of life, *ultima vivendi causa*, is in the love of what is right, the fulfilment of duty, the happy union with the Author of all good, and the Legislator of all duty; that is to say, in a series of voluntary and personal efforts, or, in other words, in moral progress. To think merely for the purpose of thinking is the task and the delight of all those whose vocation is to study or to teach logic and metaphysics: but for the majority it would be a mistake, honourable, it is true, and sometimes brilliant; in the greater number of cases it would degenerate into an infirmity, a species of disease."—*Bartholmèss, Doctrines Religieuses*, I. pp. 23, *et seq.*

The above extract, which gives an excellent idea of our author's abilities as a critic, strikes us as containing the best statement of grievances against Descartes. The founder of a metaphysical school is certainly not responsible for the vagaries of his followers; and we might with equal propriety, as in fact M. de Maistre did not hesitate to do, visit upon Bacon and Locke the materialism of Lamettrie, if we were to include, under the same condemnation, Descartes and Hegel; but the circumstance only proves how unable our fallen understanding is, when left to itself, to grapple with the whole truth, when even those whom we consider as beacons in the world of thought are so far from apprehending it in its completeness.

Next to Descartes, Leibnitz is, perhaps, the philosopher whose influence has told the most upon modern views of natural theology; and accordingly M. Bartholmèss supplies us with a careful analysis of his doctrines. We have seen the *Discours de la Méthode* taking abstract thought as the groundwork, the principle of our faith. Leibnitz adopts a less bold, but by far a safer course, in proclaiming the axiom, *fides ex intellectu sensuque*. "He does not expose us to the danger of confounding God and thought; of sacrificing to abstract thought man, nay, even God himself." Entering the lists in turn against Locke's sensualist deism, the pantheistic ideas of Spinosa, and the scepticism of Bayle, he presented himself, not so much as the originator of a new system, but rather as a kind of arbitrator or judge whose mission it was to attempt a conciliation between conflicting parties. The optimism of Leibnitz, his monadologie, his views of the existence and attributes of God, have been attacked on various grounds with no slight acrimony during the last few years. It is scarcely surprising that Bossuet's correspondent should be consigned to the *index expurgatorius* of modern sages by men such as M. Feuerbach, on account of his anthropomorphist theology, and his *bêtises;* but to accuse him of temerity, as some do, and to class him amongst the forlorn hope of metaphysicians, is an exaggeration so ridiculous that it may be dismissed with a bare mention. We are rather inclined to adopt the view of M. Bartholmèss, when he finds in Leibnitz a philosopher who did not apprehend with sufficient clearness the character of God as creator. Constantly hesitating between Aristotle and St. Augustine, he describes the Almighty to us rather as the legislator, the architect, the arranger of the universe, than as its maker.

"And yet," says M. Bartholmèss, "between these two ideas there is a striking difference. The architect, the geometrician, the artist does not produce the material which he organises and places in a certain order. He is even compelled to respect their secret constitution, their fundamental dispositions; he must act in accordance with the nature of matter and the internal relations of movement. If the artist commands, it is only because he is bound to obey. The architect of the world is neither independent nor all-powerful. To the supreme, the free Creator alone belongs the character which stamps exclusively an absolute initiative and sole cause. Before Him alone we see vanishing the conception of primitive matter, whether we consider it as deprived of every species of form and quality, or as already endowed with certain properties. If we admit the idea of a creator, we are thereby compelled to reject also the idea of any antecedent relation whatever between the parts of this original matter. Nothing having existed before Him, He alone has given a beginning to the world, not only in arranging it, but in calling it into existence, in producing both matter and motion."—*Bartholmèss*, vol. i. p. 96.

The above clear and accurate distinction between the idea of "creator" and that of mere "architect," explains sufficiently the defects of the theodicy propounded by Leibnitz. It was in fact the weakest part in his system, together with the celebrated doctrine of *pre-established harmony*, which is nothing else but the destruction of human liberty. And yet, in spite of all this, the Leibnitzian theories may be said to have prevailed more or less in Germany up to 1781, when Kant began to sway the metaphysical sceptre. They were religious in their character, so sober, so clear! The explanation they gave of final causes was so magnificent a commentary on the wonders of the universe! Accordingly Wolff, Reimarus, Mendelssohn and the legion of philosophers who attempted during that interval to analyse the laws of thought, or to explain the connexion between man and his maker, did hardly anything else besides illustrating, developing, and otherwise expounding the system of Leibnitz.

But whilst an elegant school of spiritualists were thus endeavouring to strengthen, on the other side of the Rhine, the principles of Christian theism, views of a totally different kind were daily gaining ground in France. About the year 1750 the grossest materialism had taken possession of the native country of Malebranche, Pascal and Bossuet. Helvetius defined thought to be a "secretion of the brain," and wrote on the subject of "mind," (*l'esprit*) a book which called forth the following epigram:—

"Admirez tous cet auteur là,
Qui *de l'Esprit* intitula
Un livre qui n'est que matière."

After all the works which have been published in the eighteenth century, beginning with M. de Barante's brilliant *tableau*, and ending with M. Bungener's melodramatic sketches, it would be almost superfluous to attempt here another critical appreciation of Voltaire and Rousseau. The philosopher of Ferney, as a deist, forms a remarkable contrast to the phalanx headed by Diderot; but we are quite of M. Bartholmèss' opinion, that, viewed in the most favourable light, Voltaire's doctrines cannot be accepted without the greatest caution. Although spiritualist in their essence, they reject the immortality of the soul; they recognise a God wise, powerful, and just; but, on the other hand, they are impregnated with a distressing pessimism; lastly, whilst the writer stands up as the maintainer of social order, and as the champion of justice in the affairs of men, he is blind enough not to perceive that the destruction of Christianity which he has undertaken would drive away from this world the principles he advocates with so much spirit.

Voltaire reigned over the intellect of mankind; Rousseau established the seat of his dominion in the heart, and this is perhaps the reason why his writings are fraught with so much danger to those who approach them unguardedly. The worship of feeling was the religious code promulgated by "le vicaire Savoyard." "I feel God," quoth he, "*ergo*, God exists;" and thousands accepted this specious creed, not perceiving that the religious phenomenon thus presented becomes, not a primary fact, but a consequent, the antecedent of which is supplied by the reason or the will. M. Bartholmèss clearly explains that, after all, reason so much disparaged by Rousseau is evidently the substratum of his system. It is reason which makes him discover the law of final causes in the universe and in man. With the help of reason he is led to conclude that the free agency of man is not destroyed by the dogma of God's omnipotence, and that the mortality of the body proves nothing against the immortality of the soul. We might go on with this enumeration, and accumulate examples to show that Rousseau's deism was merely an obscure, ill-defined species of sentimental rationalism, which could produce only, as far as practice went, an equivocal piety, dreamy, effete, full of sophisms and illusions.

Notwithstanding the intellectual activity which characterized the eighteenth century, especially in France, there was no thinker of sufficient authority to take his position as a leader in the world of speculation. Theology had died with Bossuet, and philosophy with Leibnitz. Condillac, Wolff, Mendelssohn were too weak to command the attention of the multitude. What an opportunity for scepticism! Hume was too sagacious to let it slip; and, finding that the metaphysical camp had no rallying point, he attempted to drive it from the ground altogether. Not satisfied with refuting Locke on the one side, and the religious moralists on the other, he denied the validity of metaphysical philosophy *in toto*. The fourth book of the *Doctrines Religieuses* is taken up with a careful examination both of this uncompromising scepticism and of the reaction carried on by Thomas Reid, Beattie and Dugald Stewart, from the stand-point of common sense.

A careful study of the principles maintained by the last-named writers, will convince every one that in spite of the best intentions possible they were not fit to grapple with their shrewd adversary. The prominence which Kant occupies, by universal consent, as a *chef d'école,* and as the father of modern metaphysics, arises from the fact that he fully understood how thoroughly a reform was needed in philosophy after the work of destruction accomplished by the cyclopædists. Indeed, everything had to be erected over again; nothing but ruins covered the ground.

"Descartes had proved, against Bacon, that ideas acquired through the medium of the senses are uncertain. Locke had maintained, in opposition to Descartes, that there is no such thing as innate ideas. Against Locke, Leibnitz had shown that if the senses help in the development of the innate principles within us, the great proportion of our knowledge is derived from the intellect. Lastly, Hume, attacking indiscriminately all the dogmatists who had preceded him, asserted that our various notions are equally uncertain; and that before going farther, we should submit to a new study the faculties of the mind, in order to discover their laws and their principles, and to determine the extent of their power."*

This was precisely the task which Kant accomplished, and the nature of the circumstances amidst which he made his appearance explains both the character of his system and its defects. He established a subjective or transcendental idealism, but it was an idealism which led to scepticism; and the philosopher of Kœnigsberg, although starting as the avowed antagonist of Hume, deserved the name of Prussian Hume, which his countryman Hamann gave him.

"The phenomenon which the English sceptic had endeavoured to explain by habit, the principle of causality for instance, are in Kant's theory interpreted through the categories of understanding. On the one side, it is true, we find a fortuitous inclination; on the other, we meet with necessary dispositions; but Kant's categories have no more objective value than Hume's hypothesis; they are equally deficient when they attempt to explain to us the nature of things, of the word, or of God. Both systems, therefore, are pregnant with similar errors. Hume perceives everywhere phenomena without substance, effects without cause; less superficial, Kant grants that by virtue of our intellectual constitution, phenomena must unavoidably suppose a substance, and effects be connected with a cause; but between being and modes of being, between effects and their causes he supposes so wide a distance, that his opinion could not but end in something very much like Hume's absolute pyrrhonism."—*Barth.* vol. i. p. 331.

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* Matter, Histoire de la Philosophie dans ses Rapports avec la Religion.

The system of Kant, which we do not attempt to examine here, may therefore be defined as purely idealistic. The philosopher of Königsberg lived long enough to see it modified to such an extent, that he might well say, "God preserve us from our friends!" Kant had asserted that thought produces thought; according to Fichte, thought produces being, the universe, and God. This philosophical edifice, by its apparent grandeur, by the harmony of the different parts which compose it, by the regular and unbroken sequence of the logical proportions, may at the first sight strike us as almost faultless; but on the contrary, as M. Bartholmèss truly says, the problems which it starts are far more numerous than those which it solves. The first desideratum in philosophy, according to Fichte, is the discovery of a supreme and independent principle, superior to all human science, whilst it guarantees its validity and imparts to it systematic cohesion, unity, and *absoluity*. But what is science, if not the work of the human mind? What other principle, therefore, can it have, except the very principle of human activity, the pure *me?*

Fichte, consequently, starts with the axiom that the *me* asserts, first, itself; then, as a natural result, the *non-me*, which limits the *me* and awakens its consciousness. Here we find, from the distinction just stated, a real contradiction between the *me* and the *non-me;* in order to make this disappear the human mind accomplishes a third act; it resolves and absorbs in a supreme *me* both terms of the opposition, the divisible *me* and the indivisible *non-me.*

We must really beg our reader's pardon for all this metaphysical jargon, but we could hardly avoid making use of it in discussing Fichte's system; and the system itself is worth a careful examination, on account chiefly of the results it has produced in the hands of subsequent theorists. If the *me* then, according to the view we are now criticising, asserts the *non-me,* if it produces even the things which become its antagonists, we must conclude that the *me* is everything; it is both subject and object. The consequences of such a system are extremely serious, especially as bearing upon the nature and character of God, and upon the whole doctrines of natural theology. We shall quote again from M. Bartholmèss:—

"The first article of this faith is, that there can be no Infinite Being. The infinite, says Fichte, is so far from being something individual, that if we make a distinct being of it we fall into naturalism, into atheism. Whoever can mistake the absolute for a person has altogether eliminated it from his own person. The absolute cannot be found out of man. Each man should have it within himself; each one should 'live the absolute.'* In the same manner we arrive at idolatry and materialism when we conceive God as a substance. The notion of substance can only have reference to space. Lastly, we change God into man, when we ascribe to him self-consciousness. The limited individuality of man alone can have the feeling of personality. If the *me* is essentially active, there can be no other absolute than the term itself of all activity, viz. moral order. Moral order, such is the only true deity; all the rest is anthropomorphism. Thus nothing is more absurd than to trace back moral order to a generating cause. From a cause only contingent things proceed. The law of events, that law by virtue of which the accomplishment of duty brings happiness in its train, such is God."—*Barth.* vol. i. pp. 394, 395.

Fichte's great pretension was that of simplicity; he had aimed at proving that all things are derived from one and the same principle; yet after all he was obliged to admit, in spite of himself, a duality, which brought him into contradiction with his own views. Spinosa, centuries before, after asserting that there is only one substance possible, and always identical to itself, was led to distinguish between the attribute of thought and the attribute of extent; in the same manner Fichte begins by declaring that the *me* is pure activity, and can be nothing else; then he distinguishes between the *me* commanding the *non-me*, and the *me* commanded by the *non-me*, and he goes so far as to assert that the power of the *non-me* over the *me* is sometimes irresistible and inconceivable. This is only one of the many features which the psychological idealism of Fichte and ontological system of Spinosa have in common.

But we must hasten on to the second volume of the work before us. It opens with a short sketch of the religious opposition which manifested itself in Germany, both against the last upholders of the ancient theistical opinions maintained during the eighteenth century, and also against the new system of metaphysics we have just now been attempting to describe. The opposition alluded to broke out under two forms, and whilst the university of Tübingen, represented by Storr and Flatt, took up its position exclusively on the ground of revealed religion; another group, less numerous, but characterized by views more original, endeavoured to direct against the popular systems of the day the objections derived from a refined system of philosophical mysticism. Hamann, Herder, and Jacobi, were the chief leaders of that reaction. M. Bartholmèss has described with perfect accuracy the influence which these three illustrious thinkers had, and the differences which gave to each his peculiar usefulness in the task of regenerating philosophy.

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* Fichte's Complete Works, vol. v. p. 179; vol. viii. p. 371.

We come to the great epoch in contemporary German metaphysics, to that transition period marked by the rehabilitation of Spinosism. A careful study of this new development is, to us, a subject of the highest interest, for it is one which has taken place within the memory of most amongst us, and we have been enabled to see the practical fruits derived by our own generation, from the rapid growth of pantheistic doctrines. On grappling with this part of his subject, M. Bartholmèss in the first place answers the question, who was Spinosa? What was his doctrine? How far was it amenable to criticism? What was the secret of its unsoundness? So many people in the present day are wont to pass judgment upon the philosopher of Amsterdam, without having the slightest notion of the theories they condemn, that the sooner they study M. Bartholmèss' *Renaissance du Spinosisme,* chap. I., the better. No one who reads this remarkable *morceau* will complain that the author has not been severe enough, but every one must admire the calmness, the impartiality, the soundness of his critique. We would particularly point out the passage in which the similarity between the doctrines of Hobbes and those of Spinosa, as far as the notion of liberty is concerned, is illustrated and accounted for. Like the disciples of the materialist school, Spinosa denies the existence of liberty, for he makes it consist sometimes in the acceptation of the rank which each being occupies necessarily in the order of things; sometimes in the ready submission, not to the will of God, but to the irresistible power of natural forces. Spinosa had placed in God the source of truth and of perfection; nevertheless, like the materialists, he does not hesitate to propose self-preservation as the only end of our existence. He sees in man a *mode* of the eternal reason; and yet he explains the workings of the mind by the movements of the body. In spite of the greatest skill in the construcion of his system, Spinosa, in short, is continually oscillating between mysticism and naturalism, between idealism and materialism.

The revival of such a system at the present day is certainly, as M. Bartholmèss says, one of the most extraordinary events of the nineteenth century; but it may be accounted for chiefly as a logical development of the idealism first introduced by Kant. The Königsberg metaphysician had constructed a sort of semi-sceptical idealism; Fichte had given to these views a more positive character; Hegel and Schelling shaped them into a thoroughly dogmatic form. The *renaissance* of Spinosism took place simultaneously on almost every point of the intellectual horizon; for whilst master-minds were busily engaged in propagating it from all the metaphysical lecture-rooms in Germany, Göthe was leavening literature with it, the Schlegels building upon it a theory of æsthetics, and Schleiermacher introducing it under a modified form in the Christian pulpit.

The philosophy of Schelling, so well known by that mysterious title, the *philosophy of the absolute*, underwent various alterations, the latest of which proved that the author was becoming gradually more and more influenced by the truths of Christianity; but the theory which is generally known as the philosophy of the absolute, is assuredly one of the most distressing doctrines ever conceived by human knowledge, falsely so called. Schelling energetically disclaimed the designation, pantheist; he pretended that if the God of Spinosa and of Fichte was an impersonal being—nothing, in short, but nature, sometimes viewed as an agent, and sometimes as acted upon; if it was the *natura naturans* and the *natura naturata* of Spinosa,—he pretended, we say, that his own doctrine asserted the notions of a personal deity—the living unity of all the forces in the universe. This is true enough; but then it is of very little use proclaiming the personality of God, if at the same time other attributes are admitted which destroy that personality; and besides, the charge of pantheism is still perfectly applicable to a theory which annihilates, as Schelling's does, the individual immortality and the responsibility of man.

After having examined Schelling's metaphysical structure, M. Bartholmèss reviews in succession, first, the developments given to that doctrine by Oken, Blasche, Schubert, Steffens, and Baader; secondly, the various writers who, although borrowing from the master the chief articles of their literary and æsthetic creed, cannot be said to have been his immediate continuators; such were Novalis, Solger, Frederic Schlegel, and Schleiermacher. The name of the last-mentioned divine, his works and his opinions, have lately been so frequently brought before the public, that we need only refer our readers to M. Bartholmèss for a critique which will give them a complete synopsis of the doctrines held by him, whom some consider as the greatest divine since the days of Calvin. We may just add, however, that there was in Schleiermacher's idiosyncrasy as much of the mystic as of the dialectician, and it is precisely the mystical character of his theology which brought upon him the fierce attacks of Hegel. Schleiermacher had said, "the more I feel my dependence upon God, the more I feel my salvation." "If we admit this principle," exclaimed Hegel, "it follows that the dog is the best of all Christians; for he has the keenest perception of his dependant state, and when his hunger is appeased by the bone thrown at him, he enjoys the consciousness of salvation."* This piece of witticism, which is neither smart nor in good taste, only proves what we knew long before, viz., that a man may be a master-mind, and capable, like another admirable Crighton, of discussing *de omni re scibili*, and yet be deeply ignorant as far as spiritual things are concerned. We know, of course, one sense in which dependence and servility are interchangeable terms, but can we apply this expression to that state which is described as the liberty of the children of God?

There was a time when the German romantic school in literature and æsthetics was considered as commissioned to perform a great work of regeneration. What exploits were not expected from the Schlegels, Ludwig Tieck, Hoffmann, *e tutti quanti?* How rabid an onslaught Ludwig Bœrne, Menzel and Henreich Heine made upon Göethe and Schiller! We are now speaking of a movement which took place not so very long ago; it obtained for a short time the popularity which almost invariably greets at its birth every movement on a track far from the common road; but in literature, as well as in religion and in metaphysics, that sort of sentimental aspiration to which the name of romantic was applied, has already disappeared, and the speculatists who are now, as the French would say, masters of the situation, belong to a school totally different from that of Schelling.

Chronological sequence brings us, with M. Bartholm ss, to Hegel, the great metaphysician who, considered by some almost as the Messiah of the nineteenth century, has been on the contrary denounced by others as the author of all the mischief which has visited the political world on the continent of Europe during the last twenty years. The chapter on Hegel is, we think, one of the best in the work we are now examining, and M. Bartholmèss has done ample justice to a man who, with all his errors, was certainly a thinker of no mean capacity. Hegel had established his theodicy on a notion of God, which by confounding the subject and the substance resolved itself into a subtle modification of pantheism. His disciples went farther; some of them, at least; for a complete schism soon took place amongst the numerous enthusiasts who had enlisted under the banner of transcendentalism. Whilst a small knot merely contented themselves with commenting Hegel's writings, a second subdivision endeavoured to conciliate the doctrines these writings contain with the theism of Jacobi, Fichte, Kant or Schelling; and the majority, represented by MM. Feuerbach, Max Stirner, and Bruno Bauer, rejecting altogether the idea of a personal God, transcendent to, yet manifesting himself in the development of nature and the progress of history, proclaimed the Deity to be *immanent*, that is to say, embodied in nature, in humanity, and frankly confessed that true philosophy consists in the deification either of man or of the physical agencies of nature. M. Bartholmèss explains with great minuteness the formation of Hegelianism, its rise, its growth, the reasons which naturally led to a schism between its principal members, and he brings his survey of modern German philosophy to a close, leaving us to meditate on the sad results of a system which aims at the destruction of all that is noble, all that is cheering in our views, both of the present and the future. One thing is especially noteworthy in the movement now going on, on the other side of the Rhine; and that is the frankness with which the leaders of that movement confess their views, and state their aspirations. "Hegel and Oken," a writer remarks, "may be translated into materialism, but they would have repudiated such translation." Feuerbach and Vogt require no translation. They leave no hazy metaphysical equivoque hanging over their conclusions. "The brain," says Vogt, "secretes thought, just as the kidneys secrete urea." This is plain speaking, certainly. Then, we find as a practical illustration to the above singular proposition, that when, in 1854, at a congress of physiologists at Göttingen, the question was discussed of an immaterial principle superadded to the brain, "among five hundred persons present, *not one single* voice was raised in favour of the spiritualist tendency, although many illustrious naturalists were in the crowd."

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* Rosenkranz, Life of Hegel, pp. 346, *et seq.*

The latter part of M. Bartholmèss' second volume is decidedly out of proportion with the first; it strikes us, besides, as being essentially incomplete. Under the title

Reaction Religieuse du Midi, we find a chapter on modern French philosophy, and another on the metaphysics of Italy. We would humbly ask our author why he gives us no sketch of English speculation since the days of Dugald Stewart? A chapter on Coleridge and his school was absolutely necessary in an account of the religious doctrines of modern philosophy; and the revival of Neo-platonism by Professor Maurice and Mr. Kingsley is a fact so full of significance, that we wonder how M. Bartholmèss could have left it unnoticed. There was also something to be said about the state of metaphysical speculation in America; Channing, Emerson, and their followers claim some *compte-rendu*, and we hope that in a second edition of his excellent work, our author will supply the deficiency we have ventured to point out.

But there is a country which, as far as metaphysical research goes, has been very little studied, and which nevertheless has produced writers of no ordinary talent. We allude to Italy. After the philosophical revolution of the seventeeth century, Italy was not one of the localities in which Cartesianism was most extensively cultivated, and where the *Discours de la Methode* was received with the greatest admiration. The Italian writers confined themselves to practical questions, and they carefully avoided speculations on points of psychology or theodicy, as bordering too much upon the ground which the church reserves for itself. The greatest metaphysician which Italy could boast of during the last century was Vico, whose *Scienza Nuova* is a most valuable contribution to the philosophy of history. At the present day it has been the aim of all the Italian philosophers to prove that reason and revelation cannot have any power independently of one another, and to build up a new system of Christian philosophy. That is the idea which has suggested the numerous works of Rosmini-Serbati, and Vincenzo Gioberti. In spite of some minor differences, these two illustrious men take for their common motto the scholastic maxim, *fides quœrens intellectum;* and they profess, in the midst of all their speculations, the utmost deference for the authority of the Holy See. More independent in his writings, Terenzio Mamiani maintains that the claims of reason are superior to canonical decisions, and for this assertion, which, although extraordinary in the latitude of Rome or Naples, would be esteemed amongst us tame enough, he is denounced as an atheist by Padre Ventura, whilst Bonavino, an ex-priest who endeavoured to gather a congregation of Transalpine worshippers around the altars of *humanism*, accuses him of superstition. In the present state of the Italian peninsula, when political disquietude and general misgivings seem to forebode revolutions more serious perhaps than those we have lately witnessed, there is little time allowed by political preoccupations for the calm pursuits of study, and the investigation of the laws of thought. Gioberti and Rosmini are both gone, and with them seems to have disappeared the intellectual movement which originated with the "young-Italy" party. Let us therefore cross the Alps and see how it fares with metaphysics in the land of Descartes, Malebranche and Condillac.

The chapter devoted by M. Bartholmèss to the contemporary French metaphysics, is a mere *résumé,* complete so far as it goes, and written with the most creditable impartiality; but we think that it is a great deal too concise, especially when we compare it with the detailed analysis the author gives us of the German systems. M. Bartholmèss, in describing the consequences and the character of what is commonly called *the* philosophy of the eighteenth century in France, viz, the school of Condillac, has proved that this school was by no means in exclusive possession of the ground. Whilst the *idéologues* of the Auteuil-society, the Volneys, the Condorcets, the Destutt de Tracys were preaching the renovation of society by means of axioms borrowed from sensualistic doctrines, whilst Cabanis and Broussais advocated even the grossest materialism, they found adversaries quite capable of criticising their specious sophistries, and of exposing all the deficiencies of a system which, powerful as a dissolvent, and useful in attacking superstition, had not succeeded in raising any superstructure upon the ruins with which France was then covered. M. de Bonald, M. de Maistre, and Saint Martin, *le philosophe inconnu,* have affixed their names to productions full of sound views, although their ideas of Christianity seem to us rather to suffer from the ultramontane bias in the two former, and from theosophic reveries in the latter. M. Cousin, M. de Lamennais, M. Laromiguière, the materialist school of MM. Comte and Littré, and the pantheistico-socialist theories of M. Leroux, are judged by M. Bartholmèss with a sagacity which cannot sufficiently be praised.

And now we must very reluctantly take our leave of the *Histoire Critique des Doctrines Religieuses de la Philosophie Moderne.* By way of summing up our review of this work, we would recommend it to the studious reader, more especially as not being a one-sided book, a party book. It is neither a revolutionary panegyric of human reason, such as

M. Lanfrey would perhaps write, nor yet a rabid denunciation of philosophy such as M. Louis Veuillot would certainly produce. M. Bartholmèss believes that the search after metaphysical truth is one of the legitimate uses of those intellectual faculties which have been bestowed upon us by God, and he cannot see how such a study, when properly conducted, can lead to atheism or irreligion. This is just our own opinion. It is a pleasant thing to find that M. Bartholmèss, a Protestant, a man of piety and of real faith, has taken up his position as the champion of philosophy, at a time when metaphysical science is honoured with a sentence of proscription by two opposite parties in France—the materialists of the Feuerbach school, on the one side, and the votaries of Ultramontanism on the other. If we are rightly informed, the avowedly Protestant and spiritualist tendency of the *Histoire des Doctrines* has created amongst the members of the *Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, to which M. Bartholmèss belongs, an unmistakeable opposition. Alas! and to think that with a few honourable exceptions, the French spiritualist writers, whom we remember as *the* teachers twenty years ago, should now have surrendered either to positivism or to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary! The deplorably low ebb to which French literature has sunk is an object of universal notice and of universal regret. But can it be otherwise, when men whose talent has marked out for them the foremost place amongst the educators of the present generation, a Nisard, a Sainte-Beuve, a Leverrier parade unblushingly before the world that want of principle, that servility, that moral degradation which forms the saddest contrast with their intellectual powers? We can hardly feel astonished that such men are ashamed to see in the midst of them either Bartholmèss or the learned historian of Gnosticism, M. Matter. Under the present régime, and whilst, as the *Examiner* said the other day, *Tartuffe s'en-va-t-en guerre*, the French Protestants are nearly the only fraction of the community that have tenaciously clung to independence of thought, and boldly asserted it. As the times go, this is no slight merit.

Art. III.—1. *Bacon's Novum Organum and Advancement of Learning.* London: Bohn.
2. *Baumgarten's Apostolic History.* Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark.
3. *Israel in the World; or, the Mission of the Hebrews to the great Military Monarchies.* By W. H. Johnstone, M.A. London: Shaw.
4. *Humboldt's Cosmos.* London: Bohn.
5. *On the Origin of Civilization.* A Lecture by His Grace the Archbishop of Dublin. London: Nisbet.

THERE is apparently no closer connexion between the volumes above enumerated than in a bundle of old plays, pamphlets, and sermons, stitched together and laid by as learned lumber. They seem as ill-assorted as the books collected and sent out to the Crimea, when racing calendars and unsaleable sermons, five-act original tragedies and cast-off library novels, were bestowed on the principle with which the host in Horace loaded his friend on departing, with pears: "Take them, I pray you; if not, to-morrow they must be thrown to the pigs."

We must pray our readers to be patient while we endeavour to trace out the filament of thought which connects together authors so various, and extending over so many departments. Restitution is the thread of connexion we propose to trace through the labyrinth of so many minds. Had the subject been definitely handled in the sense we understand it by one or two well-known writers, we might have dismissed the rest, and concentrated our criticism on them. But this is not so. Not that in theology proper there is any novelty in the subject of restitution. Origen's opinions are well known, and from his day to ours universalism, or "God's general amnesty," has re-appeared in one form or another from time to time.

Of restitution as a form of universalism we have nothing here to say. Redemption, we hold, is properly of persons, and restitution only of things. To distinguish—the Church is redeemed, and the world will be restored. They cannot be confounded together. It is improper to speak of the restitution of persons. Thus Mr. Bailey, the author of "Festus," a better poet than philosopher, attempts to describe the transformation of Satan, at a word of forgiveness, into a happy, holy spirit. But this exorcism of evil, Satan casting out Satan, does not succeed; the sublime falls into the ridiculous, and instead of the grand conflict of good and evil, Satan with blasted brow, defiant though in pain, proud though subdued, a transformation is seen light as Harlequin, and frivolous as if good and evil were a French *ballet des anges*.

To dismiss at once such universalist schemes of restitution with the distinct admission, *in limine*, that we know of no restitution save as springing out of redemption, and that we know of no redemption but by faith in the Son of God incarnate and crucified, we proceed to ascertain in what other sense restitution may be understood.

Restitution is the Christian theory of human progress, and the true philosophy of history. At a loss for a better name we will call it Meliora, or the upward working of things since the Fall. It is either a theory, a sentiment, or a creed, according as men are philosophers, poets, or divines.

Thus it is the song of the poet: it is Tennyson's "increasing purpose," which enlarges with the cycle of the suns; it is a "ringing out the darkness of the land," a "ringing in the Christ that is to be;" it is Charles Mackay's "good time coming;" and all the poets, major and minor, from the Laureate downwards, have sung of those days. The tone of their vaticinations is better, that is, less heathenish, than those of our so-called Augustan age. It is not the well-known prophecy of Virgil thrown into an ode like "the Messiah" of Pope. It is better than this, because it depicts a triumph of good over evil, a reign of right in the place of one of might; it is not a millennium of plenty, a dispensation of Bacchus and Ceres, but one of the family rights respected, and a man more precious than a wedge of the gold of Ophir. It cannot be denied that there is a fine Christian tone in these hopes of the poets, and for this reason we set them down as one of the three classes interested in Meliora.

Restitution, again, is a theory of human progress; it is the true philosophy of history. There are eminent historians who have thought that the differences of mankind must end in agreement; that Meliora will become Optima; that deterioration of race is partial and exceptive, and progress continual and increasing; and that as the starting point of man, in a state of nature, is the naked smeared savage, as the starting point of science is brute sensation and appetite, and fetichism the starting point of the absolute religion, so the goal of all these is human perfectibility.

A theory of human progress has thus been constructed which must end in error, because it sets out with two wrong assumptions. The first is, that man's state of nature is the savage. But who ever heard of the savage reclaiming himself? Recent research has shown that savages, so far from advancing, continually deteriorate. Thus Mr. Taylor, in his "Te-ika-a-Maui," recently published, writes, "The New Zealander has retrograded even since the days of Cook; they had large double canoes decked with houses on them, similar to those of Tahiti and Hawaii, in which traditionally some of their ancestors came. It is now nearly fifty years since the last was seen. Tradition also states that they had finer garments in former days, and of different kinds; that like their reputed ancestors they made cloth from the bark of trees; the name is preserved, but the manufacture has ceased. There are remains also in the language which lead us to suppose that, like the inhabitants of Tonga, they once possessed a kingly form of government." Again, of their language, "its fulness, its richness, its close affinity, not only in words, but grammar, to the Sanscrit, carry us back to the time when literature could not have been unknown." Mr. Taylor well remarks, in summing up these proofs of degeneracy, "like a ship in a storm which is compelled to be lightened, the richest wares are thrown overboard, one bale follows another, the least required for the preservation of life go first, and those only which are essential are preserved." The second false assumption is, that man, setting out from the zero of the savage state, advances of himself linearly forward towards perfection. Progressive tendencies only are taken into account, the retrograde effects of sin are left out of view. The forward movements of society are spiral, not linear. Were man what he ought to be, he would proceed as if along the axis of the spiral, as it is while there is a forward movement; on the whole he may be said to gyrate so between good and evil, that the progress is sometimes scarcely perceptible. The key to a knowledge of man's history is the fall in Adam. Restitution, then, or the philosophy of history, must stand on a religious basis or not at all.

Once and again, indeed, philosophy catches a gleam of light on man's purpose and mission, but it is at once dispelled by a cross glare of false science. Thus Humboldt, who lacked but one thing to make him the philosopher of history, the decipherer of the alphabet of thought and progress, touches the true solution and again glances off. Thus he writes, "watching a wretched group of Indians squatting stupidly round their fires, besmeared with grease and paint, and devouring ants and clay, that *were it not for science,* *which teaches us that such is the crude material of humanity,* he should look on these as the last degraded remnants of a fallen and dying race." Would that Humboldt had known that the sentiment he was here giving way to was the truth; the science he drew back upon, the lie. His feelings caught at the spiral theory of human progress, his philosophy flung him back on the linear. The Orpheus of philosophy had almost charmed back the lost Eurydice of religious restitution; but one glance back to the cold pit of science, and she was gone.

There is a third class of restitutionists—the religious. Their authority for this doctrine is the sure Word of God. Prophecy has predicted that a time is coming when the long-protracted strife between good and evil, holiness and sin, will be at last decided, when righteousness shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.

There is a passage in the "Restoration of Belief" which expresses the Christian doctrine of restitution in language as noble as the subject is elevated:—

> "I look forward to a time when national distinctions of race, language, and geographical location shall continually be melting away, at least so far as they may ultimately be obstructive of the brotherhood of the human family. That centralization—apart from universal *empire*—which a true understanding of the conditions of social well-being tends to bring about, and which it is now in course of bringing about, is, I think, embraced or implied throughout the prophetic writings. On the same grounds I look for a future time, when right for the many, or, better expressed, when right for all, shall be the sovereign and irresistible principle in every community. As to right for the *many* it has taken to itself a conventional meaning which differs little, if at all, from a periodic overthrow of society, such as may give the undermost class their time of plunder. But right for *all*, means social *stability;* and this one idea of *stability*, as opposed to anarchy and to periodic convulsion, meets us everywhere on the prophetic pages. Then, as the consequence of this my first anticipation, I look for a time when the material welfare, or, as we say, the earthly and daily comfort and enjoyment of the many, or let us rather say, of all, so that we may exclude that banditti meaning which radicalism clings to, this secure holding of the most needful things of life, shall be so much thought of as shall in fact realise it in a continually more and more complete manner. Between the two co-operative influences of an iron sense of right and justice on the one hand, and of humanizing and soft-hearted sympathies on the other, an intense feeling shall pervade the social mass. under the operation of which, want—still incident, as it must be, to man—and squalor and houseless discomfort, and, what is worse, cellared wretchedness and

disease—the child of filth—shall always be in process of sublimation, and shall be driven off, as one may say, from the social mass by high internal temperature. A strong feeling of uneasiness at the sight or thought of privation and bodily misery shall be always ridding the world of these ever-recurrent evils. I look for a time, not fabulous and impossible, not rosy and celestial, but earthlike and sunny, when every man, absolutely secure from violence and moderately at ease, shall sit in home style, under or near to, as he likes best, his vine and fig-tree, none daring or even wishing to make him afraid. I do not look for a time on this earth when there shall be no surgeons' work, no hospitals, no infirmaries, no police; but I do believe in an age of individual and domestic bliss, such as is pictured in some sweet odes and stirring paragraphs of the Bible."

Restitution is thus the philosophy of human history, and the sum of divine revelation; it is the winding up of the world's drama, in which the unity of the catastrophe will justify the apparent prolixity and complexity of the plot. It is the unravelling at a touch of the twisted threads of man's history, which long ignorance and prejudice had tangled together. It is the heading up of man in a new unity of race, under a new Adam, correspondent to and arising out of a former unity, the recollection of which had been almost lost. Restitution is the principle upon which God's millennial kingdom will be set up. Had the law of restitution been attentively studied, millennarianism would never have fallen into those extravagancies which have earned for it so much reproach and suspicion.

Restitution, in the first place, contains in it the true philosophy of history. Whatever man has become, through whatever stages of development he has passed, he is yet to return to the same unity from whence he set out. As in Adam all history has its beginning, so in the headship of the second Adam it will find its suitable close. So far the law of restitution is simple enough. The prodigal is brought home, "he was dead and is alive again, he was lost and is found." But man's history is something more. We cannot obliterate the long interval between paradise lost and paradise regained. Man's history is not a parenthesis between two periods of good, to be forgotten in the ages to come. Restitution implies restoration; but it implies also something further: it supposes that man has a history—a progress from the savage to the civilized state—from the first man, the unassisted unit, the most helpless of all God's creatures, to the mighty confederacy of nations which now possess the civilized world, replenishing and subduing it more and more every day, peopling its waste places, and elevating both it and themselves into a state preparatory for a full and final redemption. God, we may be sure, has formed nothing in vain, however much Satan has done to make it seem so by mixing sin with everything. The peculiar glory of restitution will be this—that every stage of man's progress will be represented in the last and highest, sin only excluded. How this can be is hard to determine. With much of man's history sin has so intermixed itself, that after the rejection of what is evil there would seem to be little, if anything, left. Yet even here, we may say, "the fragments will be gathered up, that nothing be lost." With Gentile history, for instance, its inventions, arts, discoveries and genius, too often yielded as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin, will then be pressed into another and holier service, "They shall bring the glory and honour of the nations into the new Jerusalem."

The state of the Roman empire in the fourth century, when, on the establishment of Christianity, the new life found itself surrounded by the arts and appliances of the old, and heathen associations gave way to Christian, may suggest to us on what principles restitution will be carried out. The basilicas became churches; the arts which pandered to abominable idolatries, the iron code of law which held men together for selfish, not public good, the loosened tie of marriage, war, slavery, concubinage, that *trinoda necessitas* of heathenism—all disappeared; and that which was from the beginning, the use out of which all these abuses—slavery, concubinage, and so forth—grew, was established in their stead. Babylon throughout prophecy is the great representative city of all godless civilization; Rome, grown great as Babylon, must be cast down with violence as a millstone into the sea. All that is precious in her—her merchandize of gold and silver, her purple and silk, wood and ivory, sheep and horses, slaves and souls of men—must be taken from her. At her fall the merchants and sailors are seen standing afar off, and saying, alas! that great city; for in one hour so great riches is come to nought.

And now that the Gentiles have been taken into covenant, and the Babylon cities of luxury and pride are found in professing Christian states, restitution will take the same course as before; for, while Satan will be cut off, his instruments of sin will be turned into instruments of righteousness. Preparations are thus being made in all the developments of history, in all the discoveries of science, for coming millennial glory. The past cannot be thrown away as an old almanac.

God's writings in history, called profane, may not be cut with a penknife and cast into the fire by some futurist Jehudi. All restitution is based on this axiom, whatever God doeth he doeth for ever. If the separation of Israel, as a peculiar people, was of God, this must reappear in the regeneration. If the civilization and colonization of the earth was the appointed task of the Gentile, this, too, must stand in its lot in the end of days.

The subject divides itself, therefore, under these two heads, the restitution of the Jew and of the Gentile. We will consider them in order. And first, with the mission of the Jew.

I. The two representative races of men, the Jew and the Greek, the religionist and the civilizer, are found from the very beginning of man's history, and under every dispensation up to the present. From the very first we read of the sons of God and the sons of men. And it is not a little remarkable that all the inventions of the antediluvian age are attributed to the latter, while the service of God was reserved to the former. Cain built the first city, Jabal was a great agriculturist, Jubal, the first musician, and Tubal Cain the first artificer in brass and iron, who whetted (see margin) the first ploughshare and spear out of which have grown all the arts of war and peace.

The contrast between the two races is exact and even minute. Enoch, the third from Adam, of the sons of men, dwelt in the first city, thus abandoning the pastoral for the life of a hunter. It was in the days of Enos, the third from Adam of the sons of God, that the men of this family began to separate themselves, and publicly call upon God, as the sons of men openly denied Him. Lamech, the seventh from Adam of the one race, was the first polygamist, and sang a scoffing hymn to the tune, "Killing no murder." Enoch, the seventh from Adam in the other race, prophesied of a God coming to judgment, to convince ungodly Lamechs of their ungodly deeds, and of their hard speeches which they had spoken against Him. The Deluge was sent because a confusion between these two races had begun; mixed marriages brought in their train a race of giants, those monsters of wickedness which religious communities grown corrupt only can produce. The salt had lost its savour; the sons of God had debased themselves with the daughters of men. The flood then came and swept them all away, and over its waters swam the ark—the wonder of naval architecture—hammered by many artificers who never entered it (awful type of many wise explorers of nature in our day), containing in it the germs of all future civilization and religion,—the two races in embryo of the sons of God and of the sons of men.

We find the same division of races after the flood as before; the same parallel development of the two principles, secular and religious. Mr. Johnstone, in his "Israel's Mission to the Military Monarchies," has traced a connexion between the call of Abraham and the rise of great military despotisms. The patriarch too soon degenerated into the monarch. Nimrod was a "mighty hunter, and his game was man." Slavery, war, and concubinage, the three scourges of heathenism, had their beginning with his empire. After his death idolatry passed into its worst form—it became the worship of a man-god. Abraham, the dweller in tents, was raised up to protest against this apostacy. In him the race of religious separatists, the sons of God, had their beginning, as in the Nimrods and Pharaohs, the race of world conquerors and civilizers had their beginning. From this time forth the separation was complete. Each had its appointed course to run.

Through all the history of Israel, from first to last, we trace provision made for the preservation of that unity of race which bound together in one brotherhood this peculiar people. The patriarchal gave way to the dispensation of the priesthood, and the priesthood, in its turn, was succeeded by the kingly form of goverment. Both of these changes grew out of sin. The separation of the tribe of Levi to the priesthood arose out of an act of idolatry, by which the other tribes had proved themselves unworthy of serving as priests of Jehovah. The Lord had called the whole people out of Egypt to be to him a kingdom of priests. So far the old patriarchal system of priesthood was not abolished. The same sacrificial rites which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob had performed, the heads of all the families of Israel might have performed also. At the institution of the passover—the most propitiatory sacrifice of all, (though Mr. Heath, mistakenly, as we think, asserts the contrary), no mention is made of a peculiar priesthood—the head of every family acted as the officiating priest. But when the tribes, by their gross idolatry at Mount Horeb, had disqualified themselves for serving any longer as priests, one tribe was chosen to draw near to the Lord, and to present the sacrifices, instead of the whole congregation. Here we have plainly a descent in the scale of privileges, a downward development in the history of Israel. It is the same with the kingship. This also was a departure from theocratic privilege, the proof at once and the punishment of sin. "I gave thee a king in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath." Under Moses the people had denied their own priesthood to God—under Samuel they denied God's kingship over them. But our concern is to show how God overruled those denationalising tendencies out of which the priesthood of Levi and the kingship of Saul arose. In a people numbering some millions, the sense of blood relationship and of common descent from Abraham must have waxed fainter and fainter, and at last, worn out altogether, had it not been revived from time to time, and rallied round some chosen centre, the priest, judge, or king who was raised to the head of the theocracy. The separation of Levi bound the twelve tribes together in a new and closer unity. That tribe was scattered through the rest, and formed a connecting link with all; for a Levite in the house was not only a minister of religion in Mount Ephraim, or in Gilead, he was a band of connexion between tribes far separated from each other. The dispersion of one tribe served continually the same end that the gathering of all the tribes occasionally did. Thrice in the year all the males out of all the tribes came up to the place where the Lord had placed his name in the head quarters of the tribe of Levi; and throughout the year the converse of this centralizing process obtained, and the tribe of Levi diffused religious influence from Dan to Beersheba, from Gilead to Carmel. In all this there was a plain provision for maintaining national unity unbroken throughout the tribes.

It is not so easy to trace the means by which nationality, springing out of the unity of men, was upheld under the kings. Indeed we know that in the third generation of kings that unity was dissolved. The jealousies of the two rival tribes, Judah and Ephraim, broke out into a schism which never has healed. But in itself the establishment of the kingdom with David might have led to different results. The civil and religious capitol from thenceforth were to be united in one city, Jerusalem. Church and State, which, under the government of high priests and judges, had pursued separate and sometimes divided paths, were now more closely united. The king, though only a civil ruler, still had a "religious and sacred majesty." He was the Lord's anointed. By his deposition of one high priest, and appointment of another, he declared himself supreme governor in all matters as well ecclesiastical as civil. The national unity seemed now complete. Perhaps, too, at this age of the world a greater centralization of power was more necessary than formerly.

Assyria was rising into power; the age of despotism had begun; the first of the four empires was already founded. Israel might have been merged, like some shepherd tribes, in this new nationality of force, had not its own national existence then been sharply defined, and a centre and rallying point been already raised in Jerusalem. Henceforward the Jew had a national existence which could not perish. The family had grown into a tribe, and the tribe into a nation, and under the kings the nation has acquired its Bill of Rights to national existence. Then began the decline and fall. By successive deportations the population was wasted away—the tree was lopped away branch by branch—but the root of Jesse remained, and even during the seventy years' captivity the national existence was not destroyed. The connecting links between the past and the future, though few and far away, in Babylon were preserved unbroken, and after the return (for the twelve tribes returned in their representatives from Babylon) the same peculiar people, born of one father, began their national existence anew. It was with them as in our constitution. Our acts of parliament know of no interregnum, no protectorate; the restoration of King Charles is the twelfth year of his statutory reign. Israel's national existence may be suspended by violence, it has never legally ceased, nor can it, for it is unlike any other nation. Gentile nations are confederacies of men united by a local tie only, scatter us and we break up into new nationalities. Not so with Israel; while a son of Abraham survives, the nation exists in him. The twelve tribes may be scattered abroad—numbers may gentilize and be mingled among the heathen till Israel shall dwindle down to a few exiles in Babylon, "The rest of the trees of his forest may be few, that a child may write them," and yet while this remnant remains the nation exists. It is a nationality of birth, not of place; and thus the restoration of Israel is marked out as one of those certainties that we cannot be disappointed in looking for, so long as one Israelite remains to be restored.

The purpose of their restoration fits in, in a general scheme of restitution, in this way. We look for a reign of righteousness on the earth. Laws and social institutions will need remodelling before this can come to pass A nationality,—not of force, as in military monarchies, not of interest or gain only, as in our colonies and commercial republics,—will have to be set up. It must have its root in the unity of blood of all men in Adam, and its flower in their brotherhood in the gospel. Such a nationality will be like a wide circle, embracing all men within its sweep; and to such a circle a centre somewhere must be found, such a new nationality must have some base upon which to spread. That centre and base must be in Christ.—so far all are agreed; but we must needs go further. "Thou," Gentile, says the apostle, "bearest not the root, but the root thee." The root is with Israel after the flesh. Jesus Christ, the offspring and root of David, is the ground of all unity of race in the future, and he has never laid aside his oneness with them. They have denied Him, he has not denied them. They must therefore be grafted in. The peculiar people after the flesh shall become the model of a new nationality after the spirit; their blood unity in Abraham shall teach us and all men our blood unity in Adam. Around this thread all thought of true philanthropy and Christian socialism shall crystallise. The world wants a centre, above all, a point of religious unity. Romanism is here but the perverted expression of a feeling true to human nature. We want a city of solemnities, a joy of the whole earth, to which all the tribes of men shall go up—the new Jerusalem come down with its king, and settling over and on where the Jerusalem that now is is in bondage. As King David, when he set up his kingdom, set up his capital, so our king, on his coming, will set up his capital also, descending in it as in his chariot of state to earth.

To manifest, in opposition to polygamy, the sacredness of marriage, and the rights of woman,—in opposition to slavery, the rights of men, and their original equality—in opposition to military conquests, the rights of nations, and the sacredness of property,—this was the threefold mission of Israel. That Israel did not protest, as it should, against these three evils, is admitted. Polygamy was more than tolerated—slavery was enforced, notwithstanding they were warned to remember that they too had been bondsmen in Egypt—war, not defensive, which is always justifiable, but aggressive and ambitious, was carried on under the kings. For all these reasons Israel after the flesh failed in its mission to the ancient world. We think it more ingenious than true that Israel has a mission now to the military monarchies of Europe.* Mr. Johnstone, the author of this theory, has carried his fancy too far. But we hold that when, at the end of the world, a model will be wanted, a centre and rallying point, an ensign to the nations, Israel after the flesh will be such. It will then be shown that not in vain has a nation been born out of one, and he as good as dead. In the centrality of Israel there will be no exclusiveness, no supremacy. Election, or the rights of the first-born, will be allowed; not selection, the selfish plea of the envious elder brother. Jacob shall be no longer his name, but Israel. No longer shall he be the supplanter of his Gentile brother, but as a prince with God shall he prevail. Israel wrestling all night with God, and in the morning meeting and being reunited to his disinherited brother! Apt emblem of the long night of Israel's fortunes, and the coming morning when he shall meet his Gentile brother, and they shall kiss and weep together for joy.

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* That war, the pastime of kings, was the chief employment of the kings of Israel, is stated in that remarkable verse, "And it came to pass after the year had expired, at the time when kings go forth to battle." It cannot be overlooked, in connexion with this passage, that David, the conqueror, was also the adulterer. In one short chapter are crowded three instances of the three curses of the land—polygamy, slavery, and war. Bathsheba, Uriah, and Joab, are the victims and ministers of each.

If these things are so, the restoration of Israel is not an isolated fact, looming out in the future, prodigious and alone. It is, we believe, a promise, not a portent; a pledge for all men to embrace, not a peculiar privilege to a still exclusive people. Israel's restoration is for us as well as for them. It is God's gage that the rights of men and women shall yet be respected—that nations shall be united as no diplomatists or peace congresses can now join them—that Church and State shall not be allied only, but incorporated and welded into one. All these hopes of the future, the old theocracy foreshadowed, faintly indeed and after the flesh, and therefore that old theocracy is to form the basis of the new. It now lies as the dry bones in the valley, exceeding dry; and the God who could call a new creation out of nothing has declared, that out of these dry bones shall spring a living body quickened by his Spirit. There would be no true restitution, that is, a vindication of God, a reparation to man, and retribution on Satan, unless the new grew out of the old. The restoration of the kingdom to Israel will be the budding of those millennial hopes, of which we have seen restitution consists.

In this place we confine ourselves to the general argument for Israel's restoration. Of the exact nature of the polity to be restored, whether the services of the priesthood shall be carnal or spiritual, we forbear here to inquire. It is well known that some interpreters of prophecy, as Mr. Birks and Mr. Molyneux, hold, that not only will the temple be rebuilt and the priesthood re-established, but that animal sacrifices will again be offered: anything short of this, they hold, would not be an exact fulfilment of the prophecies of Ezekiel on that subject. We reply, that restitution is not simple restoration. Were Israel restored to the same carnal ordinances as before, where would the advance be of the new on the old? Their last state would only be the same as the first; whereas God has promised her not only restoration but compensation—"double for all her sins." The establishment of the priesthood in the family of Levi, while a privilege to that tribe, was in some sort a punishment on all the rest. It arose out of their idolatry at Horeb. To restore such an order of separate priesthood as that of Levi would thus be a going back, not a going forward. Thus it is that the apostle, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, proves that the Levitical priesthood was only a temporary and provisional institution, to be superseded by the perpetual priesthood of Christ, who, if perpetuity was ever intended for the Levitical priesthood, should have been born of that tribe, and not of the tribe of Judah, of which tribe Moses spake nothing concerning priesthood.

The same argument applies as well to sacrifices, which, as they could never make the conscience of the offerer perfect, need never be returned to. To the objection that Ezekiel's predictions are precise as to the re-establishment both of the priesthood and sacrifices, it is enough to reply, that it would have been impossible to reveal to Ezekiel the restoration of his people to their own land, except under the same conditions of polity and ritual as they then enjoyed. To suppose Ezekiel possessed of the power of discerning between temporary and perpetual ordinances, things typical only and things true in themselves, would be to change times and seasons, and anticipate the revelations of five centuries. Ezekiel could never have written the Epistle to the Hebrews, or announced "a disannulling of the commandment going before, for the weakness and unprofitableness thereof." In sifting the subject through of the restoration of Israel, much confusion and extravagance of interpretation would be avoided, if the distinction between ordinances only typical and those of eternal obligation were always attended to. In the reaction from the extreme of allegorising we are in danger of hurrying into the extreme of literalising. The restoration of Israel and the restoration of the priesthood and sacrifices are not to be confounded. Beyond a general belief in the former we do not think it necessary to go. Those temporary and provisional institutions of Israel in the Old Testament may fall off, and not affect our belief in the fulfilment of prophecy. The restoration of Israel is required on these three principles, on which the law of restitution is framed:—1. Vindication of God's unchangeableness. 2. Compensation to man. 3. Retribution to Satan. On none of these conditions is it necessary that what is only typical should reappear also.

II. We have come to the second and simpler division of our subject—the way which the Gentile people have been given to prepare towards the restitution of all things. The original blessing pronounced upon man was twofold:—he was to be fruitful and multiply, to replenish the earth and subdue it. The book of the generations of men has been entrusted to the Jew. He has been the record-keeper of our race. Politics and ethics—the master sciences—both take their root from some theory of the origin and history of man. The Hebrew records of the unity of men in Adam must thus form the basis of all real advance in the social sciences. The latter half of the blessing, "to replenish the earth and subdue it," has been exemplified principally by Gentiles. By them has the earth been overspread, and by them laws of nature have been investigated and discoveries made, by which it has been subdued to the use and advantage of man.

Thus, as the key to the social sciences has been entrusted to the Jew, so that of the natural sciences has been entrusted to the Gentile. They have ever been the inventors and civilizers of the world's history. We have seen that in antediluvian times there were the sons of God and the sons of men. The same distinction obtains through after-history. We never once discern any proof of inventive genius among the Hebrew people. Almost all the appliances and arts of life they borrowed from their Gentile neighbours. In Egypt, they were a shepherd race, living in the midst of an agricultural and more civilized people. Going out of Egypt they borrowed of their neighbours jewels of gold and silver; and not only the raw material, but probably the wisdom also of the Egyptians, was employed by Moses in the construction of the tabernacle. Entering into Canaan, they found the arts of civilized life ready to their hand—"cities which they builded not and wells which they digged not." During the wars with the Philistines we find them still a rude people, with little knowledge of iron, and little inventive skill, for there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel. Such a general disarmament could only be carried out when the subject race is far inferior in skill and intelligence to their conquerors—the subjection of the Saxons by a few Norman invaders is a well-known instance of this. Again, in the time of Solomon, Hiram lent skilled labourers to king Solomon when about to build the Temple. The architect and master builder of God's own house, in the most glorious times of the Hebrew commonwealth, was a Phœnician and a Gentile. It is evident it was not God's design, notwithstanding some fancies of Baumgarten on the subject of Solomon's navy, that the Jew should either civilize or colonize the world; this task was reserved for the Gentile. The bearings of this Gentile civilization on the religious restitution of mankind is only more evident the more we examine into them. Since the Gentiles have been taken into covenant, Christianity has led civilization on to discoveries which the heathen mind could not reach.

In what consists the difference between ancient and modern civilization? In some few respects they were our superiors, in others, at least our equals. Amongst the Egyptians, for instance, in the art of constructing machines to move vast masses of stone, the art of making and staining glass by causing the colours to penetrate accurately through the whole mass, formed as a species of mosaic and fused so as to defy detection, and the art of fixing colours in stucco and in stone, they were our superiors; the secret of their skill has died with them. In the imitative arts the Greeks are our masters; in sculpture we can do little more than copy their models and follow their rules. But here their superiority ends. Of the three departments of knowledge, the abstract sciences, the mixed and applied sciences, and the handicraft arts, the ancients seem to have been skilled in the first and third, but knew little or nothing of the second. There were geometers for the first, slaves for the third; any approach between these extremes, the application of the science of the one to abridge the labour of the other, would have been considered useless or degrading. Thus the discovery of the telegraph must have been impossible in such a state as Mexico, in which gangs of slaves were employed as posts, conveying messages by short relays as rapidly almost as the most despotic will could desire. Again, ignorance of the true God long kept science, even among the cultivated Greeks and Romans, in that fetich state which M. Compte most inaccurately calls the theological. When in ancient Rome the *fulguratores* watched the play of the lightning, visited the spot where the ball had fallen, and offered sacrifices to avert the wrath of God, it was impossible that the laws of electricity could be understood. If Franklin's experiment was thought profane by some simple peasants in the eighteenth century, and the point of a lightning conductor attached to a church looked upon as a mark of a presumption akin to building the tower of Babel, how much more impious would such experiments have seemed in heathen Rome! Strange as it may seem, the same people who religiously examined the entrails of chickens or sheep, never seem to have thought of dissecting a human body: medical science has never advanced one step by all the observations of all the augurs from first to last. One of the most signal and unaccountable instances of the want of science in antiquity, related to the simplest laws of hydrostatics. The aqueducts of Rome remain to this day as magnificent monuments of that *vis ingenî expers* which marks a state of society where forced labour is cheap, and appliances to economize human hands as yet unsought for. The application of water to turn a mill, a thing so obvious to us, is not known to have been accomplished at all in Greece, and was unknown in Rome till near the age of Augustus. Nothing like the pump was known to any of the ancient nations.

To account for this ignorance of the first laws of nature, we must look for some fault in ancient civilization amended in modern, some defect in their social system which has been supplied in ours. It wanted the disposition humbly to interpret nature. This guiding principle of Bacon's philosophy was impossible, on account of two extremes of opinion to which heathenism inclined men; their religion made them superstitious, their philosophy, sceptical: in the one, the sense of arbitrary will excluded the action of general laws; in the other, the absence of all controlling will forbade all thought of a higher and hidden unity. The one saw no secondary cause, the other was lost in them. Both were appalled by the inconstancy of nature; the one saw the action of arbitrary will, the other the concurrence of fortuitous atoms; between prodigies and chance, the Deus *ex* machinâ and the machina Deus, there was no medium. Hence ancient science progressed little if at all. "There are deserts," says Bacon, "and wastes in time as in countries;" and the ages of ignorance of the being of God are a great part deserts of ignorance of the works of God. Presumption, or *à-priorism,* on the one hand, and superstition, or the abject dread of the powers of nature, on the other, deterred all but a very few from pursuing the right path. Men either dictated to nature or dreaded her; few ever imagined that man should investigate nature in the spirit of the text so often quoted by Bacon: "It is the glory of God to conceal a thing, but the glory of a king to search it out." (Prov. xxv. 2.) Thus the limits to the philosophy of nature were strictly determined—the *flammantia mœnia mundi* were set up by heathenism, not so much without as within the observer;—it must first cleanse the beam of godlessness out of its own eye before it could see clearly to pluck the mote out of the eye of nature.

But a better day has at last dawned on the human mind. Long delayed, the revelation (for such we may reverently and religiously call it) of the true philosophy of nature has at last appeared. Bacon understood more truly than all others the terms of the donation of the earth to man to replenish and subdue it, and of his sovereignty over it, when he entitled his philosophy, "On the interpretation of nature and the reign of man." The aphorism on which all his philosophy rests, "the empire of man over things is founded on the arts and sciences alone, for nature is only to be commanded by obeying her," is a truer anticipation of man's millennial greatness than that of many treatises, savouring more highly of theological phrase and method. Man's true secular mission is to command nature by obeying her. The true attitude of the religious philosopher is bending to the earth to hear the whispers of nature; for as the practised ear of the Indian thus catches sounds inaudible to one who will not stoop, so with the discovery of nature. The history of philosophy rightly understood, and of religion rightly understood, almost run parallel to each other. When, under heathenism, the one was impossible, the other was almost, if not quite so. During the middle ages the same repressive influences checked the growth of both—both died out for want of freedom of thought. With the reformationof religion came that of philosophy; and, as we trust there will be no relapse again in the first, "its sun shall no more go down at noon," so with the second. The renovation of the earth, and the restitution of man to his original kingship over it, are collateral truths—they must be studied side by side, or not at all. Throughout Bacon's treatises we discover shrewd anticipations of the yet unconsummated marriage between philosophy and faith, rather than any distinct announcement of it in his day. He could clearly discern that the darkness of man's will was the cause of the darkness of his understanding, and thus that religious reform must precede philosophical, or redemption precede restitution. Thus he says, "The human understanding resembles not a dry light, but admits a tincture of the will and passions which generate their own system accordingly, for man always believes more readily that which he prefers." Bacon also clearly discovered, that as in God's creation there could be nothing mean or base in itself, man could not demean himself by descending to study particulars.

> "With respect," he says "to the meanness or even filthiness of particulars for which (as Pliny observes) an apology is requisite, such subjects are no less worthy of admission into natural history than the most magnificent and costly; we neither dedicate nor raise a capital or pyramid to the pride of man, but rear a holy temple in his mind on the model of the universe, which model we imitate; for that which is deserving of existence, is deserving of knowledge, the image of existence."

A sentiment so truly religious that it seems the uninspired comment on the Psalmist's words: "The works of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that have pleasure therein."

Following out the humble, and therefore religious, method of interpreting nature, science is exploring farther and farther into the works of God. The annual address of the President of the British Association records the progress made year by year in scientific discovery. Seldom is a year unmarked by some brilliant discovery, by the invention of new truths and the verification of old. By the confirmation of some ingenious hypothesis, and the continual unification of the laws of nature, immense, though silent, advances are made towards a complete knowledge of all the works of God. Every one of these are steps in man's true progress. It is a preparation for the end, if only in this—that the mind is trained to attention, and is exercising on a humble scale that Organon with which it shall interpret in a future state all the mysteries of creation. Many, it is true, do not see these ulterior purposes in modern discovery, these prospective provisions which, like lungs in the embryo, will come into use only in the regeneration. We pity the blindness with which M. Compte excludes all such teleological views from the Positive or Inductive Philosophy. The present advantages of our discoveries seem to us the least part in comparison with the ulterior. The religious uses of the interpretation of nature are not always understood now, even by religious people; but they will be hereafter. In this respect, among many others, we Gentiles are unconsciously preparing the way for the restitution of all things. The voice of science is the voice of one crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way of the Lord."

Newton who knew of it, and La Place who knew it not, were restitutionists and millennial harbingers. Humboldt and Heeren, philosophising the history of science and man, are unconscious futurists; and many a weak Christian, who is venting foolish fears at discoveries which contradict for a little time the Bible, and praying that science may be arrested before it goes too far, will see himself crowned with those sciences which he once despised or feared. The redeemed who have right to the tree of life will have right then to eat freely of the tree of knowledge. Woe only to those who profanely deny the religious uses of science, who, in parody of the Psalmist, sing, the heavens declare only the glory of Newton and Kepler. Where shall such appear when the whole redeemed shall stand around the throne and cast their crowns of science and wisdom at the feet of Him that liveth for ever and ever?

But while the mission of the Gentile philosopher has been to ascertain the "interpretation of nature, and the empire of man"—as the mission of the Jew was to fix the sense of priesthood, and his relation to God—it cannot be said that we have been more faithful to our trust than the Jew to his. Kingship over nature, as well as priesthood to God, has been understood as yet only on its carnal side. Gentiles have overspread the earth, but oftener as conquerors than civilisers. Pizarro, "el conquistador," has been too often the representative of our colonization schemes. Nor have commercial states always acted more upright than military. England, if not as guilty as Spain, has followed hard behind her in the sin of exterminating one race before replenishing the new world with another. So many have been the precedents in gaining this guilty mode of colonization, that when at last the true plan is tried of raising the aborigines, as in New Zealand, its success is still considered doubtful, and many are not ashamed to desire a return to the old clearance system. Thus have the sons of Japhet enlarged themselves, and overspread the earth, though with violence. Christianity, it is true, has held these excesses in check, especially of late; there is no greater proof of man's real progress, no brighter glimpse of the coming restitution of all things, than the respect now paid to the rights of aborigines. The Rajah Brooke in Borneo, Sir George Grey formerly in New Zealand, and now at the Cape, are instances in our day of a new race of colonisers, in whom Christian principle will go hand in hand with worldly enterprise. But for the past we must plead guilty. The races are gone, and perhaps the stern words, sounded in the ears of Ahab, may be yet sounded in ours: "Hast thou killed and also taken possession?" For this abuse of kingship a judgment will as surely fall on us Gentiles as judgment fell on the Jew for his unfaithfulness in the priesthood.

Nor in subduing the earth have we been more faithful to our trust than in replenishing it. Bacon's* anticipation of the arts and sciences becoming depraved to malevolent or luxurious purposes has been most exactly verified. Were it not for this, Rousseau would never have obtained the prize in the Academy of Dijon for preferring the savage to the civilised state. Man's moral renovation, it would sometimes seem, moves slower than his intellectual; in those ages, as at the fall of the Roman empire, and before the French revolution, a general dissoluteness of manners results from refinement progressing while religion is stationary. A temporary break up of civilisation itself must occur to restore the balance and keep down discovery within the limits over which religion can exercise some control; the condition of restitution evidently being, that till man can govern himself it is not safe to entrust him with entire kingship over nature.

We have considered man's history in the past in its two great divisions, as preparatory to a final restitution of all things. Towards this the movement of man in history has never been linear, but always spiral, the axis of that spiral is his ideal progress—the right line along which he ought to have moved. As it is, he has advanced along the development of the spiral, acted on by two opposite forces, Godward and sinward. But this is not always to continue; a catastrophe must overtake the world and put an end to this dispensation, as before to the Jewish. It is remarkable that our Lord's prophecy, descriptive of the one event, is made the occasion of introducing the other. The analogy between the two is precise and complete. As there are two advents of Christ, so there are two ends of the world spoken of in this prophecy. With the first advent of Christ came the end of the first stage of the world's history. With the second will come the end of the second stage. The two representative races, Jew and Gentile, having run their course, and wearied out the longsuffering of God, will be swept away, as by the Flood. And as Noah and his family were saved, so as by water, so the church of the first century was saved out of Judea by timely escape to the mountains, and lay hid among the rocks of Pella: and so the church of the latter days will be saved so as by fire, lifted above the fiery flood which will overwhelm an ungodly world: and as Noah waited in the ark for the abating of the waters, so, at the first end of the world, when Jerusalem was destroyed, and so again, at the second end of the world when Babylon shall be destroyed, the church will wait till she can open the window and look out upon a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness.

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* Nov Org., lib. i., Aphorism 129.

Then will be the days of the restitution of all things, which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began. Then in the last, and Sabbath, millennium of the world's history, the meaning of the six weary, waiting millenniums of the past will be understood. As man will be restored spiritually wiser than when he fell; so intellectually he will have been a gainer also. He will be both wiser and better for that knowledge of nature which he is now inductively acquiring. As he will have learned self-restraint, so he will know how to rule. Redeemed to the privileges of the priesthood, he may then be intrusted with his kingship. The work of the Jewish dispensation, as well as of the Gentile, will each then fall into its place; and as the longsuffering of God is to be counted salvation, so the delay in bringing in restitution will only augment its glory when it comes. Between the two extremes, of those who think the world is getting better, and of those who think it is getting worse, there lies the midway opinion, that many are running to and fro, some getting better, and some growing worse, and all the while knowledge is increased, and a stock of experience is being accumulated, which those who stand in their lot in the last day shall enjoy.

We have long thought the Book of Ruth typical of this doctrine of restitution, or the twofold recovery of the church and the world, the Jew and the Gentile. We read of Naomi (the pleasant one) going forth from the land during a famine, losing in exile her husband and her two sons, and, as a woman forsaken and grieved in spirit, calling herself Marah, "seeing the Almighty hath dealt very bitterly with me." Of all her former blessings, one the least prized only remains,—Ruth, her Gentile daughter-in-law, the remembrancer only of the dead, a widow, and one as good as dead. But the hour of redemption was come for the two widows, the young and the old, the Jew and the Gentile. Boaz (the mighty man) to obtain the right of redemption of the land must redeem also the name of the dead; as husband to Ruth he undertook this twofold task of redemption, as well of the person as of the possessions of Elimelech and his two sons. Thus the woman said to Naomi, at the birth of Obed, that not only was Boaz the restorer of her life, and the nourisher of her old age, but also that her daughter-in-law, who loved her, was better to her than seven sons. Thus man has wandered from his home. In the Fall he went out an exile, and in his history since, after the Flood, he has become like Naomi—Marah. As the simple redemption of the field was illegal without redeeming the memory of the dead family of Elimelech; so secular restitution, the civilization and cultivation of the earth's surface, cannot be unless the person of man be redeemed, and a new posterity of the second Adam be raised to inherit instead of the posterity of the first. Boaz has been willing to redeem the family, and he of right may inherit the field. Thus to Obed descends the double right both of purchase and inheritance. Man not only recovers all he has lost, but, such is God's abounding grace, compensation even as if he had been an innocent sufferer. Restitution is thus not simple, but compound. The ten years' exile, and the loss of her two sons, was counted to Naomi in the redemption of the inheritance. The interval between paradise lost and paradise regained, profitless to man in itself, will be counted to him as time profitably spent. The attempt of the Jew to exhibit a theocracy after the flesh which failed, as it must; the attempt of the Gentile to overspread and subdue the earth, which must also fail of success in this dispensation; these two attempts, like Mahlon and Chilion, must die in exile; the old life in both dispensations dies, the germ of the new only survives, as in the person of Ruth. Meanwhile Boaz is laying up riches to tender back to Naomi all she had lost, and to make compensation as well for the loss. Thus plenteous is redemption, both in the church and the world. In restitution God will draw a draft on his own treasury, not only for what man has lost, but for what also he ought to have acquired. Thus He gives us back our own, and that with usury; our abuse of talents being reckoned to us even as of use.

In conclusion, the use of such reflections on the final restitution of all things, is not so much to throw light on our state hereafter—"It doth not yet appear what we shall be," —as to enable us to understand and improve the present. It lends a dignity to life, and reminds us that what God has cleansed that we should not call common, when we reflect that every attempt to ameliorate man, to colonise and cultivate the world, is a link in the long chain of redemption. Though earth is not our rest at present, we are engaged burying deep in it seeds that will spring up after the flood of fire has passed over it to purify it for the last time. The benevolent Captain Cook, whenever he landed on any of the South Sea islands, used to fill his pockets with the seeds of common garden herbs, and scatter them as he went along. The plants soon grew up, rank and wild, ran to seed, and so propagated themselves. It was not till after these cannibal islanders had been Christianised that these plants came to use. Then gardens were enclosed, and the waste seeds carefully raised. So with the seeds of good now scattering through the world; they often spring up and then run to seed again, but their use is bye and bye. The reserve in store for the earth, and man its inhabitant, is the restitution of these things to their use, of which we have been only pained with the abuse.

ART. IV.—1. *The Life of Peter Van Schaack, LL.D., embracing Selections from his Correspondence and other Writings, during the American Revolution and his Exile in England.* Edited by his Son. New York: Appleton.

2. *Journal and Letters of the late Samuel Curwen, Judge of the Admiralty, &c., an American Refugee in England, from* 1775 to 1784, *comprising Remarks on the Prominent Men and Measures of that Period.* By GEORGE ATKINSON WARD. London: Wiley and Putnam.

THE present state of our relations with America invest with a renewed interest all memoirs connected with the times when that country first emancipated herself from the yoke of England. The various opinions which were held by men of rank and integrity; the steps by which many among them were led to embrace the cause of independence; all form a contrast, not less remarkable than interesting, to the maxims of polity which now seem to prevail on the other side of the Atlantic. The two works at the head of this article, small as are their literary merits, may be read with advantage at the present juncture, as throwing much light on the principles and practice of the first asserters of American independence.

The interests and fortunes of the subjects of these biographies were more or less involved during the American war.

The former has laboured under the misfortune of not finding, in his son, an editor whose judgment kept pace with his good will. After a careful perusal of the bulky volume before us, we feel that a work, at once interesting and important, might have been produced from such materials, for these "records of a good man's life," (and such they really are), will be totally unreadable to the million, who care not to spend their time in winnowing away the bushel of chaff, in order to secure the grain of wheat; and the error is the more inexcusable, as his son informs us in a note, that one of his "greatest difficulties in preparing the present work, has been to make a selection from a large mass of manuscripts where all was so good."

Thus, then, the reader had every reason to expect that "the biography of an eminent American of elevated character, of high integrity, and of honourable association, who in sentiment was opposed to taking up arms in the American revolution,—composed as it mainly is of original contemporaneous materials"—(*vide* Preface), would prove at once a source of amusement and instruction; and that it must have proved such we feel satisfied, had justice been done to Mr. Van Schaack by his biographer. The peculiarity of his views, the solidity of his principles, his unmitigated nationality, his social reverses, his stern domestic trials, and his strong natural affections, placed him without the pale of ordinary men; while his profession, (that of the law), which he appears to have pursued with a scrupulous rectitude, perfectly accordant to his political consistency, a dash of pedantry as amusing as it is harmless, and strong powers of observation, gave valuable facilities to those about him of drawing a vivid and attractive picture of him, "in his habits as he lived." But what shall we say of an editor, who, in allusion to his exile in England, upon which it will readily be understood that Mr. Van Schaack must necessarily be more than commonly expansive in his strictures and comments, on the subject of both men and things, after assuring his readers that in the mother country "his worth was recognized, and his good qualities and literary acquirements and inclinations gained for him an introduction to many valuable friends, which soon ripened into intimacy, and secured for him superior means of information, and such opportunities for enlarging his fund of knowledge as have rarely been enjoyed by Americans in England,"—appends to this assurance the following note:—

> "Mr. V. S. was accustomed to relate many conversations and anecdotes of great interest which came to his knowledge, or took place in his intercourse with conspicuous characters in England. No memoranda were made of them at the time, and they cannot now be related with the necessary accuracy. With the author it has been a subject of reproach that opportunities for perpetuating these precious relics have been suffered to pass by, which, alas, are now lost for ever."

And this, too, when we are expressly told in a subsequent note:—

> "The mere fact that Mr. Van Schaack had seen so many characters distinguished in literature, in the arts and sciences, in politics, in the church, and in the law, with some of whom he had an acquaintance, and respecting many of whom he could relate interesting anecdotes . . . . all which was sufficient to excite attention. He had seen Mrs. Siddons upon the stage, and had enjoyed the society of Hannah More. He had heard all the distinguished speakers in the courts and in Parliament. Lindley Murray was his particular friend, and he had been in the company of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and of the literary colossus, Samuel Johnson. He was in London during Lord George Gordon's riots, and through the changes of the ministry. He had witnessed the downfall of one set of cabinet ministers from their hostility to America,—the abrupt secession of another,—the dissolution of a third,—the grand coalition which formed the fourth, and which was itself soon after dismissed by Royal interposition, making shipwreck of the political reputations of some of the greatest statesmen in the empire; and he had participated in the interesting discussions to which these political revolutions gave rise."

This note, which, *soit dit en passant*, is the best piece of editorial writing in the book, proves that there could be no lack of incident or interest in Mr. Van Schaack's existence in England; and yet, the assurance of his son that this was his social position, is the only hint we receive that such was the case. The extreme brevity and sterility of his personal journal would have led to a belief that the *nil admirari* was the dominant quality of his character, had he not left behind him documents of far greater value, although of a less general nature, to attest the contrary. It is evident that Mr. Van Schaack did not permit himself to fritter away his mind in what he considered to be the more trifling occupations of his existence; but consequently running into the opposite extreme of those diarists who inundate their pages with futile conversations and unmeaning names, he unfortunately drew a damp sponge over the whole of his domestic life in England; and has thus deprived us of many opinions, both on men and things, which, coming as they would have done from an upright and intelligent foreigner, might have formed a study of national character and manners.

Greatly is it also to be deplored that a work, containing so much that is both excellent and valuable, should be overlaid, through a mere want of judgment, with a puerile correspondence between Mr. Van Schaack and a couple of lads (the editor and his cousin), upon the most insignificant matters; and on this portion of the book no other comment is called for than an expression of our admiration of the pliability of intellect and amiability of disposition, which enabled the dry matter-of-fact lawyer, and the self-satisfied classic, to bend his style and subject to the level of the youths to whom he wrote. Great stress is laid by the editor upon some half dozen of these letters relating to the educational duties of his son; but we beg leave to differ from him altogether as to their extrinsic value. A warm heart and a clear brain, like those of Mr. Van Schaack, could not produce any set of documents in which somewhat of good might not be found; and accordingly there are many isolated passages in the letters to which we allude, containing solid and estimable precepts; but as a whole, they possess no continuity either of matter or of manner; they are loose, desultory, and imperfect; containing no satisfactory system of ethics, no practical form of action, no tangible method of adoption; and it has, indeed, been subject of surprise to us, after an attentive study of the more carefully compiled compositions of Mr. Van Schaack, how he could ever have permitted himself to put forth crudities at once so elaborate, and so little calculated to prove creditable to his literary or logical reputation; nor can we reconcile the fact otherwise than by the conviction that, while the legal, political, and critical papers contained in his biography, were written with a view to posthumous publicity, he never purposed that the letters, on which we have animadverted, should transpire beyond his own family. Enough, however, of the editorial mistakes of this work. It contains better things than those to which we have alluded; and having now satisfied our critical conscience by declaring that the book, as a book, is both unartistic-like and ill-digested, we will at once proceed to the more agreeable task of introducing Mr. Van Schaack in form to the reader, and then letting him speak for himself and of himself.

Peter Van Schaack, " the gentleman with the hard name," as he was designated by his landlady in London, was descended from some Dutch emigrants, the date of whose advent in the new world is uncertain. His parents themselves, although in comfortable circumstances (his father being a trader and ship-owner), were totally uneducated; but the worthy merchant, being a man of great natural sagacity and forecast, resolved that his children should not suffer from the same privation. His mother was a woman of estimable character and amiable qualities; and her best eulogy exists in the unabated affection borne towards her by her family until the close of a long life. Of this family, Peter, born at Kinderhook in 1747, was the seventh and youngest; and was the first youth who received a liberal or collegiate education from his native town. In his sixteenth year he entered the Freshman Class in King's College, New York, where he formed several friendships, the whole of which survived even party opposition and political excitement: a fact the more honourable to him that they included half-a-dozen men whose names subsequently became famous in the annals of their country. In the autumn of 1765, while still at college, and in his twentieth year, he was privately married to the daughter of Mr. Henry Cringer, an opulent merchant of the same city, a step which excited the displeasure of the young lady's father, who, however, was not slow to forgive, and which had doubtless no slight influence in awakening all the energies of his own mind to exertion. Having terminated his collegiate studies with considerable credit, Mr. Van Schaack at once embraced the profession of the law, in which he rose to decided eminence, and enjoyed the confidence of his fellow-citizens to a degree which added both to his reputation and his revenue. In 1770, he became a member of the "Moot," a legal debating society, at that time frequented by some of the most respectable and influential persons of the profession, and which soon exercised great influence on the decisions of the American Courts.

At an early period Mr. Van Schaack gave evident proof that he was destined to become a profound lawyer. His ideas of business, and of the proper manner of transacting it, were distinguished for precision and accuracy from the commencement of his professional career. But our space will not allow us to enlarge on the earlier portion of Mr. Van Shaack's career. We have intimated that he was led to take a view hostile to the claims of the colonists, and before long he was sensibly made to feel that in, a worldly point of view at least, his choice had been an unfortunate one.

It was not long after the commencement of the war that a law was passed by the insurgents enacting the penalty of imprisonment and banishment on all who were even suspected of unfriendly feeling to their cause, and power was given to their executive to carry this law into effect. Nor was this given power an empty threat; for we find that the Americans, who were at that very moment fighting for "their rights," and to whom the name of "liberty" had become, according to themselves, a watchword, submitted to the very stringent articles of this new law, born of the occasion, and framed in the jealousy of novel and uncertain power; and that,

> "in compliance with its mandate, individuals were often arrested upon mere suspicion, removed many miles from their families and homes, and consigned to the walls of a prison, and although afterwards discharged on the ground of their innocence, they were required to pay all the expenses attending the unfounded proceeding, their property being subjected to immediate attachment for that purpose. An involuntary remark, bearing the appearance of unfriendliness to the public measures—such as speaking disrespectfully of the Congress, or its proceedings,—was often made the occasion or pretext for arrest or imprisonment. It was a very common circumstance also to incarcerate individuals for refusing to take depreciated continental money at par, in discharge of bonds and mortgages."—p. 66.

We have recapitulated these facts, which must be familiar to most of our readers, simply because they bore heavily upon the fortunes of the person of whose biography we are now treating; and will serve to acquit him, in the eyes of the most prejudiced, of the want of nationality which was subsequently brought against him: and as it will help our purpose, as well as amuse the many to whom this anecdote of American hyper-suspicion must be entirely novel, we will subjoin the consequences of an idle *jeu d'esprit* hazarded at the period, as richly illustrative of the state of the public mind:—

> "When General Schuyler arrived at Albany in July, 1775, to take charge of the military command in the Department of New York, under his recent appointment from the Congress, a public reception was given him, under the direction of the Committee of Safety. The processional display upon this occasion was probably not distinguished for its regularity or magnificence, and it gave rise to the following anonymous publication:—
>
> "'The mode of a late very extraordinary, and very grand procession.
>
> "'I. The Congressional General.
>
> "'II. The *Deputy* Chairman, and who is only chairman *pro tempore*.

" 'III. Mr. Ten Broeck—through a mistake.

" 'IV. The Chairman.

" 'V. The Committee.

" 'VI. The troop of horse, most beautiful and grand; some horses long-tailed, some bob-tailed, and some without any tails, and attended with the melodious sound of an incomparably fine trumpet.

" 'VII. The Association.'

"The 'Committee of safety, protection, and correspondence,' entered with spirit and zeal upon the investigation of the matter, with a view to the discovery and punishment of the anonymous author of the paper in question. A meeting of the Board was summoned, at which it was resolvd, that the paper contained scandalous reflections on the proceedings of last Sunday! A system of *espionage* was adopted to discover its supposed 'tory' author. The public were called upon to lodge all such informations as might lead to his discovery. The Committee adjourned from time to time, in the prosecution of their labours, and public meetings of the citizens were called and held, at which the subject was discussed.

"At the expiration of three days of unwonted perturbation, Peter W. Yates, a member of the excited committee, desirous to restore quiet to an agitated city, made known to his associates, that he was the author of the obnoxious paper, at the same time making a very full apology for his indiscretion, and most solemnly disclaiming any intention to injure the cause of liberty.

"The committee resolved 'that the concession and acknowledgement were satisfactory to the Board.' This, however, did not appease the resentment of the public, which was well nigh inexorable. The whole city was in uproar on the occasion, and several public meetings were held, by which Mr. Yates's expulsion from the Board was demanded.

"In deference to public sentiment Mr. Yates resigned his office as committee-man. But this did not conciliate the offended 'Sons of Liberty,' and, notwithstanding the resignation, the committee, in order to satisfy the minds of the people, and for the sake of preserving harmony in the city, proceeded to the solemn task of expulsion. They, however, resolved that 'the proceedings of this committee upon the said paper, should not be published, provided the said Peter W. Yates, Esquire, made a public confession, in person, to the people here assembled.' A committee was thereupon appointed to wait upon Mr. Yates and to 'give him assurances of safety if he should be inclined to make the said confession.' Mr. Yates accordingly appeared before his assembled fellow-citizens, and made the required acknowledgement; the 'cause of liberty' was thus vindicated, and her indignant, but now, appeased 'sons' repaired to their homes without committing any violence."—pp. 68, 69.

Risum teneatis, amici! Surely the truth of the somewhat hacknied quotation was never more apparent, than in the case of these red-hot American *patriots*, which says:—

"Man, proud man,
Dress'd in a little brief authority
Plays such fantastic tricks before high Heaven
As make the angels weep!"

Before this conspiracy-committee of "Daniels come to judgment," Mr. Van Schaack, in company with his brother David, and two other quiet and rational citizens, was summoned in the December of 1776, on the charge of an "equivocal neutrality," and "belief that they were in general supposed unfriendly to the American cause, and from their influence enabled to do it essential injury." On the 30th of the same month, the Albany committee passed a resolution directing their secretary to address a letter to Mr. Van Schaack, requiring his attendance before them; and on the 9th of January, 1777, he appeared before that body, It appears, by their minutes of this date, that Mr. Van Schaack "refused to take the oath of allegiance, directed by the said Committee to be taken by those who consider themselves subjects of the State of New York;" and that, in consequence of this refusal, an order was made "that he depart hence directly to Boston within ten days."

> "A few days afterwards he presented a petition to the Committee for leave to remain in the county for such time, and under such restrictions, as the Board should think proper, in order to adjust his affairs, so that they might admit of his absence. This request was denied."—pp. 70, 1.

And thus Mr. Van Schaack, the able lawyer, the upright man, and the quiet citizen, labouring moreover under a partial deprivation of sight; his heart racked by anxiety for a beloved wife dying slowly day by day before his eyes, and who required every solace which care and affection could impart, to soothe the pangs of a lingering and painful malady, was torn from his home, from his profession, and from the arms of his family, and exiled to a distant city, whither his suffering wife had not strength to follow him, and where he was utterly unknown. Such were the first-fruits of that freedom in which America promised to herself a future of fame and happiness! In vain did he expostulate, in a manly, straightforward and legal manner, to the so-styled authorities of the period. They had too recently tasted the sweets of power to forego the intoxicating draught; and Mr. Van Shaack submitted, like a wise man, to the destiny which he could not control.

The entrance of General Burgoyne a prisoner into Albany, which he had hoped to occupy as a conqueror, affords the best anecdote in the volume:—

> "The British general entered Albany in a very different manner from that which he had anticipated. Flushed by his early successes in his progress from the North, he had in his windy manifestos proclaimed an easy victory; and he was understood to have boasted of his ability to secure '*elbow-room*' for his troops, to the contemplated junction of the two royal armies. When he entered that city as a prisoner of war, instead of a 'conquering hero,' the progress of the procession was suddenly retarded in a confined passage of one of the streets, by the immense concourse of citizens, who turned out *en masse* to behold the joyful spectacle. At this juncture, a spirited Dutch matron, standing at the door of her dwelling, and in hearing of the humbled Briton, called out to the crowd (with perhaps as much rudeness as severity) 'Make elbow-room for general Burgoyne!' "—p. 93.

Mr. Van Schaack had meanwhile, after appearing in person before the Convention, been permitted to return to his family at Kinderhook, on his parole; and to remain there till the further orders of the house, or future executive power of the State; and in the mean time, neither directly nor indirectly to do or say anything to the prejudice of the American cause.

> "It is not a little remarkable," justly observes his son, "that after having been so unceremoniously banished to another State by the Conventions Committee, and hurried off to Boston without even giving him time to arrange his private affairs, Mr. Van Schaack should have been recalled by the Convention, and, at a most critical conjuncture of American affairs, directed to repair to his usual place of residence near Hudson's river, without any investigation, and there suffered to remain unmolested for more than a year, upon his individual parole of honour!"—p. 85.

The next trial of Mr. Van Schaack arose from a refusal of the authorities to permit his dying wife to end her days in the city of New York, which had in 1778 become a British garrison. The unfortunate lady, with the caprice incident to consumption, had imbibed an idea that the air of her native place would renew her health; and the anxious husband, who would have scorned to ask indulgence for himself, offered to submit to any restrictions however binding, and to offer any guarantee however inconvenient, for his own conduct during their sojourn there; but the request was definitively refused. Nor were even the services of an eminent English physician, attached to the British army, who, having been consulted on the subject of Mrs. Van Schaack's case, believing that she might still be saved, volunteered a journey to Kindernook to see her, permitted to the innocent sufferer, who died in the month of December, 1778, leaving her unhappy husband as sick in body as in mind.

During the following spring Mr. Van Schaack, whose health was broken, and who was anxious to proceed to Europe in order to undergo an operation for cataract, by which he hoped to preserve the sight of his remaining eye, applied for permission so to do, and was civilly, but peremptorily, refused. Shortly afterwards he obtained leave from the government of New York to carry out his purpose, "when the state of the country should admit of it;" and while waiting for this desired consummation, (on the 13th of June), the legislature of New York passed the Banishing Act.

> "By which the commissioners of conspiracies were required 'to cause all such persons of neutral and equivocal characters in the State, whom they shall think have influence enough to do mischief in it,' to come before them, and to administer to them an oath, the purport of which was, that the individual believed and acknowledged the State of New York to be of right a free and independent State. In case of a refusal to take the oath, the commissioners were required to remove the individuals within the enemy's lines, and their names were to be recorded in the office of the Secretary of State.
>
> "One of the penalties subscribed by the Act was, 'that all the lands which the person proceeded against held, on the 26th of June, or should subsequently acquire, should for ever thereafter be charged double taxes;' the banishment also was to be perpetual, and a return to the State subjected the exile to a conviction for 'misprision of treason.'
>
> "On the 18th of July Mr. Van Schaack appeared before the commissioners at Albany, upon their summons under this Act, and having refused to take the prescribed oath, an order was made for his removal in pursuance of its provisions." p. 109.

Well, indeed, might "the angels weep" at such a cruel inconsistency as this! What the peaceful citizen and the afflicted invalid had solicited as a boon, was now forced upon him as an ignominy and a punishment for his unswerving honesty and upright consistency of bearing. His editor has put forth some sentimental twaddle on the reluctance of his personal friends to take this step against him: but the step *was* taken, and the blind and widowed man thrust forth from his quiet home, and parted from his infant children for an indefinite period, perhaps for ever; his profession sacrificed, his pride wounded, and his peace of mind destroyed. And these were the first germs from which were to spring civil and religious liberty! These were the first pluming of that eagle's wing which was to grasp Jove's thunderbolts, and teach the Old World to reverence the New!

The position of Mr. Van Schaack, when the sentence of banishment was pronounced against him, ought surely to have protected him from all such injustice; for, says his biographer,—

> "During the eight years previous to his departure for England, he had interred six children, several of whom had arrived at an interesting age; and two of whom had been taken away under trying circumstances. He had buried his father, and parted with his father-in-law under circumstances rendering it probable that the separation might be final. He had lost the sight of one eye entirely, and had the fear of total blindness ever present to his mind. A promising professional business had been suddenly arrested by the public troubles, which had destroyed his prospects of fame and usefulness. He found himself the object of suspicion, and had been harassed by proceedings of a most unpleasant character. He was separated by an unyielding principle, having its foundation in conscientious scruples, from his earliest and most intimate friends; and death had just taken from him the wife of his bosom. Superadded to all these trials and afflictions—domestic, personal, social, and civil,—he was removed to a distance of three thousand miles from his kindred and friends, an exile in a foreign land."—p. 129.

His own feelings on the occasion are thus recorded in his journal:—

> "Torn from the nearest and dearest of all human connexions, by the visitation of Almighty God, and by means of the public troubles of my country, I am now going into the wide world, without friends, without fortune, with the sad remembrance of past happiness, and the gloomy prospect of future adversity, having no other consolation than that consciousness of my own integrity which, as far as relates to the immediate cause of my now leaving my country, I possess in the fullest manner."—p. 130.

Such, however, was the man whom America had thrust out, and who in December, 1778, landed in England: where, could he have surrounded himself with those whom he loved, and have suppressed his yearning for that *dolce e ingrata patria* whence he had been expelled, he might have passed the remainder of his days in peace and honour; for his worth was appreciated and acknowledged, and his society courted alike by the gifted and the wise. We have already alluded to the sterility of the journal of Mr. Van Schaack as a record of events, and shall consequently merely string together such extracts from his private papers, of whatever description, as are likely to prove interesting to the reader. He had the singular good fortune to hear both Pitt and Fox speak on the same occasion; but although he alludes to the circumstance, he makes neither comment nor comparison. On British oratory generally, he says:—

"My expectations were not so much exceeded by what I saw at the theatres, the senate, or the bar. I did not find one actor of eminence* (though there are actresses of great merit), nor anything superior to the strollers I have seen at New York. But the scenery is surprisingly fine. Neither at the bar, nor on the bench, did I discover that profundity of law-abilities which I have so often heard extolled, and which it was said untied in an instant the Gordian knot of every difficulty. I found arguments arose about questions not of the greatest nicety: and the length of those arguments, and the hesitation of the judges, convinced me that *they* had exaggerated who taught me to expect from men in this country something superior to what I could conceive from the abilities of my own countrymen.

"In parliament I was still more surprised and disappointed, in the expectations I had entertained of the dignity of the two houses, and of the eloquence of several of the members. Great abilities indeed there are, but the effect of them is in a great measure lost in a vehemence of manner and in a torrent of abuse ill-suited to the dignity of a senate. There is very little of the *suaviter in modo* in any of the speakers; those of the first eminence, as Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, have nothing of it. . . . . . Mr. Burke is not the cool, dispassionate speaker I expected, but warm and theatrical."—p. 136.

His remarks on connoisseurship are also well worth preservation. The virtuoso may smile at the primitiveness of his opinion, but it is creditable to him both as a man and a father:—

"The paintings at Blenheim House, as well as at Oxford, are certainly very fine; but I could not help being disgusted at the strange mixture of the sacred and *profane*, serious and ridiculous, in the same rooms. This may be taste, but the pleasure it affords is in opposition to the genuine feelings of the heart. Indeed many paintings, as well as much of the sculpture, which are shown as curious performances, are calculated to vitiate the heart for the sake of pleasing the eye, by exciting ideas and sensations subversive of that modesty, which is a *barrier* (meaning *defence*) to virtue." —p. 138.

"The paintings and the sculpture with which the palaces and seats abound, prove the excellency of those arts, and that they have been carried to a degree of perfection of which I had no idea that they were capable. Of numbers of the performers, it may be said that 'their art is nature and their pictures thought.' It may be doubted, however, whether there is not in some of them rather too much of *nature*, not to interfere a little with the rules of decency; for it will be difficult to view those strong resemblances with an eye abstracted altogether from the objects in nature which they imitate, and unless, on those occasions, we can resume the purity and innocence of Eden, a fig-leaf at least ought not to be dispensed with. Some of those pieces will make the story of Pygmalion appear less fabulous than we might at first imagine."—p. 162.

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* Garrick had left the stage shortly before this period. He died a few days after Mr. Van Shaack's arrival in London.

Nor must we omit to transcribe the observations which follow, and which give an admirable idea of the calm, unprejudiced and judicious manner in which Mr. Van Shaack considered every subject which came under his notice. The position of the two countries, and the circumstances under which he visited England, were certainly not calculated to induce any undue partiality towards his new home; but Mr. Van Shaack was not a man who suffered prejudice to usurp the place of reason; and thus he looked round upon unfamiliar scenes, and faces, and customs, with the eye of a philosopher rather than an exile; weighing in the balance of common sense and expediency all the variations of temper, feeling, and habit, by which he was surrounded, and giving to each the merit which he believed to be its due. In one part of his journal, in allusion to the contrast between the two countries, he says:—

"A person who has spent the former part of his life in a country yet in a state of infancy, and whose first settlement is little more than a century distant from the present period, will be sensibly affected in the change to a country whose first settlement is even beyond the era of its history, and enveloped in fable, and which has been distinguished as the theatre of the most important scenes that are exhibited in the annals of mankind. A species of enthusiasm is excited, by the view of those places which we find recorded for such important events. We can scarce turn to any place which is not distinguished by some memorable transaction of the warrior, the statesman, and the scholar. Human nature has here displayed all its virtues and all its enormities, all its dignity and all its baseness. When we recollect all the changes this people have gone through, the different, and even opposite, systems they have at various times adopted, and contended and bled for, we should hardly think it possible that their history should be the history of the *same* people.

"The monuments of antiquity we here discover, whether raised by pride, zeal, or superstition, or by more exalted motives, are a great source of reflection to a contemplative mind. In a religious view, while we reflect on the various and contradictory systems to which the most venerable of these have at different eras been made subservient, we see how prone to error is the human mind, when left to judge for itself, even with the best lights. But those altars which were in former days devoted to an unknown God, it is to be hoped will now be employed only in the service of Him in whom we live and move and have our being, and in the benevolent spirit of that religion which breathes 'Glory to God in the highest; and on earth peace, and goodwill towards men!'

"That ambition, which, where it has no real object, will create itself an imaginary, and often a fantastic one, should have fixed its eye on this country, cannot be surprising. In the beauties and advantages of nature, whether for utility or pleasure, whether for its internal excellencies, or the means it enjoys of obtaining foreign accessions, none can possibly exceed it. Its insular situation, the fertility of its soil, the number of its rivers, and the temperature of its climate, all combine to prove this. The face of the country is most beautifully diversified, and if we suppose those natural advantages to be improved by every embellishment which the most refined taste and fancy can bestow upon it, we shall do but mere justice to the scenes it displays at this period. There is every variety that can be imagined of hill and dale, of woods and plains, meadows and gardens, and every species of culture and husbandry. A venerable gothic structure, an elegant country-seat, a delightful park, an ancient village, and a well-disposed town or city, with sometimes an ancient castle, call upon our attention. Every now and then we see a place which has been rendered memorable by some military struggle of ambition, where the blood of the innocent has been shed and offered up at the shrine of vain-glory, vestiges of Roman encampments and fortifications still remain to show us how transitory is the glory and the power of the greatest nations!

"In a country abounding with such a profusion of objects, it will be necessary to set bounds to curiosity. A few objects in every kind, may answer the purpose of improvement. The city of London itself is in some measure an epitome of the world. Its antiquity and astonishing growth, its vast extent and populousness, the variety of people it contains in every different situation, from the monarch to the beggar, and from every nation on the globe; its amazing buildings, ancient and venerable, modern and magnificent; its wealth, its trade and intercourse with every nation in the world, all conspire to fill the mind with admiration."

His observations on art are not without value, though he does not seem to have been very enthusiastic in his love of it:—

"Art seems here to have usurped the powers of nature by its imitation of her works. By her *fiat*, mountains are sunk down and valleys made to rise, dry lands are turned into water, and streams are conveyed through mountains and over valleys, as it were through the air, to any distance. In short, it is difficult here to distinguish the improvements of art from the works of nature, as it is often to know what is reality and what deception in the public exhibitions; some of which, by the by, strike me as having an evil tendency to scepticism in some very important articles."

The following observations, uncomplimentary as they are, will be acceptable now, as showing the progress which the nation has made:—

"It is said that the three instances wherein England is distinguished above other nations, are, their women, their gardens, and their inns. The last, indeed, are at a degree of excellence not to be exceeded: the second consist of serpentine walks, shaded and bordered with shrubs, trees, and flowers, disposed in the greatest imaginable variety. The women of this country are indeed beautiful and healthy, not generally tall, and full chested; numbers are pitted with the small-pox. They seem generally of a pleasurable turn, and I fancy more disposed to spend a fortune than to save one. That of intrigue is a very prevailing spirit among them. Music is more an object of their attention and business than the domestic duties. The number of places of dissipation and pleasure are inconceivable, especially about London. Sundays are days of riot, excursion and dissipation."—pp. 159, 162.

Mr. Van Schaack was a frequent attendant upon the proceedings in Parliament, where the discussions on American affairs naturally aroused all his interest; and during the investigation which took place in the Commons into the conduct of General Howe, and the Admiral his brother, he took copious notes of the debates, and ultimately addressed a letter to Sir William; for which, as it was unpublished until inserted in this volume, and is a curious specimen of acuteness, professional detail, and sturdy, uncompromising expression, we regret that we cannot afford room. A short extract will, however, suffice to give an idea of its general tone and manner:—

"Meaning to confine myself to such parts only of your conduct as are unequivocal, I shall not enter into the consideration of your particular *manœuvres*, in which case you might call for maps, and proofs of the exact dimensions of every fascine, the depth of every ditch, the strength of every redoubt, and the height of every hill your enemy occupied. I shall also omit the total want of vigour in your operations, in the interval between the reduction of Long Island, the attack upon New York, and your landing first upon Frog's Neck, and then in the Sound: nor will it be necessary to take notice of your disgraceful retreat from White Plains, when your enemy, in the language of one of their officers (Mr. Trumbull), were situated 'like a clan of wandering Arabs.'*

"The disposition of your army in Jersey, must strike every military eye, when the most important and accessible post was intrusted to a drunken and disgusted foreign officer. You had, indeed—at appears by evidence before the House of Commons,—ordered redoubts to be built, which would have secured the garrison till they could have been relieved by the troops at Bordertown; but why you did not enforce those orders, and, when you found them disobeyed, did not remove the officer, remains yet to be explained.

"During this whole winter, when the enemy were exerting every nerve to raise an army, and when their whole force consisted of but a few hundreds to guard their artillery and baggage at Morristown, you remained quiet and inert at New York, promoting schemes of diversion, instead of devising plans of military operation. Very important were the effects of your conduct on the minds of people in the country. The one side conceived a despondency that the commander-in-chief made not one exertion to check the reviving hopes of the enemy, or to wipe off the disgrace which had tarnished the British arms in the disaster of Trenton; while the other side exulted in that insensibility which was incapable of feeling the disgrace; compared you to Nero, who was fiddling while Rome was on fire; and were animated with confidence while they had *you* to contend with."—pp. 173, 174.

Unwilling to judge on matters with which he was but partially acquainted, he soon turns from military to administrative blunders:—

"Had the time of your military inactivity been employed in the business and attention of the statesman, some apology might be made for it. But in vain do we inquire for the use you made of the extensive powers you held, for any system you pursued to encourage, and thereby to increase, the numbers of the king's friends, to conciliate the affections of the well-intentioned, to fix in your favour the wavering and irresolute, or to reclaim the deluded and misguided. You neither inspired terror, nor courted friendship; and whether your conduct was more inglorious as a soldier, or injudicious as a statesman, remains yet to be decided."—p. 183.

There is much point also in many of his speculations on England and English institutions. The following is shrewd enough:—

"Arms and discipline only, could conquer Rome; but a deprivation of *wealth* would subdue England. If America had not *chosen* to proceed by violence, she might have emancipated herself without a blow. The dominion of England over Ireland is England's *profit*, not her *glory*. Remove the profit, her dominion becomes a sound. But how remove that *profit?* Wear your own manufactures, associate. By that word she may be beaten without fighting, and subdued without contest."—p. 244.

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* The letter from Mr. Trumbull which contains this expression, and which was intercepted and printed in New York, is strongly descriptive of the ruinous condition of the American affairs, and concludes—"Nothing under heaven can save us, but the enemy's going to the *southward*."

Mr. Van Schaack had arrived in England an enthusiastic admirer of her constitution; and with a full belief in the honesty of her ministers. His situation in the capital, and a constant access to the Houses of Parliament, gave him an admirable opportunity of testing that integrity; and of deciding in how far they were entitled to the opinion which he had formed of them with regard to their measures against the American colonies. The conviction at which he subsequently arrived, after a year's residence in London, will be best understood by an extract from his own MSS.:—

"I was bred up in a passionate fondness for the British constitution. What might have been the effect of partiality in English writers, I found confirmed by the suffrage of foreigners; and the idea of independency seemed to me to involve that of being deprived of that constitution, and I held the connexion therefore as essential to the preservation of that constitution, which alone could diffuse the happiness I expected from society. From all the proofs I had, I could not, on a fair estimate, think them sufficient to establish the fact of an intention to destroy the liberties of the colonies. I saw irregularities, but I thought time would work out our deliverance; and it appeared to me that, balancing conveniences and inconveniences, we were, upon the whole, a happy people."—p. 261.

"Upon my arrival in England I have attentively endeavoured to procure the best lights I could respecting the American controversy, and particularly relative to the designs of Government here, with respect to the article of taxation and raising a revenue from America; the sincerity of their avowed disposition to peace, to redress the American grievances, and to remove the causes of their uneasiness; and how far they had really acted with that integrity for which I gave them credit—and how far they had, on their parts, fulfilled the duty which, on the other side, I had thought them deficient in, of averting a civil war, and with what kind of temper they had acted.

"The result of a fair investigation, which has employed much of my time here, is, that the design of administration was to draw from the colonies a substantial solid revenue; that every overture towards accommodation was extorted by fears arising from adverse events, and couched in terms of equivocation, which were meant to be retracted upon a change of circumstances which actually has happened; that the real design was to enhance the influence of the crown, by multiplying officers dependent on it. In short, to establish in the colonies the system of corruption by which their government here is carried on. For in examining the constitution of this country at this day, by its principles, it is clear to me that it has no longer an existence. The very fountain is polluted, and corruption pervades every channel of power. Parliaments are a mere sound, and the majorities are subservient to the will of the minister, and ready equally to support the most contradictory systems. The great officers are abandoned to luxury and dissipation, and the public is plundered to promote their extravagances. No man's merit carries him into office, but merely his parliamentary interest, and this interest over a set of venal boroughs, which are bought and sold like the ancient villains. In short, the national character is so depraved, that there is not spirit to rescue their government from destruction.

"Under these circumstances, I find my mind totally absolved from all ideas of duty. I see the British constitution in its most essential principles totally lost; I find the British spirit extinct. I see luxury its predominant character; and power, in almost every department, centered in those who are most abandoned; and that class of people who might have virtue to rescue the government from its abuses, excluded from office because they have not the means of corruption. Absolved, therefore, from all the ties of allegiance, I consider myself now as a citizen of the world, and to my native country am I determined to return, as the country of all others the dearest to me, as it ever has been; for I never can be intimidated from avowing that its welfare was the first object of my views, however it may be thought that I had erred in choosing the means to promote it."—pp. 262, 263.

It will readily be understood, that having once come to conclusions like these, Mr. Van Schaack soon began to sigh for the New World, and the ties of affection and friendship which had been loosened by his exile. He was, however, still detained by a very natural anxiety to recover, should it be possible, the use of his lost eye. For a time he had been kept in suspense on the subject, but ultimately the occulists whom he consulted, dissuaded him from undergoing an operation, lest it should act unfavourably upon that which was still left to him; and while he yet lingered, hoping that they might be induced to alter their ideas upon his case, the surrender of the army of Lord Cornwallis, at Yorktown, gave the signal in England for the abandonment of the American war. Thenceforward his absorbing thought was that of a return home; and although in September, 1780, his left eye gave symptoms of failure which painfully alarmed him, he had no sooner been assured that the operation for cataract might be safely performed in New

York, than he commenced his preparations for the voyage. It is believed that no impediments were raised to the residence of Mr. Van Schaack in the State of New York, for none such are recorded in his diary; while it is certain that all his old friends rallied round him with even increased affection, and without one misgiving on his past neutrality. A stipulation in the treaty of peace had annulled the clause in the Banishing Act, which would otherwise have made him liable, through his return, to the charge of "misprision of treason;" and he was consequently permitted to rejoin his family after some slight official form had been complied with at New York.

From this period, the life of Mr. Van Schaack is one of merely domestic interest. He married a second wife, and again become a widower; was called a second time to the bar; and previous to his death became perfectly blind; and yet, such was his mental energy, that he continued to practise with unabated reputation, and surrounded himself with pupils, some of whom have since become eminent lawyers. When in his eighty-second year, he might be seen in his study, in the midst of his law-students; and on one occasion, towards the close of his long and laborious life, he wrote thus to one of the dearest of those whom he had prepared for a subsequent career of honour and usefulness:—

> "You see that, like an old coachman who loves the smack of his whip, I still have some professional regards—indeed I have some professional occupations, as I have two students on whom I bestow much of my time and attention, of which I trust they will enjoy the fruits."—p. 446.

The other volume under notice, is one which is contemporaneous with that just laid aside; and it is a curious study of human nature to remark how differently the same events, and changes, and trials, operate upon the minds and spirits of different men. The convulsions of his country brought out all the mental resources of Mr. Van Schaack, while they made a mere querulous twaddler of Samuel Curwen, the hitherto energetic man of struggle and of business, who was a volunteer in the perilous expedition against Louisburg, where he had acquitted himself with considerable credit—an expedition which required no common share of activity and courage. He had been previously engaged in commercial pursuits, and had attained a high character for probity and honour; to which was superadded a success commensurate with his merit, until his business was interrupted by the depredations of the French cruisers fitted out in Cape Breton; and this circumstance it was, which decided him on taking a prominent part in what was supposed to be the hopeless, or at best, quixotic, attempt of the little army of New England militia, under General Pepperell; whose success in this hazardous enterprise was rewarded by a baronetcy.

The family of Mr. Curwen was highly respectable, a circumstance always important to an American; his ancestors having belonged to the Corwins, or Curwins, of Workington Hall in Cumberland. The first of the name who emigrated to the New World, established himself at Salem, in the rising colony of Massachusetts Bay, as early as the year 1638, where he represented his adopted town in the Legislative Assembly; and died at the age of seventy-four, leaving a large estate. From father to son, the family had always maintained a high reputation and considerable influence; and soon after the reduction of Louisburg, Mr. Curwen resumed his mercantile pursuits, although with less unvarying fortune than before. Commerce did not, however, engross all his attention, as he was in the commission of the peace during thirty years, and was also appointed an Admiralty judge, while his literary avocations were zealous and unremitting. He was a member of a philosophical and literary club in his native town, which was the germ whence sprang the "Social Library" in 1760, and the Philosophical Library, which were afterwards united with and became the foundation of the Athenæum in 1810. In the spring of 1774, Mr. Curwen incurred the popular displeasure by signing an approbatory address to General Hutchinson on his departure for England, in company with about two hundred more of the principal inhabitants of Boston and other cities: the disaffected portion of the community stigmatising all those whose names were affixed to the paper, as "*Addressers*," a term of which it is difficult to discover the odium; but which, nevertheless, had the effect of making them "marked men." Some of the number, alarmed at the popular displeasure, were base enough to make recantations in the public prints; but this Mr. Curwen refused to do, although he became sufficiently impressed by the power of the "people" to deem a voyage to Europe, if not actually imperative, at least expedient; and he accordingly embarked at Philadelphia, in April, 1775, and thence to London on the 13th of the same month.

And here at once commences the extraordinary contrast between man and man. We have the authority of Ovid for saying of education, that

"*Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros;*"

and yet how little is the truth of the sentiment worked out in the present instance. We have seen the anguish with which Mr. Van Schaak, at the very latest moment to which he could with safety defer it, separated himself from a sick wife, whose state of lingering disease must have wearied him both in mind and body: and Mr. Van Schaak was not a man of letters, but, on the contrary, the member of a dry, unimaginative, matter-of-fact profession, having no analogy with the finer feelings of humanity. Mr. Curwen was a *littérateur par excellence*, and yet, in despite of Ovid, here, in a transcript from his own private journal, just as he had quitted his family and arrived at Philadelphia, he says as follows:—

> "Having in vain endeavoured to persuade my wife to accompany me, her apprehensiveness of danger from an incensed soldiery, a people licentious, and enthusiastically mad and broken loose from all the restraints of law or religion, being less terrible to her than a short passage on the ocean, and being moreover encouraged by her, I left my late peaceful home (in my sixtieth year) in search of personal security, and those rights which, by the laws of God, I ought to have enjoyed undisturbed there, and embarked at Beverly on board the schooner Lively, Captain Johnson, bound hither, on Sunday, the 23rd ult., and have just arrived."—p. 25.

And this, with one exception, where, in a letter to the Hon. Chambers Russell, her brother, he declared that, were she no longer in existence, he should never seek to return to the New World, is the only mention which is made of his wife throughout the whole work. We can understand that this volume may probably have become very popular in America, for the express reason which has totally prevented its success here—that of its being, from the hour of Mr. Curwen's advent in England, nothing more than an elaborate guide-book, interspersed with occasional letters on political and financial subjects; while to the English reader, the very title page will convey disappointment.

He appears to have been far from happy in this country. He resided for some time in the West of England, repining over the step which he had taken in quitting,—not his country, for he does not affect any particular nationality, but the means of affluence which he had abandoned by his self-expatriation. We shall now give a few extracts from his political letters, as they relate to a period of which neither the men nor the measures can ever fail to be matter of interest to the lovers of history:—

"*London, August*, 1775.

"As far as my experience reaches, I have observed that the upper ranks, most of the capital stockholders, and, I am told, the principal nobility, are for forcing the supremacy of Parliament over the colonies; and from the middle ranks down, are opposed to it. America furnishes matter for disputes in coffee-houses, sometimes warm, but without abuse or ill-nature, and there it ends. It is unfashionable, and even disreputable, to look askew on one another for difference of opinion in political matters; the doctrine of toleration, if not better understood, is, thank God, better practised here than in America; otherwise there would not be such numbers of unhappy exiles suffering every disadvantage.

"Incredible quantities of ammunition and stores, shipped and shipping, from Tower-wharf for America, manifests the intention of the administration to prosecute the plan of subjection of the colonies to the authority of Parliament; for that is the only dispute, as it is understood here. Administration would gladly have met the colonies half-way or more, had there appeared any inclination to accept terms in any degrce consistent with the honour and dignity of the mother-country. Now, no alternative; an absolute independence of the colonies on Great Britain, or an explicit acknowledgement of the British legislation over all the dominions of the empire. The proclamation, which you will receive by this conveyance, was published the day befere yesterday at the Royal Exchange, with all the circumstances of indignity which the Lord Mayor could throw on it.

"Instead of the languid measures hitherto pursued, more active ones will succeed, and then woe to poor Massachusetts, which, like the scape-goat, must bear the sins of many. Do urge our remaining friends to flee from the destruction that will speedily overtake that devoted colony. You will not wonder at the luxury, dissipation, and profligacy of manners, said to reign in this capital, when you consider that the temptations to indulgence, from the lowest haunts to the most elegant and expensive rendezvous of the noble and polished world, are almost beyond the power of numbers to reckon up."—p. 38.

It is curious to us, who have seen the result, to look back and feel how utterly all the well-informed American refugees repudiated the idea of ultimate independence for their country. When they glanced round them, and understood the opulence, credit, resources, and power, both phyisical and mental, of the empire from beneath whose yoke they were striving to draw out their necks, they shuddered at their own weakness: and when they remembered that these mighty institutions had been the work of centuries—that generation after generation had lent its aid to the completion of the same magnificent idea; they were painfully reminded that as for their own land there had been no yesterday, so there might equally be no tomorrow. They could not foresee that fate would work for them even by the very tools which had been destined for their destruction. They were not long, however, ere they awoke to a far different conviction; in a letter from Mr. Curwen, written in July, 1778, he thus expresses his altered anticipations:—

"This day I received a letter from an old friend, now in banishment with his wife and children at Halifax, conceived in the common, plaintive strain with all letters from that quarter; complaining of the spiritless measures of administration, and their military servants. In truth, vigour and activity seem not the characteristics of this nation at this period; the continued series of untoward events on the side of Great Britain, in this unnatural contest between her and the colonies, has, I fear, given the *coup de grace* to her glory. The sun of Britain is past the meridian, and declining fast to the west, and America is for ever emancipated from the legislative authority of this once potent empire; alas! no more so. The prophetic falling off of the best jewel from our king's crown when on his head at coronation, is now accomplished by the loss of America, which I consider irrevocably gone; whether to their advantage is a point, I fancy, the congress and I should not join issue in; the burden of supporting an independency with dignity is too heavy for America to bear, especially the Northern Colonies, unless the patriots there will discharge the troublesome public trusts and offices without pecuniary emoluments; requiring a much greater degree of virtue, self-denial, and public spirit, than I think now does or indeed ever did, exist there, unless in profession."—pp. 196, 197.

And now, in order to part pleasantly with Mr. Curwen, to whom, *soit dit en passant,* we owe a multitudinous collection of texts, with the names, and livings, and chapels, of the worthy divines who delivered the sermons, and a scrupulous declaration of their quality,—Mr. Curwen himself evidently leaning to Socinianism,—we intend to extract some passages of his journal, relating to an institution which doubtlessly afforded the first hint to the female chartists, of that *so-called* political meeting, of which Miss Mary Ann Walker was once the centre.

"Nov. 4th. Accompanied Mr. Dalgleish to La Belle Assemblée, or Ladies' Disputing Society. The question proposed was, 'would it not be prudent and proper, considering the great demand for public supplies, and the difficulty of raising them, to lay a tax on old bachelors?" The lady who first spoke, moved to alter the question, and include old maids, which was objected to by a fine young lady, who answered in a lively, pleasing manner; her objection was however overruled by a vote put to the president. Question then stood as including old maids. Twelve female speakers stood forth in succession, and the question was carried in the affirmative. There were many excellent thoughts expressed, and some witty ones; some acquitted themselves to the approbation of the company. A few, through diffidence or forgetfulness, stopped short in mid-race, and sat down, unable to proceed. These met with polite and kind indulgence, and were cheered by way of encouragement."—p. 285.

"Dec. 12th. Samuel H. Sparhawk called; accompanied him to Ladies' Disputing Club, at King's Arms, Cornhill. A lady presided and acquitted herself very commendably. Question: '*Was Adam or Eve* most culpable in Paradise?' Mrs. President addressed the assembly with great propriety, just accent, and pleasing voice; explaining the nature of the meeting; justifying ladies appearing to speak in a public promiscuous assembly. She was frequently applauded; on ascending the chair, she turned round and gracefully saluted the company, discovering perfect self-possession, void of all embarrassment. The other speakers also acquitted themselves laudably, and were frequently cheered. Some spoke, I wont say argued, on one side, some on the other; very little serious argument, unless declamation, quotations from Hudibras, etc., can be so denominated. The subject afforded matter for mirth, but the most serious speeches turned against the mother of us all.

"The concluding speech was foreign to the question; the subject was, the term 'Congress.' The speakers were lively, and their wit and humour produced shouts of laughter. The principal speaker introduced her speech, by observing that the word being understood here as implying rebellion, she at first apprehended American ladies were coming over in shoals to seduce the young gentleman from our island ladies; but after considering the subject, and being informed by a clergyman to whom she applied for its meaning, had found that the word had a harmless signification, and had been used on this side the water in treaties of peace, as the congress of ambassadors of belligerent powers at Nimeguen, Aix-le-Chapelle, etc.; that it is derived from a Latin word signifying a meeting together to compose, or reunite, discordant parties. She was pleased to hear it was not likely to give disgust to our state physicians, who were laudably employing their skill and labour in administering harsh medicines to the disordered members of the consumptive empire. After a series of lively observations, she closed by wishing success to the institution, and that it may do honour to female eloquence. Question being put, whether Adam was most in fault, vote by three hands only, negatived by one. Thus Eve stands acquitted in this female school of oratory of being the most guilty, though I fancy the major

part, considered as females, are not so clear in the affirmative."—pp. 295, 296.

All comment either upon the "institution" itself or the subjects chosen for debate, is unnecessary from us; but it is a sufficiently curious feature in the demure reign of George III.; and the *grand serieux* with which the ex-judge details its absurdities is eminently amusing.

Nothing more, either as matter of local history, or mere amusement, can be gleaned from the biography of Mr. Curwen for readers on this side of the Atlantic: but the book may be of some value in America as a guide-book, for those who purpose an acquaintance with the "sights" in England: although here also we are bound to confess that the descriptions given will do but scant justice to the subjects treated. Did our space permit we would gladly enlarge on the pictures of our own country thus presented to our view, at a period so little removed from our own time, and yet so widely different in character. We had little to boast of in the good old times of good King George III., if religion, morals, or artistic excellence are to be taken as a criterion; and we have cause indeed to be thankful that in so short a time a progress so incalculable has been made. Meantime it is not unlikely that some thousands of Americans will take the descriptions given of us in these pages as applicable to the reign of Victoria, and judge us accordingly.

ART. V.—1. *Report of the Friend of the Clergy Corporation for* 1855. London.

2. *Report of the Committee appointed by the House of Commons to examine into the Condition of the Ecclesiastical Corruption.* 1856.

WHEN the plan was formed and carried into effect, some years ago, to abolish at least two-thirds of the cathedral prebends, we remember to have heard several of our clerical friends, more sanguine than wise, congratulating themselves that the time at last was come when effectual reform in the Church would begin, and something like adequate remuneration be derived from those pieces of preferment, which, to the eternal disgrace of their patrons, were justly called "poor." As prebendary after prebendary was gathered to the cathedral cloisters, having no longer any other tenure in the ecclesiastical corporation than a narrow grave, and the proceeds of the vacated stalls were diverted from their former channel into the treasury of the Ecclesiastical Commission, the certainty of the expected and immediate augmentation of small or poor livings was taken for granted. Very few of those who had the misfortune to be cast upon such "starvations," from which their own annual sustenance was impossible, much less that of wife and children, saw how ridiculous was the idea of their ever reaping the slightest benefit from the promised change. The hope, long deferred, still existed within them, that the magnates of the Church had some bowels of compassion for the miserable condition of their poorer brethren, who were loth to believe that the bishop, who extended two fingers to them at a visitation, or condescended to note their presence by a nod at a confirmation, was so utterly callous as to their lot, as utterly to forget there were such men in his diocese, the moment his episcopal carriage had rolled away from the door of the church, in which he had been edifying the clergy with an hour and a half's essay, commonly called "a charge;" or hurrying over the laying on of hands upon some hundreds of young males and females, by taking sixteen or twenty at a batch, at the communion rails, after their being also left in a state of bewilderment as to the meaning of the rite they had undergone, because the episcopal address was generally in opposition to the explanations of their parochial ministers.

Such poor incumbents were further fortified in their supposition, by the brief answer the bishop's secretary accorded them, in reply to the humble request that the P. C. of Muchwork-*cum*-Thousands-of-Peoples, with an endowment of £75 a year, might be considered in the forthcoming division of the prebendal spoil. They rubbed their hands, and spread the three or four lines of the stereotyped secretarial answer before their friends, and asked whether this assurance, that "their case should receive attention," though not definitely stating *when*, was not a proof that "a good time was coming," for which they were content to "wait a little longer." They reported their neighbour, the P. C. of Milestones-*cum*-Rock, to be a black sheep, because—with an income of £40 a year from the lessee of the Dean and Chapter of Hardnigh, £60 from the said Dean and Chapter, and £20 from Queen Anne's Bounty, although the commutation gave nearly £800 tithe upon its acreage—he asserted neither bishops, nor deans and chapters, cared for a soul on earth but themselves, and would neither do anything themselves to aid their subordinate clergy, nor permit the Ecclesiastical Commission to do so, if they could prevent it. They looked upon such a reverend brother as something like a maniac, when he laughed at their vague expectations; whilst they put it about their neighbourhood that it were better to avoid such a one; and let their disapprobation be known, *because* he was so rash and imprudent as *not* to be silent! And what have they obtained by flattering all in authority? They are still in the same boat with their honest, though reforming, neighbour. They are not a whit better off than he is. He remains, upon no better, and no worse, pittance than when he first ridiculed the Ecclesiastical Commission, and said, that promises, whether from bishops, deans or chapters, were good for nothing. Neither he nor they have been permitted to rise in their profession. Each have struggled on—how they can scarcely tell themselves,—and after nearly a quarter of a century of hardship, toil, and disheartening labour, see neither the chance of ever being promoted, nor of getting a slice added to their "starvations," although nearly all the suppressed prebendal stalls have fallen in, and the annual income of the Ecclesiastical Commission may now be reckoned by thousands instead of hundreds. Had the poor clergy combined at first, they might have done something for themselves; but so long as a bishop's two fingers were considered an honour conferred, or his episcopal nod a condescension, they cut themselves off from all consideration, and permitted their, so called, superiors to laugh at them, and make sport of their puerilities.

Even now it may not please such of the clerical body, to whom we are referring, to hear these homely truths. But it is only right that such truths should be told, *because*, unjust as the conduct of bishops, deans and chapters, and other *patrons*, have been to the poorer clergy, these latter themselves have much to thank themselves for, and are in a large measure to blame. Had they not permitted themselves to have been cut up, as it were, in detail, they would ere this have received something by way of augmentation of their preferments; and had they stood together, it would have been impossible that thousands of pounds should have been squandered in providing *palaces* for the episcopal lords of Parliament. We tell the poorer clergy fearlessly, that if those of the diocese of Lincoln had dared to have met and protested against the purchase and adornment of Riseholme for the late and succeeding bishops of that see, neither the bench of bishops, nor the Ecclesiastical

Commission itself,—however packed it might have been with those who care nothing for the interests of the poor clergy —would have ventured to turn that disreputable affair into a precedent. The poor clergy of Lincoln held their peace, although they groaned under the affliction, and so the proceeds of the suppressed canonries and prebends of Lincoln can never be expected to do them any good.

But some admirer of the race of episcopal superintendents may here rise up, and demand whether the Ecclesiastical Commission have utterly disregarded the condition of poor livings. To this we may reply, they have in truth added a pittance to a few, but in such niggardly proportion, that the vaunted increase is but the adding of insult to injury. We defy any one to show that so much as £100 *per annum* has been given to any small living by the Commission. The average gift, like that of Queen Anne's Bounty, has rarely exceeded £20! Bishops have had thousands of pounds lavished upon the purchase and fittings of their residences; but the poor clergy have only had the mendicant's dole. Bishops have had the management, in a great measure, of the dispensation of the Ecclesiastical Commission funds. What wonder is it that they have thought of themselves before thinking of the poor and needy? Unhappily this is not the first occasion of those clothed in purple and fine linen forgetting the poor and destitute laid at their gate.

After so many years of disappointment and annoyance, with the assurance before them that the raising any one of the clerical order to the episcopate, too often makes him either a moral coward or a self-seeker, it really is a matter of continued astonishment, that the poor clergy will not move to prevent any further perversion of the funds derived from the suppression of prebendal stalls. Most of the bishops are now, thanks to their *personal* consideration, provided with palaces, at which any one of the apostles, or early Christians, could they again visit the earth, would stand aghast, asking what such "ceiled houses" had in accordance, or in common, with the religion of Him, "who had not where to lay his head." The wants of bishops, in this respect, must be now, in most respects, comparatively few. Surely, then, we might expect to hear no more of a perversion of the funds at the disposal of the Ecclesiastical Commission. Now, or never, poor livings surely stand a fair chance of being increased in value. NOT AT ALL! Bishops, it is to be feared, have not had enough as yet of the spoil; there must be a new creation of the order,—an extension of the number, and, consequently, a further money provision! And where are the funds to come from? From that inexhaustible fountain of supply, the Ecclesiastical Commission! But the vast proportion of funds at the disposal of this corporate body is derivable from the proceeds of suppressed canonries and prebends. These funds were promised for the augmentation of small livings. They have already been shamelessly diverted. Is the same conduct to be pursued again? Are bishops to have all the product, and the "*inferior*" clergy nothing. Most assuredly this is in contemplation; nay, we may as well say what we are quite certain of, that a scheme is cut and dried, by which not only are certain sees to be divided, and their occupants provided with from three to four thousand pounds *per annum*, but the Act of Henry VIII., for the nomination of suffragans, is to be revived; that statute never having been repealed, and not forming one of "the sleeping statutes" very properly sought to be abolished by Mr. Locke King, the reforming member for West Surrey. For each of these suffragans one thousand pounds a year *at least* will be required, and that one thousand pounds will not be taken out of the income of the incapacitated bishop, whom the suffragan is intended to relieve of his onerous duties, but be asked for, and had of the Ecclesiastical Commission! Thus thousands of pounds are annually to be diverted from the channel in which they were primarily intended to run. The promise given, that dissolved prebends should benefit the poorer clergy, will thus be unscrupulously and permanently broken, and these poor clergy will be left to pine away a miserable existence, and to starve in too many instances, without the slightest possibility of providing, either by personal saving or by life assurance, for their wives and children.

And yet, in spite of the humiliation they have to undergo, they will not move, but are content to sit still, hoping against hope, and believing that their case is so wretched that it must, ere long, attract their bishop's attention, and force his heart to be touched with a spirit of compassion. Doubtless it is a very proper spirit for the poorer clergy to entertain and to inculcate, "to learn, in whatever state they are, therewith to be content;" but this does not accord with a habit to which we have already alluded, of their too frequently inducing the bishop, when he sees them, to believe that all spirit of self-respect is dead within them. We put it to the clergy as a body, and specially to the poorer members of the order, therefore, whether there is really any need of an increase in the episcopate, either by the subdivision of dioceses, or by the nomination of suffragans. In most dioceses it entails upon a clergyman a heavy expense to wait upon his bishop, even though railway communication has opened greater facilities than some time ago existed. If he has brought his mind to believe that it is needful for him to see his spiritual overseer upon any point of discipline, practice, or doctrine, his visit to the episcopal palace, unless he be one of the favoured few, whom his lordship *knows*, is seldom satisfactory. The following piquant description from a well-known writer will be new to some of our readers:—

"He is coldly received, has the two fingers poked into his hand, and coldly asked to sit down. He enters as briefly as he can into the subject which has brought him some twenty or thirty miles, or more, from his home, but he is disheartened ere he begins to speak. It is evident to him that the bishop is bored; the old University feeling, when calling upon the master of the college, the tutor, or any other 'don,' again comes over him. He cannot repress this feeling; it will confuse him; but though he is disgusted that he—one of the same order with the man to whom he is sitting opposite, nothing more, after all, than a *primus inter pares*—should receive so cold a greeting, his words, like *Macbeth's* Amen, "stick in his throat." The matter he has to speak about has, perchance, cost him many sleepless nights; it has deprived him of that holy calm which is so requisite for the prosecution of his spiritual duties; nay, has all but thrown him upon a bed of sickness, before he could make up his mind to go to his spiritual superior for advice and consolation: but a heart-sickness comes over him as he unfolds his tale. He sees, before he has well nigh begun, that he has lost both his money and his pains; that he will neither get kind advice nor practical counsel. His position in the diocese is unimportant; his influence, beyond the sphere of his own parish, is little or nothing; the bishop therefore bows him out, or puts him off with the promise that he shall hear from him in a day or two; a promise ere long fulfilled by two or three words from a chaplain or a secretary, to the effect, in plain words, that the bishop cares no more about him, his necessities, or his parish, than he does for the thousands of half-naked children which abound in the large towns of his diocese. Sometimes, however, this pleasant kind of interview takes a different form. The bishop has, perhaps, been a schoolmaster, and fancies that a fool's-cap and a birch would better suit his visitor than words of counsel and advice, though, unlike some older member of the bench, he has the common sense not to say as much, or put it on paper. Then the poor clergyman is snubbed, especially if he is known not to think exactly according to the particularly expressed theories of his diocesan, or rated in good round terms for his folly in troubling his bishop about matters, to his mind so trivial, though to the poorer clergyman they may be, as it were, of life and death. Indeed, cases are reported where the episcopal manner has been so chilling and overbearing that the meekest have been roused to tell plain truths, and to insist that attention shall be given to the case which induced an interview to be sought. Then, it is marvellous how the episcopal manner suddenly changes. In an instant the rudeness became all suavity and attention, and the disconcerted applicant departs somewhat more satisfied, having been positively asked to partake of luncheon, which, if he has been weak enough to accept, the invitation has been seasoned by his being stared at by the bishop's wife and daughters, as if he were a Skye-terrier or an escaped convict, whom they were compelled for a minute or two to tolerate."

Hundreds of the clergy, if they read this description of a visit to episcopal head-quarters, will acknowledge that it is not altogether a caricature. Whether so-called evangelical opinions, or high-church principles, are in the ascendant, they have had to go through the ordeal, and can vouch for much that the facetious author has said respecting it.

If, however, this is the sort of communication which goes on between bishops and their clergy, common sense will ask of what real use are such bishops? In the present constitution of the Church, it would not be very easy to get on without a *primus*, who shall ordain clergymen and confirm young men according to the established services; but surely something less than £4,500 a year, the now fixed stipend of a bishop in the minor sees,—London, Durham, and Winchester being considered the greater posts of honour, and therefore paid accordingly in a much higher ratio—might suffice for the performance of such duties. Certainly the mechanical duties of a diocese, such as the institution to livings, the licensing of curates, &c., might be got through by any one or two clergymen or laymen at a much smaller annual rate.

But it is not only from the causes we have mentioned, that very many of the clergy have been brought to feel that they can quite as well do without a bishop as with one. We may take a case, just now very prominently, in point. It is allowed on all hands, that there is not a more important see, amongst the entire number of sees now existing, than that of the metropolis. We will, here, say nothing of the manner in which the diocese of London has been ruled during the present episcopate. On that head we have our opinions, and have more than once expressed them. It, however, so happens that the Bishop of London is *hors de combat*. After a long life of really hard episcopal exertion, it has pleased Providence to lay him entirely aside, and to render him incapable of ever again discharging the episcopal functions. Yet we hear of no complaint of the diocese being at a standstill. Clerical duties go on just as well, and regularly, as when the bishop was in the plenitude of his activity. Appointments are made by a Commission, consisting of the two archdeacons in their respective deaconries; ordinations and confirmations are supplied by other bishops, who just now abound at the Athenæum Club, and are to be daily met with from the House of Lords to the Mansion House, where they do not object to dine with a Jewish Lord Mayor, though they are horrified at the idea of ever meeting him in Parliament. What need can there, therefore, be for an extension of the episcopate? Unless the entire style of episcopal bearing and conduct towards the clergy is at once changed—a result scarcely to be expected under present circumstances—an increase of the element would be positively mischievous to the Church. We do not know how it is, nor are we ever likely to learn from personal experience, what it is, which makes a man, the moment he puts on lawn sleeves and a purple coat, become stiff and formal, instead of being, as he was when a simple rector or vicar, accessible and affable; but so it is. We have rarely come in contact with one bishop, whom we had known, in the simple rank of a presbyter, as of courteous and friendly demeanor, who has not become the worse for the change—a result, which might lead some ill-disposed persons to surmise, that the episcopate is, after all, not the form of church government most closely akin to Scriptural direction. We do not agree with such a notion, but we lament that too much reason is given to induce it to exist and prevail. Of such an element, it is quite clear the Church is now in no need. What the clergy require is to have men set over them, who know what the wants of incumbents are from having themselves felt them, to whom they can go, or write, for advice, with the certainty of receiving it; men who will not seek themselves, or their own worldly interests, exclusively, but endeavour to promote the deserving clergy in their dioceses without favour or affection; to take care of the welfare of the poorest, and to make it the main purpose of their action to see that funds proposed to be set apart exclusively for others shall not be diverted to themselves, or for their own personal comforts, but be devoted for a wider benefit and a larger sphere of usefulness than their own.

With pain and grief do we assert, that to expect this style of things is indeed "a forlorn hope." It is no more likely to come to pass under the present *regime*, than that the Ecclesiastical Commission will be made to fulfil the duties, for which it was professedly formed, or minor canons and lay vicars obtain their statutable rights by an appeal to the tender mercies of their respective deans and chapters. A Committee of Parliament has been sitting upon the Ecclesiastical Commission, and has just issued their Report. From that report we draw the inevitable conclusion that every hope, which has been permitted to outlive the most disheartening disappointment, is frustrated. What is in store for the poor clergy of the Church of England is not a renovated episcopacy, a reformed cathedral system, or an improvement in the value of small benefices; but a large extension of the bench of bishops, an utter disregard of the inferior members of ecclesiastical corporations, and a determination to let the poor clergy take care of themselves, as they have been forced to do under the greatest discouragement for years and years past. Against such a transparent mockery as this, we protest with all our might. We assert that true religion can never flourish under such a system; that it eats as a canker into the vitality of the Church; that it crushes the influence of the clergy, by pauperising them; and though last, not least, shows to the bitterest enemies of truth and holiness, that the profession of those high in office and power, who can not only tolerate such a state of things, but insist upon its perpetuation, cannot but be regarded as a shadow and a sham—a living falsehood—which no amount of charity can designate by the name of "pure and undefiled Christianity."

In despair, therefore, of witnessing any change for the better in the conduct of the episcopate, and anticipating an extension, rather than an amelioration, of the evil, if the purpose of creating more bishops, and reviving suffragans, obtains; seeing also no prospect of the poorer clergy being raised from their present degraded position, we cannot refrain from saying something more concerning the latter, relative to the means—alas that we should have to say it!—the *only* means, whereby something may be done for their wives and children, when their work is ended, and they shall have ceased from their earthly labours. To rouse the poorer clergy into action is positively hopeless. Had they not been the most passive set of men the world has ever seen, they never would have borne their sorrows so meekly or so long. In no profession but the clerical, would the insolence of office have been tolerated as it has been in the Church; in no one of the mercantile walks of life would similar patience have been exercised. This says much for those of the body whom considerations of self-interest have not restrained; but to get them to act together for their own pecuniary advantage will, we are convinced, never be achieved in our day, except in charitable combination, and with a view to the provision of means for those dearest to them, when they themselves shall be no more.

It will be remarked, that we have placed at the head of this article, "The Report of the Friend of the Clergy Corporation;" but that we have not mentioned that Institution till now, we have treated of the Ecclesiastical Commission, and its many short-comings, before alluding to an object which has done great good already, and is calculated and intended to do much more, provided it obtains that amount of support, to which it is most justly entitled. The objects of this Corporation are, to provide permanent pension for the wives and orphan daughters of deceased clergymen, to afford assistance to necessitous clergymen, and to aid the education, in a subordinate degree, of their children. This Institution has not met with either archiepiscopal or episcopal patronage, except with one or two honourable exceptions, which ought to be notified. The Bishops of St. David's, Llandaff, and Chester, are the only members of the bench who have done anything for it; and much coldness is still displayed towards its operations, because a foolish notion has gone abroad that it is intended to be an antagonistic society to "The Sons of the Clergy" Corporation. That there might have been such an intention on the part of the individual who founded this Institution, and who, most unhappily, like the first treasurer of the Ecclesiastical Commission, *though episcopal eyes were over him*, betrayed his trust, is more than probable. His misconduct, to speak of it by the mildest terms, gives colour to the assertion of many, that he raised "The Friend of the Clergy," for no other purpose than to annoy the governors of the kindred Institution, and to benefit himself. But if it were so, it is a fact which cannot be too widely disseminated, that not one member of the managing body, either lay or clerical, ever countenanced him in his designs, or became connected with the Corporation with any other purpose, than to do that for the widows and female orphans of the poorer clergy, which would have been needless, had the Church possessed its lawful property, alienated at the Reformation by the hungry courtiers of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; and had the estates of bishops, deans, and chapters, that remained to them, been properly managed, and had a fair proportion of permanent income been set aside for the working clergy. Nay, the foundation of "The Friend of the Clergy" had been quite unnecessary, had the funds of suppressed prebendal stalls been exclusively applied to the purposes, for which they were promised to be set aside, and that augmentation of income been made, which men, who have had a fortune spent upon their education, are entitled to expect. We repeat, the existence of such charitable corporations is a disgrace to the Church; but without them, and the several Diocesan Widows' Funds, many a widow and orphan would positively starve. Let any one take up the record of applications made for election upon the funds of "The Friend of the Clergy," and say whether, in the present anomalous condition of the poorer clergy, this Institution is not indeed required. There are now nearly *two hundred* female applicants for pensions from the funds of this Charity; but the funds, increasing as they are, will only admit of *eight* applicants being at present annually elected. An augmentation of the proceeds, by each one of the poorer clergy either himself subscribing, or, if he is too poor to do so, by making an annual collection in his parish in aid of those proceeds, would meet many a sad case, and lead the poorer clergy to hope, that in the event of their death, they would not leave wife and daughters utterly dependent upon the tender mercies of the world. We hear that many dignitaries of the Church have asserted, that "The Friend of the Clergy" is not wanted; that "The Sons of the Clergy" will do, and can do, all that is required. Those who assert this are as ignorant of the sufferings of the widows and daughters of their poor clergy, as they are of the difficulties with which the clergy themselves have to contend. To oppose such an Institution shows no very great care for the interests of those who ought to have the first place in the esteem of their bishops, whose province it is to watch over their welfare, and make it the chief object of their regard. Where antagonism, too, is determined upon, there is no need to travel very far to find excuses for refusing to give support; and we can but say, that it would have savoured more of good taste on the part of one of the bench, who enjoys "the deepest manger," whilst his brother has possession of "the highest rack," if, when speaking at the late "Festival of the Sons of the Clergy," in Merchant Tailors' Hall, he had refrained from making any direct, or indirect, allusion to a kindred Institution. But for that meeting being of a festive character, and one into which, therefore, no one, much less a bishop, ought to throw the apple of discord, this right reverend prelate would assuredly have been asked, why, when blaming by implication, the arrangement which make applicants for "The Friend of the Clergy" funds pass through an election, in which all the subscribers vote, just as is done in the great educational charities, such as the Clergy Orphan, the London Orphan, St. Ann's, and Infant Orphan Asylums, the corporation, in behalf of which he was addressing the assembled guests, compels the widows and children of the clergy, who apply to that Institution for relief, to renew their application every year, and to obtain the signatures of the churchwardens of their parishes, from whom, in too many instances, their husbands had endured the greatest anxieties during their lives. The ordeal of an election, by means of the votes of subscribers, is as nothing to this obnoxious compulsory course, the retention of which is as cruel as it is unnecessary. If, however, this, or any other bishop, feel the elections of candidates upon the funds of "The Friend of the Clergy" to be objectionable, we can only remind them they have a remedy in their own hands, by giving the corporation the benefit of their subscription, and the committee the advantage of their counsel, to which, we are persuaded, the utmost consideration would be accorded. It is common for those in authority to find fault, and to stand aloof from works of charity; but if they do so, they must not be surprised if their strange conduct lays them under still further suspicion, much too widely extended by their own actions, that they have little or no consideration for the wants and necessities of the poorer clergy.

One word more upon this subject, and then we have done with it. We have inquired as carefully into the question between the two corporations—"The Sons of the Clergy" and "The Friends of the Clergy"—as it is possible for any one to do, and we give it as our deliberate conviction, that there is not the *slightest* antagonism on the part of the latter to the former. If it were so, we would denounce its spirit and withdraw all confidence from it. But as we know how much suffering this Institution alleviates, how much pain it removes, how much sorrow it wipes away, we urge the clergy to give it their support, and to lend it all the pecuniary help they can. We wish our observations might move those who are set over us in things spiritual, to put themselves at the head of their clergy in this good work. Then might we expect that the anomalies in their conduct, of which we complain, and the inconsistencies we have noted which diminish their influence and withhold from them respect, would be effectually removed, and the time speedily be at hand when it would not only be a privilege but a pleasure for every clergyman to consult with his diocesan upon all points within his cognizance. Interest begets interest, kindness is productive of kindness; but haughtiness of demeanour, albeit that it savours nothing of the religion of the Saviour, can only induce hostility and offence; whilst smiling insincerity, that can be put on and off as easily as lawn sleeves, can only beget disgust. If our spiritual pastors were "wise in their generation," they would take immediate steps—*not* to increase the number of their order—*not* to keep a sharp eye upon their own pecuniary interests, or to be so very intent upon filling up renewed leases with the names of their children and children's children—*not* to see how their own houses can be made more sumptuous and their lands to yield a larger revenue; but to show condescension and meekness to the poorer members of their order—*really* to feel an interest in their wants and requirements—and to manifest that interest by being ready and willing at all times to advise and consult with them upon every question that will further the advancement of true religion and the spread of godliness; and, beyond this, if they cannot secure from funds once intended to increase the value of small livings—which we have yet to learn—that advantage their clergy have so long hoped for but in vain—they, at least, are ready to support such Institutions as have for their object relief to the most destitute and deserving, as well as a sure maintenance, that will preserve many a clergyman's widow and orphan daughter from the miserable pittance of workhouse relief and fare. Never had the episcopal bench better opportunities than they now have to win the love of their clergy and the respect of the laity; but, if they are the last to learn this, and the most unwilling to make the required change, they must not be surprised if hints be once more given them, as they were twenty-five years ago, to put their house in order, and not to spend their time upon the vain process of seeking to increase the influence and the numbers of their brethren. We are not their enemies because we tell them the truth, but amongst their most stedfast friends. We have no pleasure in detailing the facts which we have exposed, or in commenting upon the infatuation which perpetuates division and insures ill-feeling. When we tell the episcopal bench they have disregarded the requirements of their poor clergy, and overlooked their sad case, we tell them a plain, unvarnished truth, to which their consciences will, whatever their tongues may do, give assent; and they must not, therefore, be surprised at our urging the clergy to do for themselves what bishops ought to have done, and still might do for them, whereby much scandal would have been prevented, affection been secured, and loyalty been maintained. Because we would have our bishops what the apostle urges them to be, we tell them plainly, but sincerely, that to be useful in their day and generation, they must take a more liberal view of their position, and become the ornaments of the Church of which they are the accredited overseers. Thus they will promote sound morality, and extend true religion; thus, and only thus, will they be examples to the flock, " living epistles which may be read and known of all men."

ART. VI.—*Essays on the Spirit of the Inductive Philosophy, the Unity of Worlds, and the Philosophy of Creation.* By the Rev. BADEN POWELL, M.A., F.R.S., F.R.A.S., F.G.S., Savilian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford. London. 1855.

THE world has been a good deal occupied during the last three or four years with the ambitious designs and projects of the late " Emperor of all the Russias," who, it has been affirmed, and we believe truly, aimed at nothing short of universal dominion. But neither Nicholas, nor Catherine, nor Peter, in their loftiest moods, ever aimed so high, or had such dreams of empire, as that illustrious countryman of ours—Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, Viscount St. Albans, and Lord High Chancellor of England. This man gravely expected that all nature, and all the regions of philosophy, would recognise in time the authority of his name. "*I have taken*," said he, "*all knowledge to be my province.* And his was no vain dream: his empire has been extending ever since he wrote the words, and mankind have reason to rejoice that so it is. Unlike that power to which we have compared him, his aim was to enlarge the bounds of knowledge, to encourage the arts of civilization and of peace, to secure liberty to the nations of the earth, and, above all, to extend the knowledge of scriptural religion. He declared his object to be the introduction of a philosophy of no idle kind; but one calculated to elevate and improve the condition of the human race. "Meditor instaurationem philosophiæ ejusmodi quæ nihil inanis aut abstracti habeat, quæque vitæ humanæ conditiones in melius provehat."*

The work which stands at the head of this article is by a disciple of Bacon, and by no unworthy one. He has done much to place the scientific world under deep obligation to him, and this obligation we should be truly sorry to forget. If, in the course of our examination of his work, we should be led, by a sense of duty, to say a word reproachfully, assuredly it will be "more in sorrow than in anger." The work itself is one of great ability. It displays much deep thought, and an extensive acquaintance with the subjects of which it treats; and it is written in a style that is at once nervous, lucid, and elegant. The author has a rich command of appropriate terms; but it cannot be said that he ever becomes verbose, or that he wearies his readers by carrying out his thoughts into unnecessary repetitions. Repetitions there are in his work, and many of them; but as he himself has explained in the preface, this arises from the peculiar form of the book, and the way in which it was prepared. It consists of three essays, which, though connected in their mode of treatment, were yet "composed at different times, and with separate objects." This peculiarity in the work must necessarily influence our notice of it, inasmuch as it will be necessary to select for attention its leading topics wherever they are found, and discuss them separately.

But there is another peculiarity in the character of the work before us which must also be noticed in order that our readers may understand that character aright:—though consisting of three separate and independent parts, and treating of subjects "wide as the poles asunder," it yet seems to have one great end in view, which is never entirely lost sight of, and that is, the support of *the theory of development*, or *transmutation of species*. This topic is to the present work what the hero is to the drama and romance. It occupies the first part; and all other matters are, however unacknowledged, in a great measure subservient to it. They have indeed their individual and independent character; but yet, like the satellite and the planet, they revolve around their great central and governing body. This, again, must necessarily influence our review of the book. At the same time, we should do the learned Professor a great injustice, if we did not acknowledge that his volume contains a great variety of matter which is calculated to inform the minds of his readers, even when they are unable to admit, and, it may be, are shocked at the conclusions to which he desires to lead them.

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* *Redargutio Philosophiarum.*

The First Essay is "ON THE SPIRIT OF THE INDUCTIVE PHILOSOPHY," and consists of five sections, the first of which treats of "*The inductive principle*," and opens with the following remarks:—

> "The characteristic nature, genius, and grounds of the inductive philosophy have been much discussed of late years, and under considerable varieties of view, by different parties. Whilst some have carried out their view of its principles into metaphysical abstractions often hardly intelligible, others have sought to narrow them to the results of mere sensible experience; and whilst some would connect its aim with a higher intellectual philosophy, even verging on the mystical, the other school would lower its objects to the mere empire over matter, and the attainment of utilitarian ends."

It is certainly remarkable that there should be such a difference of opinion in reference to the true nature and character of that which has produced such mighty results as Induction. In the statements of the case made in the above extract, we fully concur, as we also do in much that follows it; but at the outset we cannot but remark, that we experienced considerable surprise at finding how little Professor Powell has said in this section—in which, be it remembered, he discusses "*The inductive principle*"—on the part which *facts*, or the findings of experience, perform in inductive processes. Undoubtedly the most essential feature in induction, as opposed to the *à priori* system which it has supplanted, is the importance with which it clothes the facts on which it rests. Professor Powell will, we know, admit this; but why then has he not insisted upon it more than he has done in this section? We do not complain so much of what he has said, as of what he has left unsaid. Even the very passages in which he admits the necessity of facts as a commencement, are open to the objection we are urging, viz, that their true and paramount importance are not sufficiently insisted upon. Whether this arose from chance or design we will not presume to say, but it is certainly remarkable that it should be in such singular keeping with what appears in subsequent parts of the volume, where the theory of development is discussed. It may be true, as more than once insisted on (pp. 6, 89), that "in every induction there is involved *a certain amount of hypothesis;*" but that hypothesis itself has been suggested by facts which the mind has had previously before it, and which perhaps have been more numerous than there has been any consciousness of while the mental processes have been going on. Distant analogies have been seized, and the facts which suggested them have been rapidly brought together, and ranked in a series for inductive purposes; and it is, as frequently remarked, in the detection of those distant analogies and connexions that the highest geniuses have shown their superior powers. But it is a misuse of the term *induction* to apply it in any case where an *à priori* assumption, or indeed anything else rather than the findings of experience, has been made the starting point, or where the theory has not been the result of carefully observed analogies. This is a process the very reverse of induction, and one which it was the special object of Bacon to supplant. We know that Professor Powell will again readily assent to what we have just said; but why then, we must again ask, has he kept this view of the subject so much out of sight, and dwelt upon others which are certainly not calculated to place in very high relief "*The Inductive Principle*"?

The second section is on "THE UNITY OF SCIENCES;" an important topic, which our author treats with great ability and with more freedom and confidence than he did the last. His confidence here, indeed, is great, even to bearing some slight resemblance to dogmatism, though we are persuaded he does not wish to be dogmatic; and it is but right to observe, moreover, that this section of the book, like that which follows it, has much enlarged thought, and is calculated to excite and encourage a philosophic tone of mind. We say this with the full consciousness that we shall presently have to notice, on the part of the author, a most singular instance of unphilosophical dealing—one that it would be difficult to parallel in the annals of science: but of this in due time. As far as our space will allow we are anxious he should express his own sentiments in his own words; and we will, therefore, quote as largely as we can, and remark as sparingly, until the subject imperatively calls for comment.

> "All branches of inductive science," it is observed, at the commencement of this section, "continually tend more and more towards a grand *unity of principle*. We perceive this to a partial and limited extent in every lesser advance of discovery: in proportion as new facts accumulate and become embarrassing from their multiplicity, sooner or later some happy advance in generalization is always found to occur by which they are simplified and reduced to some single principle, connecting them at the same time with other classes of phenomena.
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> "In the science of the ancients (exact as it was in some limited department, each within itself) all branches were isolated and disconnected, and all physical principles and causes were supposed of separate and even conflicting kinds.
>
> "All the first great modern advances were directed towards *combining* and *uniting* branches hitherto distinct, and tended to evince a *unity* of idea and principle pervading them. The first discoveries pointed to the identification of the celestial motions with terrestrial; of astronomy with mechanics; of the fall of an apple with the motion of the moon; of the horror of a vacuum with the laws of equilibrium; as later discoveries have identified magnetic and electric currents, and connected sound, heat, and light with the mechanism of waves; and, again, the resulting effects of heat with dynamical force."—pp. 40, 41.

Numerous instances are then given in illustration of these remarks, and of the principles advocated in them; and it is observed (p. 51), that should there be any outstanding exceptional cases they must remain for future analysis; and that all "distinctions which are found to be necessary at present *to preserve arrangement* in our subjects," must be regarded as only "*provisional and temporary*." An exception, it is said, has been alleged in reference to the entire science of GEOLOGY, the *inductive character* of which has been denied or disparaged. "Comte has most unaccountably denied it any place whatever in the scheme of 'positive philosophy.'" (p. 52). Should we not, we would ask, be led by this fact to deny to that author any claim to be ranked in the list of philosophers? It is a blunder of no common kind. It shows that when he "ought to be," or pretended to be, "a teacher of others, he had need that one taught him what are the first principles" of philosophic truth. "Geology," as Professor Powell remarks, "is eminently *inductive*. From its very nature it combines the resources of a variety of other sciences,—dynamical, hydrostatical, chemical, and especially physiological, and being thus entirely dependant on these other branches of inductive philosophy, itself acquires a perfectly strict *inductive* character." It is needless to say that in every word of this extract we perfectly agree; but we cannot refrain from observing, that we should like to know what science is *not* inductive? And, further, whether one science is, in reality, more inductive than another? Assuredly, the very fact that such views have still to be urged, is sufficient to prove, that in our apprehension of the mode in which truth is to be sought, and subjects investigated, we are yet far below the standard of Bacon, and now that two centuries and more have rolled away, instead of having passed, we are still seen toiling after "the father of experimental philosophy."

But we must go on with our extracts. Professor Powell thus affirms the uniformity of nature in time and space:—

> "The inductive philosopher is convinced that the universal subordination of causes must hold good equally in *time* as in *space;* that as there is no *region*, however distant, in which physical laws do not apply, or in which, if as yet unknown, we are not fully warranted in feeling an assurance that they must apply; so in *time* there is no *period*, however remote, at which we can legitimately imagine the chain of physical causation to be broken, and to give place to disconnected influences of a wholly different kind."—p. 54.

Again, with regard to discoveries being superseded by greater improvements, it is said:—

> "Every branch of science approaches perfection and stability as it more fully approaches to and realises the grand principle of *unity*. It is the test of the real advance of discovery to exhibit a progressively increasing conformity to these great principles; an advance which will not require a retreat—the erection of a structure which will not require remodelling."—p. 59.

The following paragraph may be found commencing at p. 61:—

> "Those who continue really to indulge in the visions which misled geology in its infancy, the dreams of universal cataclysms and sudden creations, of a kind wholly remote from physical analogies, and to which it would be wrong to seek to apply physical explanations, so far place themselves out of the pale of inductive philosophy."

And yet once more:—

"The principles of inductive science apply to all *physical* truth, and the investigation of all *physical* causes. The laws of order, uniformity, and continuity belong to all parts of the *material* world; and in this order and continuity *animal life* is included. From the lowest mechanical or chemical influences on inorganic matter, there is an unbroken series to the first manifestation of organic changes; and from these again, from the lowest vegetable or zoophyte up to the highest mammalia, there is entirely one continuous progression, its connexion from one term to another being carried on through absolutely insensible degrees and shades of difference."—p. 67.

These somewhat lengthy extracts will, we trust, place our readers in possession of the views propounded in this volume on the subject of "*Unity of Principle.*" They are *but* extracts from very much more to the same purpose, but they are enough to show that the author carries out his view of the principle of unity with no stinted hand, and in no timid spirit. He labours to show that, *as* a principle, it must be recognised in reference to all known objects, and that to attempt to *limit* its application is to give a proof that we are not inductive in our habits. We are persuaded that those of our readers who have not read this work will scarcely be prepared to learn that, in the face of such statements, the author has himself placed a limit to the law of unity, and introduced an exception to it in a manner the most gratuitous and arbitrary! Yet such is the case. He has taught us that exceptional cases are exceptional only in appearance; that they have only to be better understood to insure their being recognised as falling under the general, or, rather, universal law; and that it is the characteristic of the inductive philosopher to see and acknowledge this. Let us see how these views are carried out.

The difficulty of including *man* in the series of nature could not be overlooked; it is accordingly taken up, (p. 74), and the author calmly meets it by making "a distinction between man's animal and man's higher nature." The former, he argues, may readily be regarded as forming "a part of the same scale and system of organised life as the brutes." "The question of an intellectual principle is of a peculiarly *metaphysical* (!) kind, and in no way affects the continuity of man's *physical nature* with the rest of the material order of things." But this "*moral and spiritual* nature or principle existing in man, places him, *in this respect*, in a category altogether different from that of the lower animals."—p. 76.

So the boasted principle of *unity* is gone—is thrown overboard! The author has no scruple in saying that he has suddenly reached a point where it holds no longer true. But hear what he farther says, and on the same page. We give the italics and capitals as we find them:—

> "Now on this most important point I would only observe one thing in reference to our present subject; the assertion, in its very nature and essence, refers wholly to a DIFFERENT ORDER OF THINGS apart from and transcending any material ideas whatsoever: hence *it cannot be affected by any considerations or conclusions belonging to the laws of matter or nature.* In a word, man's nature and existence on earth is in nothing of a *peculiar* kind, and in no way violates *the essential unity and continuity* of natural causes: in regard to man's *animal* nature, because, *so far as that extends*, it wholly belongs to the physical order of things: in regard to man's *spiritual* nature, because, so far as that is properly such, it is wholly independent of all material things, and is therefore relieved from all possibility of connexion or collision with any physical truths or theories."

We need scarcely remark that these are pure assertions, unsupported by a vestige of proof; and we therefore cannot be expected to be at the trouble of answering them. It will be sufficient to observe, that, *taking the author on his own grounds, and arguing with him on his own principles,* there need not be the slightest difficulty in showing that the position he has assumed is perfectly untenable. Every argument he has used might be turned against himself, and he would soon, we believe, be found in a state of hopeless inconsistency. His predecessor in the subject of which he has undertaken the defence, and whose general principles he approves, though he objects to some of his illustrations,—the author of "Vestiges,"—has managed this point better; he, at least, is *consistent,* and subordinates "the psychical constitution," as well as the animal nature, of man, to the law of unity. He thus delivers himself on the subject:—

> "The sum of all we have seen of the psychical constitution of man is, that its Almighty Author has destined it, like everything else, to be developed from inherent qualities, and to have a mode of action depending immediately on its own organization. Thus the whole appears complete on one principle. The masses of space are formed by law; law makes them in due time theatres of existence for plants and animals; sensation, disposition, intellect, are all in like manner developed and sustained in action by law. It is most interesting to observe into how small a field the whole of the mysteries of nature thus ultimately resolve themselves. The inorganic has been thought to have one final comprehensive law, GRAVITA-

TION. The organic, the other great department of mundane things, rests in like manner on one law, and that is — DEVELOPMENT. Nor may even these be after all twain, but only branches of one still more comprehensive law, the expression sf a unity, flowing immediately from the One who is First and Last:"*

This would be all very fine if there were only facts to support it. So would the following, which is from the work before us, and from the pen of Professor Powell:—

> " If we admit that the earth, being still hot internally, must have cooled at its surface, and that this cooling must, in its progress, have caused contortions, dislocations, upheavals of strata; and again, that the waters charged with matter must have deposited it; and that the various crystallised bodies and metallic veins must have been formed during certain stages of these formations,—it is only by parity of reason affirmed that the rudiments of all organic as well as inorganic products and structures must have been evolved in like manner, as they were alike included and contained in the once fused, and therefore once vaporised or nebulous, mass. In that mass all kinds of physical agents, or the elements of them, thermotic, electric, chemical, molecular, gravitational, luminiferous, and, by consequence, not less all organic and vital forces, must have been included.
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> " Out of it in some way, by equally regular laws in the one case as in the other, must have been evolved all forms of inorganic, and equally of organic, existence,—whether amorphous masses, crystals, cells, monads, plants, zoophytes, animals, or man,—the *animal* man; the *spiritual* man belonging to *another order* of things, a *spiritual creation*."—pp. 77, 78.

These two passages, at least,—the one from the "*Vestiges*," the other from the "*Essays*,"—may be placed in one order or category; for they are both instances of an attempt at generalisation beyond what facts will justify, and without sufficient facts to warrant. A hasty and loose assertion is made to fill their place; and in affirming, as Professor Powell has done, both here and in the former extract from page 67, that the lowest mechanical forces on the one hand, and the highest mammalia on the other, form but one series, and pass the one into the other by insensible shades of difference, he asserts what,—he must pardon us for saying,—neither he nor any other man on earth can prove. In the last extract given, he is seen passing without warrant the rubicon which separates inorganic from organic matter. Processes the same as those described in the former part of the extract are still in operation, but nothing corresponding to those in the latter part is ever seen; though the Professor bridges over the gulf that separates them by the ready and convenient expression, "*by parity of reason*, &c.," and thus makes all clear. But the ejection of molten, or igneous, matter; the precipitation of aqueous matter; or, in other words, the formation of igneous and aqueous strata; the processes of desiccation, condensation, crystallisation; the depression and upheaval of strata; these, and other like processes are now going on;—it may be with less intensity, indeed, than in former times, though this is questioned and denied by some,—but we have no instance of inorganic matter passing into and becoming organic without an organism for converting it; nor of one species of organism passing into and developing itself into a higher. To say, therefore, that these two classes of facts are so connected as that what holds true of one is, "by parity of reason," true also of the other, is to say that which nothing in nature will justify—which all experience, and all that is known of nature, alike in past as in recent times, refuses to sanction. It is a generalisation not warranted by facts; it is a false generalisation; and it is of a nature that may well make us distrustful of the philosopher who has been so rash as to make it.

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* "Vestiges" *Mental Constitution of Animals.*

The third section of the first essay is on "THE UNIFORMITY OF NATURE;" and it is so similar in point of subjects to that of the last as to call for little distinct notice, and still less comment, though there is undoubtedly much in it of a superior character. But our space forbids our enlarging upon it. It must suffice to observe, that it contains many truly admirable paragraphs, and lays down with great clearness some very important maxims or rules, which, though prepared, as we believe, with a special object in view, yet are very valuable as general rules, and as necessary in other cases. We give the following as a specimen of what we mean:—

> "There is one grand maxim of pre-eminent value in philosophic inquiry generally, and which finds a peculiar application under such circumstances as those just referred to, viz., that *having once grasped firmly a great principle, we should be satisfied to leave minor difficulties to await their solution*, assured that in time the progress of discovery will clear them up as certainly as it has now cleared up difficulties once quite as formidable, and paradoxes quite as inexplicable. It has been by adherence to this rule that all great philosophical systems have made their way and finally triumphed over error. The Newtonian theory was beset by palpable contradictions in its results till many years after Newton's death; yet all sound philosophers embraced it. The motion of the apsides

of the moon's orbit was, with singular honesty, confessed by Newton to be in fact *nearly twice as great* as calculation from theory made it: and this contradiction remained an outstanding palpable objection, yet without occasioning any misgiving in the minds of sound philosophers as to the general truth of gravitation, till the error was explained, and the calculation rectified by Clairault."—p. 94.

This maxim may, of course, be applied in various ways: the author has made use of it in subsequent parts of his work. We would suggest to him that he may apply both it, and also the principle of this section, with great advantage to the case of the infusoriæ, noticed by him at page 452, "whose existence," it is said, "is *restricted and peculiar to artificial products made by man*;" and which, as he argues, "must have been consequently introduced at dates not only *subsequent* to that of man, but continually recurring." He introduces this obscure case for a purpose which, we think, he will, on reconsideration, feel to be not very philosophic—*he employs the unknown to interpret the known*—just the reverse of what ought to be done, as shown by himself in another place, page 477. In all *known* cases, and they reckon by millions, no animal is produced except from a parent of like kind;—the principle of "*uniformity*," as also that of "*unity*," suggests that in the two or three solitary cases, which are as yet but little understood, *the same law holds good.*

The *Fourth* and *Fifth* sections of this work our space will not allow us to enlarge upon. They are respectively on "*The Theory of Causation*," and "*Final Causes and Natural Theology*." It is no reproach to Professor Powell that he has left the question of causation *exactly where he found it.* Any other man would have done the same, for the subject is, as we are profoundly convinced, one of those which, though apparently very simple, are of a nature which man cannot really comprehend, and the discussion therefore becomes a mere war of words. Those who have been at any pains in attempting to understand it will, we conceive, readily assent to the truth of the following remark:—"The student, in wandering through the mazes of metaphysical dogmatism, is disposed to turn from a subject on which so much has been said and so little determined; he finds that the statements of writers consist either of that which every one already knows, or of that which no one can at all understand."* We confess we are surprised that either Professor Powell, or any other author, should, in these days, take the trouble to go into the subject, except for the purpose of showing how essentially unprofitable and hopeless is the entire speculation. *Requiescat in pace!*

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* Penny Cyclopædia—*Causation.*

The section on "Final Causes," is introduced with the remark, that the term has been "unhappily chosen to express the true meaning, and has tended to convey an idea not only too limited, but altogether confused and misleading." In this opinion we thoroughly agree. We confess to never seeing the expression without regretting its continued use. What is generally meant, at least, is *Final Ends;* and why not say so? Some of the first writers upon the subject expressed themselves obscurely and we have followed them; but the sooner we determine to adopt a new and independent course the better. The subject is, unlike the last, an important one, and it is desirable it should be freed as quickly as possible from the obstruction, caused by an obscure expression. We cannot but regard this section of Professor Powell's work as one of its poorest; though, very possibly, he did not care to go at any great length into the subject. Whewell has a chapter on "Final Causes," in his "History of the Inductive Sciences;" and he has given us a fair statement of the views upon the subject which are held respectively by the school of Cuvier, on the one hand, and of Geoffrey Saint-Hilaire, on the other.

We must now direct attention to the SECOND ESSAY contained in the volume before us. It is entitled, "ON THE UNITY OR PLURALITY OF WORLDS." The subject, as the author remarks, has called forth an unusual amount of popular attention, in consequence of the publication of two works upon it by two highly talented writers: the first work being attributed to Dr. Whewell, and the second bearing the name of Sir David Brewster. The opposing arguments of these two combatants are noticed by Professor Powell with great calmness and impartiality, though he favours the views of the latter. But there is a total absence of dogmatism in his remarks, and he discusses the question as if it were really an open question. This circumstance we venture to regard as a very interesting one, as affording very striking proof of what Dr. Whewell's Essay has effected in reference to the question of which it treats. Before that Essay appeared, the bare idea that the stars are not inhabited was scarcely tolerated, and few could gain a patient hearing who ventured to maintain it. It is clear, too, that Sir David Brewster entered into the contest with some such feeling as that with which Bryan De Bois Gilbert issued forth, before the first encounter, to meet the Disinherited Knight. But, like him, he must have quickly discovered that he had made a mistake in despising his adversary. We are persuaded that the prevailing opinion now is, that though truth may be on his side, the show of argument rests with his opponent. The skill with which that opponent has conducted his discussion of the subject is undoubtedly remarkable; it is masterly: at the same time, we candidly confess, it has not convinced us that the conclusion to which he desires to bring us is a right one. The subject has been exhausted, though not settled; and it would be useless to say much upon it here. We would only briefly show what seems to us to be the result of the discussions, and also the true state of the question *as indicated by analogy*. It is this. The earth was without an intelligent inhabitant for myriads of ages; what therefore was true of the earth in past times, may be still true of any other globe at the present time. But the earth *is* now inhabited; so therefore may any other globe be. But again: as it is certain that *diversity* is a law of the universe, so far as we are acquainted with it, so does it follow that, having regard to the present time, one star may be inhabited, and another not.

Into the discussion of the unity of the heavens has been enlisted the geology of the earth; and it has played a most important part in that discussion, by introducing into the question an element so new as not to have been even "dreamt of in our philosophy," until the new science had made its wonderful disclosures. Dr. Whewell made good use of it, as all must admit, seeing that, among other things, he turned it to good account in checking the rashness and dogmatism of the age upon a great and important subject. Would that Professor Powell had done the same. We are, however, concerned and grieved to say that, as is now pretty well known throughout the land, he has taken occasion from it to throw the greatest discredit on the integrity and authority of the Bible. He has done this, moreover, in a manner the most unwarrantable, deserving of the gravest censure; and not in one instance only, but in many, for the same thing is repeated again and again under different forms. The following extracts, however, will be enough to show what and how he has written, upon a subject of so much importance. The italics are his :—

"Even at the present day there are not wanting occasional attempts to keep up the hopeless chimera of erecting theories of geology on the Mosaic narrative. It is needless to observe that, as all notions of an accommodation of the *facts* to the text have long since been given up by all *sane* inquirers, these attempts are now merely directed *to explaining away* the sense of the text; in which they no doubt succeed by *such* principles of verbal interpretation as, if fairly applied to other facts, would readily enable us to put on any given passage any required construction.

"All inquirers, possessing at once a sound knowledge of geology, and capable of perceiving the undeniable sense of a plain circumstantial narrative, now acknowledge that the whole tenor of geology is in entire contradiction to the cosmogony delivered from Sinai; a contradiction which no philological refinements can remove or diminish; a case which no *detailed* interpretation can meet, and which can only be dealt with as a whole."—p. 303.

Now, in the first place, we cannot but call attention to the daring impiety of the above. Could no other way of indicating the cosmogony referred to be found than by calling it "*that delivered from* SINAI? Is *that* a locality to be treated with infidel contempt? The delivery of that cosmogony, whatever it may be, formed one of the many solemn and awful events, described with so much circumstantial detail in the nineteenth and twentieth chapters of Exodus. It cannot be separated from them: the whole must stand or fall together. And how, therefore, stands the case? According to Professor Powell the whole must be a fable, and Moses must have told a deliberate lie, for it is not possible that he could be deceived: he has said that Jehovah was seen to do, and was heard to declare, certain things of which none were either said or done. Is this the case? Has the *Reverend* Baden Powell really brought himself to believe this? We seriously question whether, with the knowledge one would think he must necessarily possess on the subject, it is *possible* that he can have done so.

In the next place, let us compare his statement of what others have done with what he proposes to do himself. He tells us that, as all sane inquirers have given up the hopeless task of accommodating the facts of geology to the text of Scripture, the attempts now made are "merely directed *to explaining away* the sense of the text," &c. (p. 304.) Who would expect to find, at the distance of only three pages from this, the following?—"But if, after all, in any instance, the letter of the narrative, or form of expression, may be found *irreconcilably at variance with physical* truth,—without trenching on the integrity of the text, or of the testimony,—we may allow the alternative of understanding them in *a figurative or poetical sense.*" (p. 307.) The italics are in both cases his. But thus, "the plain circumstantial narrative" has suddenly assumed a figurative or poetical form! Does not this seem something like "straining a gnat and swallowing a camel"?

We do not care to avow that we are among the *insane* inquirers who believe that the facts of geology may be reconciled with a literal construction of the language employed by Moses in the first chapter of Genesis. We do not, indeed, mean to say that there are not as yet serious difficulties in the way, but yet we are persuaded that the time will come when the two will be found to be in perfect harmony. We cannot, of course, enter into all the details of the question in this place, but we may observe, notwithstanding the remarks of Professor Powell, that the popular view of the first chapter of Genesis cannot be maintained, even from the chapter itself. The creation of the *masses* of the heavens, and the *mass* of the earth, is given in the first verse; and throughout the whole remainder of the chapter, therefore, the earth itself is assumed to be already in existence, and all the statements with regard to it refer either to some modification of its surface, or to the placing upon it the various animals and plants which were created together with man during the six days' work; and we may observe, once for all, that we hesitate not to regard these as literal days, and not as so many extended periods. But this being the case, it follows, by parity of reason, that the work of the fourth day did not consist in the actual creation of the *masses** of the heavenly bodies; for, as we have seen, this was done before, but rather related to some modification, probably, of their relation to the earth, with the nature of which we are at present altogether unacquainted. This is the only remark of a critical nature which we hold to be necessary in order to show in what light this part of the volume of Revelation should be viewed. The six days' work we regard as having consisted in the introduction of the present system of things, *as a whole;* for it seems to us un-undeniable that some of the existing fauna and flora had been introduced prior to the Adamic creation. We must, however, now observe, that the period in the world's history which was marked by the introduction of MAN is one which is wrapped in the most profound geological obscurity; but we are justified, we conceive, in believing that, as it was itself undoubtedly peculiar, it would be marked or attended by peculiar circumstances, such, for instance, as those described in Gen. i.* Professor Powell thinks, no doubt, that there was no peculiarity in the case; but he must be aware that in this he is opposed to our first geological authorities. Thus Lyell:—

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* It has often struck us that a lesson of humility and caution, in reference to *the interpretation of the first chapter of Genesis*, the very first verse of which announces the creation of the "*heavens*," may be drawn from Sir John Herschel's opening and eloquent remarks in the Introduction to his "Treatise on Astronomy:" "In entering" (says he) "upon any scientific pursuit, one of the student's first endeavours ought to be, to prepare his mind for the reception of truth, by dismissing, or at least loosening his hold on, all such crude and hastily adopted notions respecting the objects and relations he is about to examine as may tend to embarrass or mislead him; and to strengthen himself, by something of an effort and resolve, for the unprejudiced admission of any conclusion which shall appear to be supported by careful observation and logical argument, even should it prove of a nature adverse to notions he may have previously formed for himself, or taken up, without examination, on the credit of others. . . . . There is no science which, more than astronomy, stands in need of such a preparation, or draws more largely on that intellectual liberality which is ready to adopt whatever is demonstrated, or concede whatever is rendered highly probable, however new and uncommon the points of view may be in which objects the most familiar may thereby become placed. *Almost all its conclusions stand in open and striking contradiction with those of superficial and vulgar observation, and*

> " The sudden passage from an irrational to a rational animal is a phenomenon of a distinct kind from the passage from the more simple to the more perfect forms of animal organization and instincts. To pretend that such a step, or rather leap, can be part of a regular series of changes in the animal world is to strain analogy beyond all reasonable bounds."†

But while at present there are undoubtedly difficulties in the way of establishing a complete harmony between the known facts of geology and the language of Scripture, the very first chapter of that book affords, at the same time, some singular proofs that Moses " spake as he was moved by the Holy Ghost." Moses, it must be remembered, represents the six days' work of creation as having been conducted on the principle of *progression,* man being the last created animal, and crowning the series. Now, without noticing the difference of opinion that exists as to *the order* of the progression of past times, we may fairly ask, has Professor Powell ever put to himself the question, how Moses could possibly

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with what appears to every one, until he has understood and weighed the proofs to the contrary, the most positive evidence of his senses.

* Possibly it will not be altogether out of place to make a reference here to Babbage's idea of "laws intermitting," as given by Professor Powell at p. 473.

† "Principles of Geology," p. 145. Seventh Edition.

have become possessed of such a view, or principle? Considering the nature of it, could he have obtained it from any other source than either *geology* or *inspiration?* The six days' creation seems, as given by him, to have been an epitome of all that preceded it for countless ages, and to have been marked by the same principle; a principle unknown and never thought of in connexion with creation until the discoveries of geology suggested it; except, indeed, as it was learnt from the pages of revelation. This very circumstance, so striking in its great leading features, was that which actually led many to adopt the idea of the day-period theory—viz: that each of the six days is to be understood to be an extended period. We have already said that we do not believe that theory can be maintained; but this does not render the fact that originated it the less wonderful. We believe that fact to be deserving the most serious attention of all those who think it a light matter, comparatively, to doubt the authority of Moses, "the man of God."

Extended as our remarks have been on Professor Powell's second essay, we yet cannot leave it without noticing what he says respecting the nature of man's resurrection body. "If," says he, "there be one point clear in their (the apostles') declarations, it is that the resuscitated body will *not be material.* 'It is sown a *natural* body—it is raised a *spiritual* body.' (σῶμα ψυχικον, ... πνευματικον.) 1 Cor. xv. 44." (p.294.) Now the same argument would prove our present mortal bodies "not to be material," seeing that the ψυχ̀η is no more material (according to Professor Powell, p. 467, and most others) than πνεῦμα. But the apostle's words in *this* passage prove nothing as to the materiality, or non-materiality, of the body, they simply show what is, and what will be, the principle of life;—in our present bodies it is the ψυχη, in the resurrection body of the true believer in Christ, and in no other (Rom. viii. 9), it will be the πνευμα of Christ (Rom. viii. 11). Instead of saying, as Professor Powell has done, that "if there be one point clear in the apostles' declarations, it is that the resuscitated body will *not be material,*" he would have been more correct had he reversed the statement, and affirmed that they *will* be material. The whole of their writings teach us, with St. Paul, to look forward, as to a great object of hope, to the great consummation, "to wit, *the resurrection of the* BODY." (Rom. viii. 23.) And the entire teaching of the New Testament shows us that that body will be material. It will be "like unto" Christ's resurrection "body," (Phil. iii. 21.) which was material; as material as the one in which "he went about doing good;"* and it will, therefore, be suited to that *material inheritance* which will form the locality of the saints' abode throughout the endless ages of eternity—even *this earth*, (and not heaven, as so generally imagined, but certainly without authority from the word of God) in a renewed and glorified state, for "we, according to his promise, look for new heavens and a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." (2 Pet. iii. 13).

THE THIRD ESSAY in the volume before us is "ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF CREATION." And here the rose is seen full blown—DEVELOPMENT is complete. Here the author expressly announces, what indeed his whole volume is calculated to lead us to expect, his agreement with the author of the "Vestiges," in the philosophical principles advocated by him; though he admits that his physiological details are open to criticism, (p. 424,)—a fact which he seems to have taken as a warning to himself, for he scarcely ever ventures to give any physiological facts as illustrations and proofs of the opinion he advances, but is content to confine himself rather to the discussion of abstract principles; a mode of proceeding not exactly what it ought to be, considering the nature of the discussion in which he is engaged, and the zeal for *induction*, and inductive habits of thought, professed throughout his work. But at the same time, it must be admitted that this portion of the work displays much ability in its treatment of the subjects contained in it; and though many of the arguments are not new, as indeed is the case with many of those in the other essays, they are put in an attractive form, and one calculated to make them effective. He thus sums up what he conceives to be the result of the discussion on the great question of *Development*,—to support which, as we have before noticed, seems to be the chief object of his book:—

"Recapitulation. In what has preceded, it has been, I trust, sufficiently shown that some of the arguments most commonly adduced, whether in support of the 'immutability of species,' as supposed analogous to the permanent laws of nature, or against their 'mutability,' as 'contrary to experience,' or in favour of interruptions of natural order from apparent gaps in the geological series, are all destitute of foundation, fallacious, and untenable.

"On the other hand, while these arguments, which are those

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[*] See the IVth. Art. of the Church of England, "*Of the resurrection of Christ*," and "Coverdale's Remains," pp. 178—181. Parker Soc. These documents shew how much some of us have retrograded on these, as on other subjects, from the Scriptural standard of the sixteenth century.

most commonly relied on against transmutation, are, in my opinion, completely refuted, there is still no *positive evidence* to establish it as *a demonstrated theory*. Yet, as a mere *philosophical conjecture*, the idea of *transmutation of species under adequate changes of condition*, and in incalculably *long periods of time*, seems supported by fair analogy and probability."—pp. 425, 426.

We cannot, of course, examine in detail all the arguments for and against development referred to in the above extract, but we will endeavour to show in brief space how far "the idea of a transmutation of species" is really "supported by fair analogy and probability."

The reader will have observed that *length of time* is given as one of the necessary conditions. Its importance is constantly urged throughout the volume when the subject admits it; and in this Professor Powell only follows his predecessors in favour of development. But the following is given by him as a "correct statement of the case:"—

> "*General experience* must be understood to include more than *present every-day experience;* and the advocates of transmutation do not assert it absolutely, but only in *indefinitely long periods of time.* They do not maintain that it occurs under existing conditions, but only under *great and peculiar changes of condition.* Any fair and correct statement of the case, then, must include these qualifications. We cannot say that we have no experience of a change of species in a due length of time, and under adequate and appropriate changes of external condition."—pp. 417, 418.

Let us see, then, how the case stands, and let us begin at the top of the animal series, *because in every respect the best known*, and trace it downwards. Take *man* and *the animal next and nearest to him*, which, according to Professor Owen,* is the *Troglodytes gorilla*, one of the ape tribe. Now what a mighty *leap* must have been made if man was developed directly out of this animal;—the one being covered with hair, the other not so; the one quadrumanous, the other bimanous; the one not gifted with speech, the other gifted; the one irrational, the other rational; the one incapable of improvement beyond a given and very limited point, the other capable of indefinite improvement! Suppose such a development as this, and it would be no less anomalous than a new creation of man out of the dust of the earth. It would be in one sense, therefore, no less miraculous,—it would be as contrary to all experience and to all known operations of nature. It would, be to all intents and purposes, *a natural*

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* "Orr's Circle of the Sciences," p. 263.

miracle. And it is evident that remarks to the very same effect may be made in reference to the development of the *reptile* out of the *fish*, and the *fish* out of the *cephalapod.*

But now comes *the element of time* which, it is urged, makes a vast difference in the question. Let us see how it will stand when that element is taken into the account.

1. In the first place, if *immense time was necessary* to develop a higher out of a lower animal, then *the difference* between one and another—between the animal last developed, and that from which it came—must have been *very small;* and the difference could only become *great* by *many steps, or degrees,* of development. Now this being borne in mind, it is immediately seen that the subject may be tested geologically, and in a great measure decided; for, according to this view, the number of species between one order and another must be immensely increased, and there must have been, not one animal merely as a connecting link between man and the *troglodytes gorilla,* but *many; and just in proportion to the increase in the number of species, would be the increase of probability, that some of them would be found in a fossil state.* We have thus, it must be remembered, a means of estimating the influence of time. The longer the time, the greater the probability of that influence being detected. The *negative* argument, therefore, is here one of immense importance, seeing that its force at a given period is to be multiplied by the lapse of time. "*Non-appearance* may thus become tantamount to *non-existence,*" as Professor Powell admits in another place. (p. 330.) We must now, then, take the element of time out of the hands of our opponents, and use it as our own. Again, therefore, how stands the case? Even thus: *we have not a vestige of proof that any animal* (much less many) *has ever existed, which formed a link between the troglodytes, or any other of the quadrumana, and man.* The supposition that there *may have been* such an animal cannot be admitted for a moment, not only because it is unphilosophical to reason after this manner, but also because there is NOT A SINGLE FACT TO SUPPORT IT. Professor Powell evidently feels that such a link is necessary, and he therefore suggests, that possibly something of the kind may yet be found in the shape of "an *extinct and lower species of man.*" (p. 465.) Need we remind him that he has only to propose this to a company of geologists to see a smile of incredulity rest on every countenance? It will be quite time enough for us to begin to reason on such a phenomenon, when it is found to be really a fact. At present

we can only regard the suggestion as perfectly idle. And to what we have already said, we must now add, that, as the connecting links, rendered necessary by the development theory, between *man* and the *quadrumana* are altogether wanting, so also are those which the same theory requires *between the reptile and the fish*, and *the fish and the cephalopod*. We are therefore in a position to apply the negative argument to *the whole period of time*—absolutely immeasurable—*from the deposition of the earliest Silurian strata to the present period*. Throughout the whole, the necessary facts are wanting; and shall we therefore be so unphilosophical as to admit a theory so baseless as development is thus really found to be? What becomes of the claim to *induction*, when *facts* are not forthcoming? It would be downright folly to allow ourselves to be entangled in the meshes of a metaphysical argument, so long as our opponents are unable to produce anything more substantial. We can assure Professor Powell that we are not forgetful of what may be urged with great plausibility in favour of transmutation from the geological history of the lower animals—for instance the mollusca; but, without discussing this view of the question, which is a very wide one, we must be content to remind him that, if the arguments which he has employed to support the theory of development be worth anything, they must hold good alike in the case of the higher, as in that of the lower animals.

2. But, in the next place:—if the *difference* between the animal last developed and that from which it was developed, *may be* GREAT, then it is clear that *immense time* is NOT necessary for the development. The development may, nay *must*, be wrought *at a single birth*. At a given time the *fish* (say), contrary to all its previous habits, must have given birth to a *reptile!* Or a full-grown fish must have undergone a transformation so wonderful as to be in effect miraculous! And the same must be said of the reptile and mammal, and of the quadrumana and man. With this we bid adieu to development.

A word as to the way in which Professor Powell speaks of some of those who are opposed to his favourite dogma. We should certainly have thought higher of him and of his work had he not so often made use of the contemptuous and offensive expressions, "a certain class of minds," "a certain class of writers" (pp. 477, 468), &c.; but when such a mode of speaking is used in reference to such men as the author of "The Old Red-Sandstone," we confess to being not a little surprised. Sneers, however, are not arguments, but rather indicate a weak cause on the part of those who use them. Assuredly the name of Hugh Miller has claims to no small measure of admiration and respect.

We must close our remarks; and we will do so by glancing at one more topic, introduced but too prominently in this volume, and that is the asserted "*independence of Christianity.*" (pp. 471, 474.) Independence of what? *Of the Old Testament.* Now this is at once an error and an absurdity. Scarcely a page of the New Testament but refers to the Old as to an authority to which it is even itself, or its writers, subject. The Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, uniformly recognises the authority of the Old Testament as supreme. "*I came not to destroy the law and the prophets, but to fulfil.*" "*It is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the law to fail.*" "*And beginning at Moses and all the prophets, he expounded unto them in all the Scriptures the things concerning himself.*" The apostles followed, in this respect, the example of their Master: "*All Scripture is given by inspiration of God,*" &c. To multiply proofs is useless: hundreds may be given in which the Old Testament is referred to, either directly or by implication, and always in the same way. How absurd therefore to speak of the "independence of Christianity." If the Old Testament could fall—a contingency less likely, we are assured, than the failing of heaven and earth—Christianity must fall with it. Is Professor Powell prepared for such a result, with all its tremendous consequences? No; notwithstanding his most culpable rashness, we would fain hope that he is not. We are persuaded that he must assuredly know too much, both of Christianity and of the character of its Divine Founder, to doubt its truth, or to hesitate in saying to Him, "We know that thou art a teacher come from God; for no man can do these miracles which thou doest, except God be with him." But Christianity is not independent, but dependent. It is linked, as by a chain of adamant, "to Moses and the Prophets." Should not this fact lead Professor Powell to *reconsider* much that he has said; and lead him to feel that, though at present there are difficulties in the way of his recognising the plenary inspiration of the Old Testament, there are yet reasons for doing so of a nature so peculiar and momentous, as imperatively to demand a suspension of judgment in regard to those difficulties, and as calculated to justify the expectation that they shall yet be removed, when all will be constrained to say, with admiring wonder, "*Thou hast magnified thy* WORD *above all thy name!*"

ART. VII.—1. *A Monograph of the Trochilidæ.* By JOHN GOULD, F.R.S., &c. &c. London: Gould. 1856.

2. *Humming Birds.* Parts I. and II. (*Naturalist's Library.*) By SIR WM. JARDINE, BART., F.R.S.E., &c. &c. London: Highley.

3. *A General History of Humming Birds, or the Trochilidæ, with especial reference to the Collection of J. Gould, &c.* By W. C. L. MARTIN. London: Bohn. 1852.

4. *Humming Birds Described and Illustrated; with an Introductory Sketch of their Structure, Plumage, Haunts, Habits, &c. (Young Naturalist's Library).* By H. G. ADAMS. London: Groombridge. 1856.

"THE Humming Bird is a pretty little feathered creature, no bigger than a great overgrown wasp; with a black bill no bigger than a small needle, and with legs and feet in proportion to its body. This creature does not wave its wings like other birds when it flies, but keeps them in a continual quick motion like bees or other insects, and like them makes a continual humming noise as it flies. It is very quick in motion, and haunts about flowers and fruit like a bee gathering honey; making many addresses to its delightful objects by visiting them on all sides, and yet still keeps in motion, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, as often rebounding a foot or two back on a sudden, and as quickly returns again, keeping thus about one flower five or six minutes, or more."

No more true and vivid picture than the above of the Humming Bird has been given to the world, although it was hastily sketched in the log-book of a rough young sailor, more than two hundred years ago. We may fancy the astonishment and delight with which Dampier gazed for the first time upon this little winged gem, hovering over the blossoms of some tropical plant, whose gorgeous tints were outrivalled by the spendid plumage of the bird. This might have been amid the cane-brakes of the Island of Jamaica, where the English navigator was for a time overseer of a plantation; or in the swampy lands adjacent to the Bay of Campeachy, where he sojourned for awhile cutting logwood; or on one of his marauding expeditions against the Spaniards, in which he appears to have visited most parts of the South American coast, and often penetrated a considerable distance into the interior. Be that as it may, however, it is to him that Europe, or at least England, is indebted for the first description of the appearance and habits of this charming little bird; and although neither so full nor so elegantly worded as many that have been written since, yet it has never been surpassed, if equalled, for vigour and truthfulness to nature. We need not now pause to inquire to which species of Humming Bird it was that Dampier referred, one of the smaller kinds evidently, and probably the *Trochilus minimus*, which is common in Jamaica, and which is described as "less than some of the bees;" of this we shall have to speak more fully presently, when we come to call over the muster roll of this numerous and brilliant-feathered family. Respecting the name, *Trochilus*, given by naturalists to this family, we may remark that it is as old as Aristotle, whose *τροχιλος* is, however, applied to two distinct birds, and both of these altogether different from any whose characteristics would allow of their being associated with the Humming Birds. Thus in the "*Hist. Animal,*" ch. xi. bk. 9, we find that the *Trochilus* is termed *πρέσβυς*, Presbis, and *βασιλευς*, Basileus, that is senator and king; and from the description given, means either the common, or golden-crested wren; Belon thinks the former, Ray the latter. Aristotle's other *Trochilus* was a bird which haunted the margins of rivers, and was a favourite with the crocodile, because it relieved him of the leeches which attached themselves to his gums; boldly entering the mouth of the monster, and picking off the troublesome parasites. Heroditus (*vide Euterpe*) also alludes to this fable, treating it as a fact, and saying, that "when the crocodile goes out of the water, and opens his mouth, which he commonly does towards the south, the Trochilus enters and devours the leeches (*βδελλαι*, sucking creatures); for which good office the crocodile is so well pleased, that he never hurts him." Geoffrey St. Hilaire opines that it must be the *sag-sag* of the Arabs which is here meant, a species of plover, or dottrel, said to perform the same friendly offices for the scaly tyrant of the Nile. Why the term Trochilus should have been used to distinguish the Humming Bird family, does not appear very evident; but to question its propriety now would be useless, it having been accepted by Linnæus and Cuvier, and used by Lesson, whose "*Histoire Naturelle des Oiseaux Mouches, des Colibris, et des Trochildées,*" commenced in 1829, and finished in 1832, was, until the appearance of Mr. Gould's splendid monograph, the most beautiful and perfect work upon the subject. In the *Index Général* to his great work, Lesson enumerates, we believe, one hundred and ten species, and some of these it has since been ascertained were spurious; but in 1824, that is eight years previous to the publication of this Index, Mr. Bullock, an enterprising collector of natural history specimens, had announced in his work, entitled "Six Months in Mexico," the discovery of one hundred distinct species, and stated that every day added to the number in his collection. The late Mr. Geo. Loddige, an eminent English nurseryman, who had agents in South America collecting new and rare plants, instructed them also to send him as many Humming Bird skins as they could procure; and the result was, that he became possessed of about two hundred distinct species. And now it might well be thought that no member of this charming and extensive family group remained undiscovered. Two hundred species of Humming Birds! Why the whole of the birds of Europe, from the eagle down to the wren, do not number much over five hundred species; and how can it be possible that in this one family, the *Trochilidæ*, there can be any more additions? Mr. Loddige's cabinet, which is the wonder and admiration of naturalists of every country, must be complete. Not so, however, thought John Gould, who having achieved an European reputation, by his delineation and descriptions of "A Century of Birds from the Himalaya Mountains," and projected and commenced other great ornithological works,—some of which are now completed, and others in course of publication,—began to devote especial attention to these beautiful birds of the genus Trochilus; and so well-directed and successful were his efforts, that in 1851 he had acquired half as many more species as were to be found in the cabinet of Mr. Loddige. Many of our readers will recollect, with feelings of delight, that magnificent and unrivalled collection of stuffed specimens which he exhibited at this date in the Regent's Park Gardens; and sure are we that they regret, as much as we do, that the humming bird house, with its life-like groups of jewelled flutterers, was not made a permanent feature of the exhibition. We have sat amid those groups at the house of the naturalist, with the gorgeous metallic tints flashing and gleaming around us, and fancied ourselves in some land of enchantment, where precious metals, and all things usually considered most rare and costly, were as common as air and sunshine.

It was about two years' previous to this public exhibition of his unrivalled collection of Humming Birds, that Mr. Gould commenced the publication of the Monograph whose title stands at the head of this article, and of which ten parts are now issued, each containing fifteen plates, with letter-press descriptions. Nothing can be more brilliant and effective than the representations here given of these resplendent birds in their native haunts, amid the gorgeous vegetation of the western world. Each species is associated with a plant of its own region, and in most cases a charming bit of landscape is introduced, which impresses the beholder with a sense of the reality of these scenes, and introduces him at once to the very homes of the beautiful strangers which he here looks upon probably for the first time. By a new and peculiar process of his own invention, our artist and naturalist, for he may claim both titles to the fullest extent of their meaning, has been enabled so successfully to imitate the rich metallic tints of the plumage, that the plates in his book will bear a close comparison with his stuffed specimens: to this test many of them were put, being hung up in the place where the specimens were exhibited, and in close contiguity with them.

And now we are upon the subject of Mr. Gould's works, we may just mention the titles of those which are completed, or in course of publication. We give them according to the date of commencement. 1st. " A Century of Birds from the Himalaya Mountains," in one vol., containing 80 plates: 2nd. " The Birds of Europe," 5 vols., 449 plates: 3rd. " A Monograph of the Ramphastidæ, or Family of Toucans," 1 vol., 52 plates: 4th. " A Monograph of the Trogonidæ, or Family of Trogons," 1 vol., 36 plates: 5th. " The Birds of Australia," 7 vols. 600 plates: 6th. " A Monograph of the Odontophorinæ, or Partridges of America," 1 vol., 32 plates: 7th. "The Birds of Asia," 7 parts published: 8th. "A Monograph of the Trochilidæ, or Family of Humming Birds," 10 parts published: 9th. " Icones Avium, or Figures and Descriptions of New and Interesting Species of Birds from various parts of the World," 2 parts published: 10th. "The Mammals of Australia," 7 parts published. These works are all uniform in size (which is imperial folio) and in style, so as to form a perfect series, and such a monument of artistic skill, of indefatigable labour, of patient research, of enthusiastic love of nature, and of keen and close observation of the forms and peculiarities of animal, and especially of bird, life, perhaps no one man ever before erected. Nor in saying this are we forgetting the splendid works with which Audubon, and others, have enriched the annals of natural history. But we have to consider the rapidity with which these works have been produced, their diversity of character, although unity of treatment, and the circumstance that Mr. Gould is yet but in the prime of life, (he was born, we believe, in 1804), and may yet add very considerably to the above list; all the works mentioned in which have appeared, it should be remembered, since 1832. There is something to us truly wonderful in this; when Mr. Gould, with a certain degree of honest pride, although without anything like vain-gloriousness or pretension, for he is one of the humblest as well as kindest of men, exhibited to us his row of noble volumes, we could scarcely help regarding him in the light of a magician, who had called in the aid of superhuman power to assist him in this production.

But we are forgetting the *Trochilidæ* in our admiration for their delineator and historian, who must smile, if he should chance to light upon a copy of the first edition of Goldsmith's "History of the Earth and Animated Nature," (dated 1774); and, turning to Humming Bird, there read:—"of these charming little animals, there are six or seven species, from the size of a small wren down to that of an humble bee." The six or seven has, we have seen, grown into three hundred species in less than two centuries, indeed, we may say, one century: for when Linnæus published his "*Systema Naturæ,*" in 1756, but little more light appears to have been thrown upon the natural history of this feathered family; and long after this time the number of recorded species was very limited. It is this author who seems first to have applied to the family the generic term *Trochilus*. He places it in his order PICÆ, and next to the genus *Certhia*.

Cuvier, in his "*Règne Animal,*" (1829-30), removes the genus from thence to the great order *Passereaux*, giving it a place between the Sun Birds (*Cinnyris*) and Hoopoes (*Upupu*). he also divides the genus into two sections: 1st. *Colibris*, of which the arched beak is a main character, and *Oiseaux-mouches*, or fly-birds, which have straight beaks. These terms, it will be seen, are also used by Lesson, and, we believe, by most of the French naturalists of his, as well as of the present, time. That the anatomy as well as the habits of Humming Birds was closely investigated by Cuvier, we may gather from his graphic, although succinct, description of them, which we here quote:—

> "These little birds, so celebrated for the metallic splendour of their plumage, and especially for the discs (*plaques*), as brilliant as the precious gems, which are formed on the throat or head by means of scale-like feathers of a peculiar structure, have a long and slender beak, enclosing a tongue capable of extension, almost like that of a woodpecker's, by means of an analogous mechanism. This tongue is divided, almost from its base, into two filaments, which

the bird uses, it is said, to suck up the nectar of flowers. Nevertheless the Humming Birds live also on small insects, of which we have found the stomach full. Their very small feet, their ample tail, their wings excessively long and narrow, from the rapid abbreviation of the quill-feathers in succession, their short humerus, their extremely large sternum, without a notch, constitute an apparatus of flight very closely resembling that of the swifts. The Humming Birds are moreover capable of balancing themselves in the air, that is, of remaining stationary while on the wing, almost as easily as certain kind of flies. It is thus that they buzz around plants, or shrubs, or blossoms, and they fly more rapidly, in proportion, than any other bird. Their gizzard is very small, and the intestinal canal is destitute of a cœcal appendage, in which respect they approximate to the woodpeckers. They live isolated, defend their nests with courage, and fight desperately with each other."

Since Cuvier published his great work much additional light has been thrown upon the natural history of these birds. The enterprising traveller and scientific explorer have penetrated into their, in many cases, almost inaccessible habitats, amid the pestilential swamps, primæval forests, and deep mountain gorges of the South American continent, where only, and in the West India islands, they are found at all abundantly. Two or three species only migrate into the Northern States and Canada, and in the Southern States they are almost equally rare, that is as regards distinct species; for the individuals of these two or three migrants become more numerous the nearer we get to the imaginary boundary line which divides North and South America. Thus in Carolina, and Georgia, and the states contiguous thereto, the gardens are seldom without these delightful visitants. It is, however, amid the very fiercest heat of the tropics that they are found in their greatest diversity of species and splendour of plumage.

"Still sparkles here the glory of the west,
Shows his crowned head, and bares his jewelled breast;
In whose bright plumes the richest colours live,
Whose dazzling hues no mimic art can give;
The purple amethyst, the emerald's green,
Contrasted mingle with the ruby's sheen;
While over all a tissue is put on,
Of golden gauze, by fairy fingers spun."

Such are the terms in which the poets have described these gems of the feathered creation; and not the poets alone, but grave naturalists also—some of the most matter-of-fact men in existence—have been led by their excess of admiration to speak and write like the veriest child of imagination that ever strung together tropes and similes, or wove a tissue of gorgeous fancies wherewith to clothe his glowing thoughts. Buffon, for instance, tells us that—

> "Of animated beings, this is the most elegant in form, and splendid in colouring. Precious stones, and metals artificially polished, can never be compared to this jewel of nature, who has placed it in the order of birds, at the bottom of the scale of magnitude, while all the gifts which are shared among others—nimbleness, rapidity, sprightliness, grace, and rich decoration—have been bestowed upon this little favourite. The emerald, the ruby, and the topaz sparkle in its plumage, which is never soiled by the ground, for its whole life being aërial, it rarely lights on the turf. It dwells in the air, and flitting from flower to flower, it seems to be itself a flower in freshness and splendour. It feeds on thin nectar, and resides in climates where they blow in perpetual succession: for the few which migrate out of the tropics during the summer, make but a short stay in the temperate zones. They follow the course of the sun, advancing and retiring with it; and, flying on the wings of the zephyrs, sport in eternal spring."

Waterton, too, tells us that—

> "Though least in size, the glittering mantle of the Humming Bird entitles it to the first place on the list of birds of the new world. It may truly be called the Bird of Paradise; and had it existed in the old world, it would have claimed the title, instead of the bird which has now the honour to bear it. See it darting through the air, almost as quickly as thought! Now it is within a yard of your face!—in an instant gone! Now it flutters from flower to flower, to sip the silver dew; it is now a ruby—now a topaz—now an emerald—now all burnished gold!"

Audubon again, and Wilson: page after page, might we quote from their writings to show to what a height of enthusiastic admiration have they been raised by the sight of these "rays of the sun," "tresses of the day-star," as the splendid birds were called by the ancient Peruvians and Mexicans, who looked upon them as visitants from another world, and had several traditions, which associated them with their gods, and made them objects of religious veneration. We must not, however, pause over these charming bits of "nature-printing," done in the brightest of colours, and yet, perhaps, none too bright for the subject; for does not Mr. Bullock tell us, that we can form no adequate conception, from an examination of stuffed specimens, of the tints which they display when alive, and in constant motion. He says—

"I have carefully preserved about two hundred specimens in the best possible way, yet they are still but the shadow of what they were during life. The reason is obvious; for the sides of the *laminæ*, or fibres of each feather, being of a different colour from the surface, will change when seen in a front or oblique direction; and as each *lamina* turns upon the axis of the quill, the least motion, when living, causes the feathers to change suddenly to the most opposite hues."

We have here an inkling of the cause of that changeable lustre which is so remarkable a characteristic of Humming Bird plumage, in which—

> "Each rapid movement gives a different dye:
> Like scales of burnished gold they dazzling show,
> Now sink to shade, now like a furnace glow."

Several theories have been propounded to account for this iris-like play of colours, and sudden variations observable, not in the plumage of the *Trochilidæ* alone, although in them perhaps more striking than in any other birds. Audubert considered this changeableness due to the organization of the feathers, whose minute parts, presented so many different angles of reflection for the luminous rays falling upon them. Lesson supposed that the brilliant hues were derived from some elements contained in the blood, and elaborated by the circulation, although he admits that the texture of the plumes plays a principal part in producing the effect, by absorption and reflection, according as the fibres are cylindrical, or otherwise, in form. All this, and every other interesting particular, with regard to the structure, habits, and history of Humming Birds, will be found very fully discussed in the two volumes of "The Naturalist's Library" devoted to this subject; and their excellent coloured plates will greatly assist the student in familiarising his mind with the general form and appearances of many of the typical, generic and specific forms. To these volumes, that of Mr. Martin may be considered as supplementary; the species there figured are all different from any given by Sir William Jardine; they are mostly new kinds, from Mr. Gould's collection, to a study of which the book forms a valuable introduction. The general history of the *Trochilidæ*, which forms the first portion of it, is written with much taste and discrimination, and contains a large amount of fresh information, and original remark; while the synoptical descriptions of genera and species, which fills up the latter half of the book, is as full and perfect as it was possible to be made.

Editor and publisher alike deserve the thanks of lovers of natural history in general, and of Humming Birds in particular, for this useful addition to the series, with which it exactly ranges in size and appearance. Here, too, we get a good insight into the riches of Mr. Gould's unrivalled collection of the *Trochilidæ,* and are taught with a more understanding eye to examine both that and his Monograph, to which we intend now to direct our special attention, and give a brief *resumé* of the contents.

In the ten parts, then, of this magnificent work already published, and now before us, we find delineated and described one hundred and fifty species, representing as many as fifty-six genera; these are not at present arranged under their generic heads, but, for the sake of convenience, we will so arrange them.

In the restricted genus *Trochilus* we find but one species, called *T. polytmus,* the long-tailed; this is one of the oldest and best known members of the Humming Bird family, a description of it being included in most works on general ornithology. Its plumage is of a dark glossy green and purplish black, the throat and breast shining with metallic lustre; it has a red bill, a velvety black crown to the head, and a broadish, fan-shaped tail, whereof the two next to the central feathers are extremely long, and cross each other. This bird has been fully described in Mr. Gosse's "Birds of Jamaica," in which island it is a common and permanent resident. Of this species, Mr. Gould gives a charming group, consisting of two males in full plumage, with a female, which is without the long-tail feathers, seated on her nest, placed amid the boughs and tendrils of a passion flower. Mr. Gosse made many interesting experiments with this bird, in order to ascertain how far it was capable of domestication; but, like all the *Trochilidæ,* it was found too delicate and susceptible for a life of confinement and artificial diet, even in its own warm climate.

Oreotrochilus is the generic name of the beautiful HILL STARS, of which Mr. Martin tells us six species are at present recorded. Of these five are here depicted:—Estella's, the White-sided, Adela's, the Chimborazian, and the Pichinchian Hill Stars. These birds are all tenants of the great mountain range of the Cordilleran Andes, and are found mostly at an altitude of 10,000 feet, or more, above the level of the sea, close upon the verge of the eternal snows, between which and the dense forests and lower table lands there is a belt of fertility, where numerous flowers, opening in regular succession, afford a good supply of insect food It is likely that these birds descend somewhat into the lower regions as the inclement season advances, and remain for a time, regulating their descent and ascent by the unfolding of the various blossoms, which more especially attract them. In this genus the slender bill, a characteristic of nearly all the family, is somewhat longer than the head, and slightly arched; the wings are moderately long, and the tail, when spread out, is broad, and rounded at the end; they have mostly metallic throats, and a good deal of white in the plumage, offering a strong contrast to the deep rich purple, or silky brown, or glittering green, of the rest of the plumage. The females, although comparatively plain, are prettily marked, and are altogether elegant birds. They build dense warm nests of moss, vegetable fibres and feathers, and generally attach them to a rocky projection, or steep hill-side.

Phœthornis is the scientific name of the genus called HERMITS, perhaps because they are generally found in the most lonely and secluded situations; such, for instance, as that depicted by Gould as the home of the Eurynome Hermit, whose funnel-shaped nest, affixed to the end of a broad flag leaf, dips nearly into the tranquil water that goes shimmering away into the reedy forest, amid whose shade and stillness one imagines no human foot has ever trodden. This nest is constructed much more loosely than those of many other species; it is formed, apparently, of delicate tendrils and root fibres, twined around the end of the broad pendant leaf, that we almost fancy we see swing up and down, as it must do, with every motion of the bird, or stir of the breeze. And what a secure situation it is built in: no mischievous ape can reach it there; no snake can extend its coils so far over the water; nor can any four-footed foe venture out upon that slender stem. Midway over the river or lagoon it hangs, perhaps in the midst of a reedy swamp, where the cayman cannot reach it, nor even an arrow from the blowpipe of the Indian bird-collector: so instinct teaches the unreasoning creatures to provide for their safety.

These hermits are chiefly found in Brazil and Guiana; they are especially remarkable for the peculiar shape of the tail, which, after spreading out very broad from the base, gradually tapers off to the two central feathers, these being very much longer than the rest; it is deeply indented at the sides, where there is an edging of white which has a very pretty and delicate effect. The bills are long, slender, and curiously curved. The prevailing colours of most of the species are brown, and bronzy-green, with more or less admixture of red and buff. Fifteen species are here figured by Mr. Gould, and two of them, the Little and Grey-throated Hermits, are among the tiniest of Humming Birds; their nests are made of cottony or silky down, with a long tapering point, and fastened with cobwebs to the extremities of pendant leaves. The chief habitats of the members of this genus are in Peru, Brazil, and Guiana, although some of them are found in Bolivia, Columbia, and Eucador; they cannot boast of those bright metallic tints which give such resplendency to many of the *Trochilidæ,* yet is there much of richness and diversity in the colours of their plumage, sober and subdued as they are, and ought to be, in conformity with their name and secluded habits.

There are two Hermits also here figured, which belong to a different genus, called *Glaucis.* In these the tail is fan-like in shape, but wants the long central feathers; they are both rare birds; of the first, Rucker's Hermit, found in Virginia, and the adjacent states of central America, but three specimens are known to Mr. Gould; of the second, Dohrn's Hermit, but two specimens are known, one of which is from Eucador, and the other from Rio: the plumage of the latter is chiefly a fine chestnut, shaded with bronzy-green; in the former the colours are much varied.

The genus *Docimaster* has but one known representative, a new and very remarkable species, on account of the extreme length of the bill, which appears to be expressly adapted for exploring the pendant corollas of the *brugmansia,* and other plants, with long trumpet-shaped flowers, being very slender, and having a slight upward curve. THE SWORD-BILL (*D. ensifers*) is the name given to this bird, which has been found in the elevated region of Pichineha in Quito, as well as in Santa Fé de Bagotà and the Caraccas. Its plumage is generally of a bronzy-green, with a coppery hue; there are white edges to many of the feathers; the bill, feet, wings, and tail are mostly black; the latter is much forked: the nest is dense and large; it is formed of a kind of dried fungus, and looks like brown felt; it generally depends from a thin branch or twig.

Spathura is the scientific name of the RACKET-TAIL genus, a curious and lively little group, numbering at present but three species, all of which are here figured. They are of small size, and have bronzy-green plumage, shaded with purple and brown; but their distinguishing characteristic is the tail, the two central feathers of which, after extending a long way beyond the rest, and losing all vestige of a web, spread out at the end into a battledore, or racket-bat shape. The birds have queer little downy puffs, too, about the legs, but these they possess in common with another genus, to which we shall presently allude. During flight their long tail feathers are constantly opening and shutting like a fan, and vibrating in a very curious manner: it is likely they may be useful to balance the tiny body. The racket-tails have yet, we believe, been found only in the range of the Cordilleras. The hen birds have not the long caudal appendages, and their breasts and throats are white and speckled.

We now come to the HELMET-CRESTS, whose generic name is *Oxypogon:* very singular-looking birds are these, with black and white heads, and pointed crests, reminding one somewhat of the pantaloon of the stage; they are certainly handsome, although not so gorgeous as many of the *Trochilidæ.* They have no bright metallic colours, their plumage being mostly silky brown, of different shades, variegated with black and white, purple, and bronzy green; the form is robust, as we must imagine the constitution to be, from their habitat lying between the 8th and 9th degrees of north latitude, and frequently 12,000 or 13,000 feet above the sea level, in the Cordilleras of Columbia. These birds are frequently called warriors; they have a kind of loose gorget, or throat-piece, as well as a helmet. The females are without both appendages, or nearly so.

Tryphæna, or SPARKLING-TAILS. This genus is at present represented in Gould's monograph by a single species, known as Dupont's Sparkling-tail: it is a Mexican bird, and has a tail long and much forked, which, when spread out, exhibits bars and variegations of white, black, and red; so that when the bird is in rapid movement it seems to shine or sparkle: hence the above name. The ancient Mexicans called these tiny flutterers *Zémès*, and so also they termed their idols. Whether they now regard the birds with any feelings of idolatry we know not: but certain it is that they did formerly so look upon Humming Birds generally; nor, when we consider their beauty of form, rapidity of motion, and richness of decoration, can we wonder that a superstitious and ignorant people should entertain the impression that they were really beings of a superior nature. These little Sparkling-tails hover about the flowers in the gardens, and fly into the houses through the open windows, wherever there are blossoms to attract them; they make a tiny, cup-like nest in some rose bush or myrtle tree, often quite close to human habitations, and flit and hover about in the sunshine like winged fairies. Pleasant, indeed, it must be, to watch them come and go, and sport around the bright blossoms, themselves like flying flowers.

Augastes is the name by which naturalists distinguish the VISOR-BEARERS, so called from the mask-like appendage of luminous emerald-green feathers, which is attached to the lower part of the face, and falls down the neck, ending at the breast, in a fine pendant point. There are two species of these brilliant birds known, both are figured by Gould, Natterer's Visor-bearer (*A scutatus*), sometimes called the Superb Humming Bird, comes from the interior of Brazil; and the Hooded Visor-bearer (*A Lamachellas*), a yet more gorgeous species, remarkable for the velvety black crown, or hood, also from Brazil, but more confined to the mountain districts. The plumage of this bird is richly variegated with crimson and other tints; the emerald mask is tipped with red, and all over the body the green and purple feathers appear as if edged with gold. Both species have white collars passing across the breast and cutting off the gorget, so that it appears like an artificial appendage.

In the genus *Topaza* we find the most gorgeous of all Humming Birds. Well might the Prince of Canino exclaim, as he gazed upon the Fiery Topaz, (*T. pyra.*) "Inter Trochilides *pulcherrimus!*" This is indeed the crowned and jewelled king of the *Trochilidæ;* large of size, bold of bearing, and adorned with the most splendid colouring that the imagination can conceive of. The gorget is magnificent beyond description, flashing with a yellow lustre, like the gem which gives a name to the genus, and rendered the more conspicuous by a margin of velvety black feathers. He is, as Waterton says, "all red and changing gold green, except the head, which is black. He has two long feathers in the tail, which cross each other, and these have gained him the name of the Karabimiti, or Ara Humming Bird, from the Indians. You never find him on the sea-coast, or where the river is salt, or in the heart of the forest, unless fresh water be there. He keeps close by the side of woody, fresh-water rivers, and dark and lonely creeks. He leaves his retreat before sunrise to feed on the insects over the water. He returns to it as soon as the sun's rays cause a glare of light: is sedentary all day long, and comes out again for a short time after sunset. He builds his nest in a tree over the water, in the unfrequented creeks; it looks like tanned cow leather." Such is the Fiery Topaz, found amid the pestilential swamps of the Rio Negro, a tributary of the Upper Amazon, while its congener, the Crimson Topaz, (*T. pella*), inhabit those of the Lower Amazon, being the very hottest part of Central America. Of the peculiar habits of these species but little is known, on account of the inaccessible situations in which they have their habitats.

Eutoxeres, or, SICKLE-BILLS. This is a strongly marked genus, with bells curved like a sickle, a conformation well adapted for insertion into the convoluted blossoms of the orchidaceous plants, from which the bird obtains much of its food. Gould figures two species of this genus, both of which are very rare birds. Of the first, (*E. aquila*), but two specimens are known to be in Europe; the one was obtained from Bogota, and the other from Veragua; of the second but a single specimen, which was found in Eucador. This is called, after its discoverer, Condamine's Sickle-bill (*E. Condamina*). The Indians say that it inhabits woods at an altitude of 10,000 feet. These are both large and handsome birds, although not resplendent with metallic hues; the former has a great deal of green in the plumage; in the latter the prevailing tint is rufus.

Next we come to the brisk little WOOD-STARS, genus *Calothorax*, all tiny birds, remarkable for their short, spiny tails, which look as if some of the feathers had been plucked out. Four species are figured in the monograph. Our author observes of the first of them, called Heliodore's Wood-star, and found in sheltered valleys, or gorges of the Cordilleras, that no Humming Bird has so small a wing as this, neither is there one of the smaller species which has so robust a body, and so deep a pectoral muscle. Hence he infers, that the deficiency of size is compensated by an increase of power. Lesson gives to this genus of birds the name *Les Lucifers*, and truly they are the shining ones, with their resplendent gorgets; they are chiefly found in Columbia, Peru, and Bolivia. One of them, called, after the English naturalist, Yarrell's Wood-star, must be sought for in the two latter countries, in the districts lying between the mountain ranges. It is a singular looking individual, having the merest apology for a tail, in the shape of five or six bare spikes sticking out behind. The females of all the species are better furnished in this respect than the males, thus reversing the usual order of things.

THE JACOBINS, genus *Florisuga*, are truly handsome birds, although there is not much variety in the colours of their plumage, which being chiefly black and white, and arranged in very distinct lines and patches, no doubt suggested the name, being that of a French religious order, whose dress was thus boldly distinctive. It must not, however, be understood that the dresses of our Jacobin, Great Jacobin and Pied Jacobin, the three species here figured, are unrelieved by any admixture of rich colours; the velvety blackness is shot and shaded with bronzy-green and purple reflections, and a dash of brown or red comes in, here and there, to give variety to the whole. They have all broad, fan-like tails, which when spread out look extremely elegant, being pure white, with a distinct edging of black running round the escalloped outline, as evenly as if it had been put on with a painter's brush. The Jacobins have been found in Cayenne, Surinam, and the Antilles, Brazil and Tobago. They are rare birds, and but little is known of their habits.

THE LITTLE HUMMING BIRD appears to be the same species as that described by some naturalists under the name of the Vervain Humming Bird. It is the only representative of a genus called *Mellisuga*, and has not hitherto been found elsewhere than in the West India islands of St. Domingo and Jamaica, where it is tolerably plentiful. It is one of the smallest birds of the family, and to it the term *humilis* has sometimes been applied, because it is much in the habit of extracting its food from plants which do not blossom at a great height from the ground. Mr. Gosse, in his birds of Jamaica, gives a very full account of its habits. Mr. Gould has figured it hovering about the blossoms of an orchid, on which its hemispherical nest, formed of cottony-down, and gaily-coloured lichens, a very model of feathered architecture, is placed. It looks like a beautiful porcelain cup.

THE FIRE CROWNS, termed by Gould, *Eustephanes*, and by Lesson, *Sephanoides*, are exquisitely beautiful birds, with heads that appear beset with gems, or crowned with living fire. Gould has figured three species known as the Chilian, the Cinnamon, and Stoke's. The former species (*E. galcritas*) was first seen by Captain King, flitting about in a snow storm in Terra del Fuego. Darwin, in his "Zoology of the Voyage of the Beagle," has somewhat minutely described the habits of this bird, which is found over a space of 2500 miles along the west coast of the Pacific. The Cinnamon Fire Crown is a very richly-coloured bird, independent of its resplendent head: like the Chilian species it of is a robust make. Stoke's has a more delicate appearance, on account of the prevalence of white in its plumage, and more slender make. All three of these birds are found on the Island of Juan Fernandes, and we are told that they are almost the only feathered inhabitants of that lonely isle, which we can never hear mentioned without thinking of Alexander Selkirk. Were the eyes of the shipwrecked mariner, we are inclined to ask, gladdened with the flashing glory of their splendid hues, and quick liveliness of their motions, as they darted and hovered among the trees, ferns, and other abundant vegetation of his solitary dominion, where he could truly say, "I am monarch of all I survey?" Their music could not cheer him, for no Humming Birds that have yet been discovered really warble a continuous strain, although some have contended that they do.

We now come to the genus *Cyanthus*, or SYLPHS, and well are they so named. Slender and elegant in form, and most rich in colouring, they at once arrest the eye and take the imagination captive. Gould observes of these birds, of which he figures two species, the Green and the Blue-tailed, that "their beauty and elegance are in just accordance with the luxuriance of the glorious country which they inhabit, viz., the temperate region of the Andes, from the Equator northward to the Isthmus of Panama, among regions, the botany of which is of the richest and most varied character, and where insect life is ever abundant." What principally strikes us in these Sylphs is the rich metallic-green and blue of the crest and tail, and the large size of the latter appendage; one wonders how it can be conveniently carried; when spread out the width it is perfectly amazing, and when closed the length no less so; the two outer feathers are the longest, which give it a very peculiar shape on expansion.

Grypus is the generic name of a very singular looking bird called the SAWBILL, because the cutting edges of the bill are notched, or toothed, like a saw; this is a provision of nature, by which it is enabled to capture and hold the insect food, chiefly small beetles, which it takes while on the wing. This bird is the only one of the genus known, it is very robust in make, a bold, strong flier, and has a loud, piercing cry. Its favourite haunts are in the untrodden forests of Southern Brazil, where there are orchids of every shape and hue, and creepers that festoon the mighty trees, and deck them as for some great floral festival.

Very different from the last stout, strong, and somewhat course-looking bird, are the diminutive FLAME-BEARERS, a splendid genus known to naturalists under the name *Selasphorus*, and called by Lesson *Les Rubies*, and with good reason, for the gorgets of all of them seem a mass of precious stones.

There are four known species, and Gould has figured three of them, called the Little, the Rufus, and the Broad-tailed Flame-bearers. Captain Cook discovered the first of them in Nootka Sound. It is remarkable for resorting to high northern latitudes for the purpose of breeding, and for extending its range over a vast tract of country, although Mexico would seem to be its proper habitat during the winter. Its habits have been fully described by Audubon and other naturalists, who agree in stating, that it emits a singularly shrill note, like the rubbing together of branches of trees during a high wind. The most remarkable circumstance connected with the history of the second-named species is, that it has been found only in one limited locality, viz., the interior sides of the extinct volcano of Chiriqui in Veragua, at an altitude of 9000 feet. Gould has poetically likened it "to a living spark of the fires which in by-gone ages illumined the district it inhabits." The third named species is found in Mexico, it is the largest, and perhaps most beautiful bird of the genus, the gorget being of a deeper colour than that of either of the others; it is more like a ruby.

Of the PUFF-LEGS, which have those curious, downy muffs about the tarsi, already alluded to as belonging to some of the Racket-tails, there are about sixteen species known; their generic name is *Euriopus*, or *Euriocnems:* by Lesson they were called *Vestipedes*. Mr. Gould has here figured six of the species; of which the plainest, as it is also the rarest, is the olive-coloured Puff-leg *(E. simplex)*. Only a single specimen of this bird has yet reached Europe; its plumage is of a dark olive-green, shaded with purple and brown, by contrast with which the downy protuberances, which look like powder-puffs about the legs, are rendered very conspicuous. The Puff-legs have been chiefly found in Peru and Columbia, and on the Cordilleran range; in some of them the plumage is bronzed and adorned with metallic tints.

The SABRE-WINGS, genus *Campylopterus*, are mostly large birds of robust make, with wings of a scythe-like shape, which do not vibrate quickly, as do those of the Humming Birds generally, but bear them along after the manner of the swift, by a succession of measured and vigorous beats, or strokes, so that they skim along the surface of the river, or marshy ground, or wheel around the blossoming plants which attract them, with great rapidity. About nine species in all are known, but Mr. Gould has only yet figured four of them, viz., the Fawn-breasted, the Rufus-breasted, De Lattre's and the Wedge-tailed. These birds have stout strong beaks, considerably arched at the apex; and ample tails, whereof the outer feathers are usually tipped with white, or grey; some of them have steely-blue gorgets; they have been found in Brazil, Paraguay, Jamaica, and elsewhere.

Hylocharis is the generic name of the SAPPHIRES, which well deserve the title, being perfect gems of birds. Here are two species figured, the White-throated (*H. cyaneus*), from the eastern parts of Brazil, and the Red-throated (*H. sapphirinus*), also from the some localities. In these pictures our attention is chiefly arrested by the beautiful nests, and the situations chosen for their suspension; the one from the end of a long tendril-like stem of a parasitic orchid, and the other from a slender branch of what looks like a species of acacia. "This genus," says Martin, "has received the title *saphirs* and *smaragdites*, from the prevalence of the colours of these gems in their plumage: the bill is straight, the feet small, the wings are moderate and falciform; the tail rather broad but not long, square, or nearly so, at the apex."

We now come to a most delightful little group, the COQUETTES, genus *Lophornis;* they are apparelled most splendidly, and yet the whole of their brilliant attire is so arranged, that all the parts are in chaste keeping with each other. Mr. Gould here introduces us to seven species; they are all crested birds, and have ruffs round the necks of far projecting feathers, each of which, in one species at least, appears tipped with an emerald. This is perhaps the most brilliant of the genus, and as a just compliment to our great naturalist, it is called Gould's Coquette. Martin says of it, that "its snow white throat-fans, with their emerald tips, its fiery brown crest, its scaly gorget of metallic-green, its golden-green upper surface, crossed on the lower part of the back with a white band, its narrow falcated wings, and its diminutive size, combine to throw a charm around it, fixing the gazer by a spell which he would not willingly break." The habitat of this species is believed to be the interior of Brazil. It is so rare as to be almost worth its weight in diamonds; Mr. Gould has a small case, containing six specimens, which he values at £300.

THE EMERALDS, genus *Thaumatius*, are another brilliant group, of which we have here three species; they are slender and elegant birds, with long, straight bills, and square or slightly forked tails; the prevailing tint of the plumage is green, with a considerable admixture of white and golden flecks and reflections on the throat, breast, flanks, &c. There appears to be some uncertainty as to the generic arrangement of these birds at present, as indeed there is with most of the *Trochilidæ ;* the rapid progress of discovery constantly developing new forms and affinities, and modifying the views of naturalists respecting them, so that the old genera have to be broken up and divided, and new ones formed : all this renders it extremely difficult for a student in this branch of ornithology to see his way at all clearly through the labyrinth of long names which he is necessitated to enter. He marks a beautiful species, and wishes to know all that has been said about it by various authorities: he studies its aspect and characteristics carefully, and fancies he has fixed in his mind its exact position in the scientific classification : he then leaves it to pursue his investigations, and lo! presently, he lights upon the same bird in another generic group, or sub-family, with a different name ; or perhaps he finds the same name, of which he had taken a mental stereotype, attached to a quite different bird. This is, perhaps, unavoidable in a branch of natural science in relation to which fresh facts are so rapidly accumulating. We do not complain of it, but simply say, it is very puzzling to the neophyte, who, however, must not be discouraged by his difficulties and mistakes. A little diligence and perseverence will enable him to overcome the first, and to turn the last into lessons for his future instruction. But this is a digression into which we have been led by a pursuit of the scattered members of this genus *Thaumatius,* through *Les Emeraudes* and *Ornismya* of Lesson ; *Basilinna* of Boié ; *Polytmus* of Gray ; and specific distinctions out of number by everybody who has written upon Humming Birds. We believe we are right, in speaking under the head of this genus, of Loddige's *Trochilus Millerii,* whose Brazilian name, *Picaflor de la Cordilliera,* indicates the localities where it has been found, viz., the elevated valleys of the Andes, where it resides among storms of hail, rain, and thunder, and in places where the naturalist would least expect to find a species of *Trochilus.* Here we have, as Martin observes, " an example of a Humming Bird which pursues its prey on the wing along the mountain water-courses, not so much by day, as at that time when

" Evening draws o'er all her gradual dusky veil ;"

and herein are we borne out in our previous observations as to the crepuscular habits of many species to whom insects, rising from the water and the bordering herbage in evening, are as attractive as they are to the swallows of our island. " It was at one time thought that all Humming Birds fed only on the sweet juices of flowers, but this theory has long been exploded; and it has been fully demonstrated that insect food is necessary to their lengthened existence, and it is chiefly in search of this that their bills are thrust into the nectaries of the flowers over which they hover so continuously, making, with the quick vibration of their wings, that buzzing or humming sound which has gained for them their common appellation. In some species, the long retractile tongue, which lies snugly coiled up within the bill, corkscrew fashion, until the prey is discovered, when it can be projected considerably beyond its horny sheath, is armed on the outer sides of the extreme points, or forks, with sharp pliable spines, or barbs. It was part of the now exploded theory, that the conjoint hollow tubes, of which this tongue is composed, formed channels through which the liquid nourishment was sucked up. We cannot wonder that the poets have fallen into this error, of believing that the tiny hummers, so much like insects in their general size and manner of flight, lived altogether upon honey, the more especially as it seems likely that they may partly do so. Nor must we look upon the beautiful description given of them by James Montgomery as embodying a fallacy:—

> "From flower to flower, where wild bees flew and sung,
> As countless, small, and musical as they,
> Showers of bright Humming Birds came down and plied
> The same ambrosial task, with slender bills
> Extracting honey hidden in those bells,
> Whose richest blooms grow pale beneath the blaze
> Of twinkling winglets hovering o'er these petals,
> Brilliant as rain-drops, when the western sun
> Sees his own miniature of beams in each."

Our readers' memory will, no doubt, supply them with a pendant to this glowing picture in the lines by Rogers, beginning—

> "Through cotton groves and fields of yellow maze."

We are warned by our fast diminishing space that we must hurry to a conclusion, although we have as yet noticed but twenty-two out of the fifty-six genera represented in Mr. Gould's monograph, and have said but little about the general habits and structure of this beautiful family of birds. We trust, however, that our article, imperfect as it is, may answer the intended purpose, of calling attention to the works named at the head of it, and of exciting in the breasts of our readers a desire to know more about these feathered gems, so wonderfully numerous, and diverse, and richly adorned. For the more youthful inquirers, and even for adults, whose attention has not yet been directed to the subject, we can recommend nothing better than the wonderfully cheap and well-illustrated volume which stands last on the list; it is simply and clearly written; is lively and anecdotal; has cuts of the different parts of the Humming Birds small anatomy; and coloured plates of sixteen of the most remarkable species; and will be none the less valued for having also a short memoir of Mr. Gould, at the conclusion of whose magnificent monograph, we may perhaps write another article on this subject, as the materials and data will then be before us for giving a complete view of the whole family under their proper generic arrangement, with some of the most interesting particulars connected with the natural history of each species.

It would neither be in accordance with the character of the Review for which we write, nor with our own inclinations, were we to close this article without some allusion to the devotional associations of the subject. Birds, joyous birds, are at all times, and in all places, beautiful and full of interest. Well has it been said that they constitute "the poetry of animated nature." Be their plumage ever so plain, their forms ever so diminutive, they are objects both of love and admiration. The poet never wearies of singing their praises, in strains that are the more pleasing, the more nearly they accord with those of the feathered minstrels; the painter sees in their delicate, yet rounded shapes, and graceful motions, and harmoniously blended, or strongly contrasted hues, the very perfection of form, and motion, and colour, and loves to transfer them to his canvass; the naturalist watches their proceedings with a curious eye, and in taking note of their peculiar habits and characteristic traits, acquires at the same time scientific knowledge, and something of that wisdom that passeth understanding; for who can rightly "consider the fowls of the air" without learning lessons of dependence upon that ever watchful Providence, which "suffereth not even a sparrow to fall to the ground unnoticed." Look upon them, ye desponding and faithless ones! Not only in the bright sunshine of summer, but in the season of storms and dreariness, they are active and cheerful; "they sow not, neither do they reap and gather into barns, yet your heavenly Father feedeth them: are ye not much better than they?" Of infinitely more consequence in the eyes of the Almighty

Creator, infinitely dearer in the view of the loving Saviour, is your immortal soul, than all the birds which fill the universe with song, and enliven and beautify creation. Never, we believe, was there a truly pious heart that did not thank and praise God for the birds. Bishop Jeremy Taylor, we may remember, compared the soaring lark to an angel, "as he passed sometimes through the air about his ministries here below." The music of the nightingale bore up the thoughts of the good Izaac Walton to the throne of eternal glory. "What must be the music there," he said, "when we, bad men, have such music on earth?" And the great-souled Luther, how he loved to watch the birds of his native country; he established quite an intimacy with them, and talked to them and of them, as familiar friends. "Look at that little fellow now," said he, "going to roost; he has chosen his shelter, and is quietly rocking himself to sleep without a care for to-morrow's lodging, calmly holding by his little twig, and leaving God to think for him."

How often, when wearied with the cares of life, have we wished that we could rise like a bird upon outstretched pinions, echoing in our hearts the desire of the Psalmist—"Oh that I had the wings of a dove; then would I flee away and be at rest." One of the most cheering of the Scripture promises to a distressed and afflicted Christian, is that which refers to the bird's watchful care over its young—"The Lord shall cover thee with his feathers, and under his wings shalt thou trust." And again, in reference to the beauty of a bird's plumage, we may call to mind another consolatory promise of God's—"Though ye have lien among the pots,"—though ye have suffered the greatest degradation, and become the very scorn of man; "yet shall ye hereafter"—if ye be faithful—"dwell with the redeemed, and be clothed in glorious raiment." For what saith the Scripture? "Ye shall be as the wings of a dove, covered with silver, and her feathers with yellow gold."

But we need scarcely multiply quotations of this sort, nor enforce our meaning by any more lengthened observations upon birds in general. The members of the family to which our article has immediate reference, are not gifted with vocal powers, and therefore they cannot cheer and uplift the soul of man by their melody; but, oh! how they must enliven and glorify many of the wildest and most desolate places of this earth—the deep primeval forest, the pestilential swamp, the mountain gorge, rifted and scorched by the action of volcanic fire, the dark morass, and the pathless wilderness; these are the scenes amid which the Humming Bird is found, and we may well imagine with what delight the lonely wayfarer must look upon so truly delicate and beautiful an object, and how the gleam and flash of those gorgeous plumes must be to him like a new revelation of divine power and sustaining love.

“ The foot-weary traveller, journeying long,
The forests far-stretching, and prairies among;
Who through the lone desert, and wilderness wild,
For weeks upon weeks, hath in solitude toiled,
With the hiss of the serpent for aye in his ear,
The growl of the jaguar approaching him near,
The plunge of the cayman, the wolf's stealthy tread,
And the roar of the puma that filleth with dread,
From the gloomy, the fearful, the savage, the stern,
  How gladly, methinks, unto ye, even ye!
Must the heart of the desolate wayfarer turn,
  As he resteth awhile 'neath the wide-spreading tree.

“ Thus the soul, as it treadeth mortality's path,
Surrounded by objects of fear and of wrath,
Here and there finds a spot where awhile it may rest,
While fancies and hopes, all in bright colours drest,
Like ye, gentle birds! flit around it on wings,
That seem not designed for terrestrial things,
But rather for beings angelic, who dwell
In a realm, of whose glories no mortal may tell:
Yes, many-hued creatures! ye are fitting tropes
  Of all that is beautiful, buoyant, and free;
The joys that we cherish, the dreams, and the hopes
  That brighten existence, are likest to ye!”

ART. VIII.—*The History of England, from the Accession of James the Second.* By THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY. Vols. III. and IV. London: Longmans. 1855.

MR. MACAULAY would have done a better thing for the people of England, for future times, and for himself, if he had contracted what he had to say about the eight first years of William III. into less than half the space he has allotted to it. It is all very well for people to read the account patiently through once, when the two volumes are first published, and after elaborate puffs have prepared the public mind for something extraordinary. But if the history is continued on the same scale, it will form one of the most voluminous works ever produced by the pen of man. Mr. Macaulay has many and great excellencies. Barring some affectation, his style, considered as a style, is perfection. He sees clearly, so far as he wishes to see, and explains admirably. Nobody can mistake his meaning; and, at the same time, all must admire the justness and depth of many of those views which, clothed in his lucid language, almost seem to us common-place and self-evident truths. What a pity, then, that the work should exhibit such palpable faults: that the author cannot restrain himself from inserting every little scrap of information that he has collected during the course of his very extensive reading: that he adds explanation to explanation, and piles illustration on illustration, till the least intelligent mind is weary of repetitions, which add no fresh light to what would be quite clear without them. It is a dangerous endowment to be a ready talker. The man is tempted to usurp too large a share of the conversation; and his unceasing flow of words makes as many enemies out of those who try in vain to utter a sentence, as it makes friends of those who admire him. And no less dangerous is it to be a ready writer, unless the individual has wisdom enough to put a restraint upon himself. In the absence of such restraint, he will go on adding sentence to sentence, and paragraph to paragraph, till the task of reading his works becomes one that ordinary men shrink from. If Mr. Macaulay's history is continued on the present scale, we cannot think that it will live. No one now, or hereafter, will think of reading him for his impartial judgment of men and affairs; though it must be confessed that, taking into consideration his antecedents, he displays much more impartiality than was to have been expected. Nor will men read him merely for facts, which may be ascertained elsewhere. He will always be sought out for his brilliant ideas, and his elegant writing; and these are just the qualities of which any one may form an idea, without wading through volume after volume. In the next generation, "Macaulay's History" will be known only through the instrumentality of extracts.

The bulk of the volumes before us entitles them to a separate review. Yet they embrace so short a space of time, that the transactions recorded have not an opportunity of displaying all their fruits; and it is a difficult thing, therefore, to take a comprehensive view of them. And this difficulty is, in our case, increased by the nature of the event with which Mr. Macaulay thinks fit to close his fourth volume. It may be possible that statesmen find in the peace of Ryswick a convenient resting place; though even this we doubt. It may be, we say, possible that they like to stop at this point, and, looking back over the past years of William's reign, to make their remarks, and draw their conclusions. But such is certainly not the case with Churchmen, and it is to Churchmen that this Review offers itself. The matters and events in which Churchmen are especially interested were in no way affected by the peace. They followed out their course after the peace in the same way as before it; and to be judged of fairly, they ought to be looked back upon from a very different resting point. However, we will make our attempt, and say such things as occur to us regarding the work.

We cannot, for the life of us, understand those who say that so much gratitude is due to William of Orange, for the part he took in our deliverance from Popish tyranny. No doubt he was our deliverer. But so is the life-boat the deliverer of the shipwrecked mariner who has been saved by it. Yet the mariner feels no gratitude towards the life-boat. William delivered us from a position of the greatest peril; but it was not for our sakes that he did so. When a man is in danger of drowning, and a friend, for love of him, puts out at the risk of his own life to save him, the one ought, undoubtedly, to feel very great gratitude towards the other. But he would not do so, if he knew that his saviour delivered him, not at all from motives of affection, nor even from considerations of common humanity, but wholly for ulterior and selfish purposes. Now William undertook his expedition entirely from considerations of policy and self-interest. If England would but join the coalition against France, there would be the strongest grounds for hope that the ambitious power of the age might be humbled. But the only way in which England could be secured to the side of the allies was by the dethronement of James. Such was William's first consideration. And, secondly, he was ambitious of ruling a more important, and a more tractable, nation than the Dutch. He thought no more of the welfare of England, apart from the success of his own schemes, than he thought of the history, past and future, of the sword he had used in battle. He did not love England or the English in the slightest degree; and, to tell the truth, the English felt no love for him. Therefore, we say, whatever else we may think of William, let us not suppose that we owe him any gratitude.

Mr. Macaulay is strongly impressed with the conviction that it is essential to a historian to be impartial. And, indeed, he has made great efforts to escape all bias, and to judge of all persons, and of all parties, according to the evidence before him. But it is not possible for the advocate of a cause to transform himself at once into the judge. And Mr. Macaulay, the great Whig champion, is often, unconsciously we are sure, unjust to those who are not of his party. It is not that he suppresses facts, for he enters boldly on the discussion of even those matters of which the Whigs have most reason to be ashamed. Nor is it even that he forbears from the reflections on the Whig failures and misdeeds. But there is, throughout the work, a certain something which at once shows the reader which side Mr. Macaulay takes; something which irresistibly calls to one's mind the battles of former days, and the strenuous part the author took in them. In spite of himself, he judges more leniently of the Whigs than of the Tories. When he has to condemn the one, he uses much more harsh terms than when the other's conduct is under review. In the one case he is all himself, mercilessly lashing right and left; in the other case, he sees differences, circumstances which palliate the crime, patriotic motives, an almost laudable energy. If any one doubts the justice of our strictures, let him compare Mr. Macaulay's ample representation of the absurdities to which the Tory doctrine of passive obedience led (vol. iii. p. 447); or his statement of the obstinacy with which the High Church party clung to every bit of the Prayer Book (vol. iii. p. 490), with his very lenient description of the cunning attempt of the Whigs to secure a perpetual monopoly of power (vol. iii. p. 516): an attempt, by the bye, in which his favourite Somers took a leading part. Again, the same unconscious bias towards the Whigs may be noticed when he has to chronicle their triumphs. He is then all himself. The praise evidently comes from the heart. The song of joy and congratulation is given with all the writer's power. No mercy is shown to the vanquished. Perhaps the words are put into the mouths of some of the extremest Whigs; but they are evidently the overflowings of Mr. Macaulay's own satisfaction. Here is the representation of the talk of "some violent and acrimonious Whigs," when the Tories began to gain enlightenment by experience, in regard to the absurdity of the doctrine of passive obedience:—

> "Was this, then, the real sense of all those sublime phrases which had resounded during twenty-nine years from innumerable

pulpits? Had the thousands of clergymen, who had so loudly boasted of the unchangeable loyalty of their order, really meant only that their loyalty would remain unchangeable till the next change of fortune? It was idle, it was impudent in them, to pretend that their present conduct was consistent with their former language. If any reverend doctor had at length been convinced that he had been in the wrong, he surely ought, by open recantation, to make all the amends now possible to the persecuted, the calumniated, the murdered defenders of liberty. If he was still convinced that his old opinions were sound, he ought manfully to cast in his lot with the nonjurors."

However, it is an invidious task to point out the faults of a grand work. It is not the production of a Gibbon or a Hallam. It is not *the* history which will supersede all works past or to come. Yet it is very pleasant reading; and it contains much truth, much that the author is the first to put forward, and much that has never before been stated in such agreeable language. If it reflects too much of the opinion of the day, and of the political faith of a party, to be the history for all times, it is at any rate the history of our generation; still the industry with which Mr. Macaulay has applied himself to every source from which information is to be gained, is unquestionable. The history deals with transactions in every quarter of the British isles, and of every imaginable kind. We are carried from London to the remotest parts of England, to Scotland, to the south-western shores of Ireland. We are brought into intimate acquaintance with political and religious strife; with the luxuries of a court, and the savage customs of the Highlanders; with the struggles of regular armies in Flanders, and the undisciplined combats of Limerick; with the scruples of English nonjurors, and the furious bigotry of the Scottish "rabblers." Much that is interesting might be quoted on all these subjects. But as our review is to be a short one, we cannot omit what we had intended to say on all but one or two points.

Of the countless revolutions that history describes there is not one that bears any resemblance to ours of 1688. And in no feature is the difference between our great Revolution and all others more readily to be seen than in the unanimity with which it was effected. Yet the laws which govern human nature were not to be set at nought for long. Whigs and Tories, High Churchmen and Nonconformists, might combine for an instant; but it was only to go into more fierce antagonism than ever. Sea and rock might, for one fearful moment, each take part in the crushing and washing away of a village; but the storm once over, things would resume their usual order, and the unceasing conflict between wave and iron-bound coast would recommence. And if all parties combined to annihilate the alarming despotism of James, the very fact of their temporary combination rendered their subsequent strife all the more virulent. Then was the time of an emphatically internecine battle, wherein no quarter was given or taken; and on no question was the hostility more furious than on church matters. There were circumstances which tended to augment the violence of both parties in the church. The High Churchmen had been surprised into a temporary forgetfulness of their favourite dogma; and when the time returned for reflection, they observed the inconsistency of which they had been guilty, and they made up their minds to atone for it by a vehement opposition to the government they had helped to set up. While the Low Churchmen had suffered under a long course of repression; and the moment of liberation found them proportionately ready to overleap all limits; and to retaliate on their late oppressors the indignities and suffering they had endured. On both sides, therefore, plenty of injudicious acts were committed; and we must confess that we owe it to a gracious, over-ruling Providence that matters did not proceed to still more fearful extremities.

The first signal of battle was given by the Low Church party. Well knowing the secret leaning felt by most of the clergy towards the banished king, they proposed and carried a bill, by which all who held ecclesiastical benefices were to take an oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns by a certain day. Mr. Macaulay seems to think that such an act was judicious and proper. But surely the question is whether it added to the security of the reigning monarch. For if it did not, then, tending as it did to bring matters to extremity, it was clearly ill-judged. All the clergy had to recite the liturgy day by day, or week by week. In that liturgy the king is especially mentioned by name. Was it not then a sufficient security that every man who held a benefice was required to pray continually for William and Mary? And what more could be gained by obliging him to take an oath of allegiance to William and Mary. If his conscience allowed him to pray for these monarchs all the time he was plotting against them, would he scruple to take an oath of allegiance to them even while plotting against them? It was not the ill-affected, the conspirators, that such an oath ejected; but the scrupulous, the men of tender conscience,—say of diseased conscience, if you like—yet they were the harmless men, the non-plotters. If to see a man still a Jacobite after having taken the oaths, tended to deprive him of the respect of his congregation, could he hope to retain their respect when he continued a Jacobite while praying Sunday after Sunday for William and Mary? We conclude then that herein the Whigs, under the influence of their angry passions, made a false step. And it was a step which led to most painful results. In its beginning it involved the suspension and expulsion of some of the most eminent among the bishops—of many of those bishops who had suffered for civil and religious freedom, when James sent them to the Tower; it involved the expulsion of numbers of excellent and learned ministers; and, according to the most righteous law of God, by which wicked acts always bring their own punishment to the doer, it has been pregnant with evil consequences to the nation. From that time began a period of most furious religious strife between two parties. At length one party prevailed; and then, according to the natural order of things, a complete deadness to all religion came over the nation; and from that deadness we are still suffering. To it we owe, in a great measure, alike the coldness and want of energy which the Established Church still exhibits, and the disorder and disputes of the sects without; the too successful hostility of enemies, and the laxity of professed friends.

However, the High Church party were not long behindhand in the work of provocation. A Comprehension Bill was brought forward, by which it was proposed that a certain amount of option should be allowed to ministers with regard to certain observances and ceremonies which, from the beginning, had been spoken against. High Churchmen strenuously resisted a single concession on such questions. And, strange as it may seem, they found themselves supported by Dissenters. Mr. Macaulay explains the anomaly very well:—

> "At the time of the Revolution, the Independents, Baptists, and Quakers were a majority of the dissenting body; and these sects could not be gained over on any terms which the lowest of Low Churchmen would have been willing to offer. The Independent held that a national Church, governed by any central authority whatever,— pope, patriarch, king, bishop, or synod,—was an unscriptural institution, and that every congregation of believers was, under Christ, a sovereign society. The Baptist was even more irreclaimable than the Independent, and the Quaker even more irreclaimable than the Baptist. Concessions, therefore, which would have extinguished nonconformity would not now satisfy even one

> half of the nonconformists; and it was the obvious interest of every nonconformist whom no concession would satisfy that none of his brethren should be satisfied. The more liberal the terms of comprehension, the greater was the alarm of every separist who knew that he could, in no case, be comprehended."

Supported then by some dissenters, the High Church party triumphed, and threw out the Comprehension Bill in the House of Lords. Subsequently a commission was appointed to consider what alterations should be made in the services to render them more acceptable to dissenters and Low Churchmen. The commission seems to have performed its work with much diligence and judgment. It proposed to exclude the Apocrypha from the cycle of daily lessons; to allow scrupulous communicants to receive the bread and wine sitting; "to admit infants into the Church without sponsors and without the sign of the cross;" to make concessions in regard to the use of the surplice; to erase from the Calendar the names of the minor festivals; and to insert an explanation with regard to the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed. The most startling proposition of the commission was one which would have allowed Presbyterian ministers, without any fresh ordination, to officiate in the services of the English Church.

But moderate as these proposed changes might seem to be, the High Churchmen were furious against them. And their party proved a large majority of the Convocation. When, therefore, the Convocation met to consider the work of the commission, it was soon apparent that not a single alteration would be allowed. The Low Churchmen—

> "Very wisely determined to begin by proposing to substitute lessons taken from the canonical books for the lessons taken from the Apocrypha. It would seem that this was a suggestion which, even if there had not been a single dissenter in the kingdom, might well have been received with favour. For the Church had, in her sixth article, declared that the canonical books were, and that the Apocryphal books were not, entitled to be called Holy Scriptures, and to be regarded as the rule of faith. Even this reform, however, the High Churchmen were determined to oppose."

—and they succeeded in rejecting it. Mr. Macaulay thinks that it was advantageous to the Church, and to the cause of true religion, that the attempt to reform the Prayer Book failed. For that if, to the political causes of strife between High Churchmen and Low Churchmen, doctrinal differences had in this way been added, the schism which actually took place would have become much more dangerous; the Nonjurors would have been able to put forward much more plausible defences of their cause, and, while proclaiming themselves to be the only orthodox party, they would have secured abundance of followers who happily remained in the bosom of the Church. However this may be, the *animus* displayed by the High Churchmen is not the less to be condemned, nor did it the less tend to irritate the opposite party, and to widen a breach already sufficiently broad.

Thus were the minds of the two parties inflamed, the one against the other, by mutual insults and injury. Thus were they prepared for that still more desperate strife which broke out at a later period. It is difficult now to say whether any amount of care and forbearance could have prevented that strife. It is certain that none was exercised. It was not in the nature of party tactics then, nor has it ever been in the nature of such tactics, to show moderation. Such moderation, when it does interpose, appears from without, and generally from a higher quarter. Unhappily, at that period a man was on the throne who, whatever may have been his wishes, was a foreigner, with little knowledge, and little inclination to interpose with tenderness and justice. In political matters, indeed, William long tried to hold the balance even between the Whigs and the Tories. But in ecclesiastical matters he had neither the power nor the inclination to maintain a balance. It was essential that power and influence should be taken from the High Church party and should be conferred on the Low Church party. Hitherto all ecclesiastical authority had inclined one way; but henceforth it must be made to incline the other way. All depended on the change being done slowly and gently. Unfortunately the alterations were effected abruptly; and the consequence was a long course of strife and bitter hatred, the effects of which are still visible in our Church.

Among the most hurtful of the ideas concerning the government of the Church which statesmen began to acquire during this time of acrimonious contention, was one which maintained that the chief governors of the Church should, for the sake of peace and quiet, be men of no very earnest opinions and of no strength of character. It may be very convenient to men in high places of the state to have the deaneries and bishoprics of the Church filled with such men; but the secular power forgot that bishops and deans had duties to perform towards those under their government; and that if men of no energy were made bishops and deans, the peculiar and very important duties of their offices were likely to be but imperfectly performed. Yet ministers, for the sake, as they fancied, of their own ease and quiet, have gone on appointing weak-minded, inactive men to the high places of the Church, even up to the present day: and when the injury and ruin thus brought on the Church have been demonstrated, it has been thought a sufficient argument to point to a time of unusual and extravagant excitement, and to say, observe here the effect of giving power to men of more energy and courage.

We have been led to make these remarks by the circumstance that Mr. Macaulay records the first step taken towards this change. When Sancroft, after ample time for reflection, refused to take the oaths, a very estimable and good man was appointed by the Crown to the archbishopric. In inferior positions Tillotson had done well enough. He possessed considerable learning, he was a favourite preacher, and he was admirably fitted for the post for which the government had designed him in 1689—that of Prolocutor to the lower house of Convocation. There he would have played a worthy part in keeping within bounds contending parties. But something more was necessary in the Primate of all England, and in that something Tillotson was unfortunately deficient. He was emphatically a good man, but he was not an energetic man. He suited the purposes of William and his advisers, who wanted an archbishop that would let things take their own course, or at any rate such a course as the government liked. But he was not prepared to guide the Church in a time of great difficulty; to go before and to point out the good and the safe path; and even to initiate new measures for the new times that had come upon her. It was perhaps fortunate for Tillotson that the news of his appointment raised that storm of hatred and anger on the part of the Nonjurors which Mr. Macaulay describes. Because the absurdity and wickedness of it disgusted the good men even of the Tory party, and he was better received by them than he could have hoped to be. Mr. Macaulay writes :—

> "But the congratulations and applauses of his friends could not drown the roar of execration which the Jacobites set up. According to them he was a thief who had not entered by the door, but had climbed over the fences. He was a hireling whose own the sheep were not, who had usurped the crook of the good shepherd, and who might well be expected to leave the flock at the mercy of every wolf. He was an Arian, a Socinian, a Deist, an Atheist. He had cozened the world by fine phrases, and by a show of moral good-

ness; but he was in truth a far more dangerous enemy to the Church than he could have been if he had openly proclaimed himself a disciple of Hobbes, and had lived as loosely as Wilmot. He had taught the fine gentlemen and ladies who admired his style, and who were constantly seen round his pulpit, that they might be very good Christians, and yet might believe the account of the Fall in the book of Genesis to be allegorical. Indeed, they might easily be as good Christians as he, for he had never been christened; his parents were Anabaptists; he had lost their religion when he was a boy; and hehad never found another. In ribald lampoons he was nick named Undipped John."

But qualities which failed to fit Tillotson for the government of the Church, fitted him to become a favourite with William. With secular governors, whether kings or prime ministers, the pattern bishop is one who is a good man, and who gives no trouble. And, consequently, William was very sorry for the death of Tillotson.

> "The queen could not speak of her favourite instructor without weeping. Even William was visibly moved. 'I have lost,' he said, 'the best friend that I ever had, and the best man that I ever knew.' The only Englishman who is mentioned with tenderness, in any part of the great mass of letters which the king wrote to Heinsius, is Tillotson. The archbishop had left a widow: to her William granted a pension of four hundred a year, which he afterwards increased to six hundred. His anxiety that she should receive her income regularly and without stoppages was honourable to him. Every quarter-day he ordered the money, without any deduction, to be brought to himself, and immediately sent it to her."

Tillotson did not live long enough, after being raised to the primacy, to do much good or much harm. But his promotion was the first instance of the application of a rule, which has been almost invariably observed since then, that of placing what are called moderate men, that is to say, men of indecision of character, into the episcopal throne of Canterbury.

In conclusion, we must thank Mr. Macaulay for what is, on the whole, a very good and fair account of ecclesiastical affairs during the earlier years of William the Third's reign. That he is altogether impartial we cannot admit: but that he has written a much more impartial ecclesiastical history of the time than any ecclesiastic has done, or than it is likely that any ecclesiastic can do, we acknowledge.

Quarterly Report of Facts and Progress.

THE SINAITIC INSCRIPTIONS.

THE conclusion of the war has been marked by "facts and progress" connected with the interesting inquiry into the origin and meaning of the rock inscriptions of Sinai. The journals of the late Captain Thomas Henry Butler, of the 55th regiment, who was killed at Inkermann, have reached England, and are found to contain the results of his observations respecting the elevation and position of these remains of antiquity. Captain Butler, and his brother, the Rev. Pierce Butler, verified the copyings of the Rev. G. F. Gray, made in 1820, and also added a few new tracings and cuts, which have reached their relative, the Rev. Charles Forster, who has lately published their important testimony to the accuracy of Mr. Gray's engravings. We allude to their antiquarian researches for the following reasons.

The origin of the many thousand gravings on the landstone and the granite rocks of the peninsula of Sinai has been the subject of an important controversy. Professors Tuck and Beer suppose them to be of either Pagan or Christian origin; but Mr. Forster, in his "Voice of Israel from the Rocks of Sinai," has contended, with the greatest probability of success, for their Israelitish workmanship. He reads them by means of the old Arabic language, after applying an alphabet of known forms and powers, and using successfully the Arabic lexicons. He finds them to refer to the events recorded in the books of Exodus and Numbers; and although not in the exact language of Scripture, yet containing allusions to the facts and miracles of the Sacred Records. Their number, their inaccessible positions, and their occurrence in the most desolate parts of the peninsula, as well as on the granite surface of Mount Serbâl,—the true Mount Sinai—point to the Israelites as the only people who tarried long enough in these inhospitable valleys to make their inscription possible. They must have required much leisure, length of time, and many hands; and neither Arab pilgrims nor Christian travellers could find the time, nor the sustenance, nor the resources necessary for their production. Their decipherment, too, had been so ably accomplished by Mr. Forster, and had been received with satisfaction by the majority of sound Oriental scholars, that scarcely a reasonable doubt could remain as to their authorship. Notwithstanding, however, the accumulated evidence of various travellers—as Lord Lindsay and Mr. Bartlett—a late traveller has thrown doubt upon their Hebrew origin. The Rev. Arthur P. Stanley, who has lately published his " Sinai and Palestine," refers them to Christian pilgrims of the fourth or fifth centuries of our era, and does not consider them either so numerous or so inaccessible as former travellers had represented. His statements have called forth from Mr. Forster a " Letter to Lord Lyndhurst," in which he publishes the accurate measurement of their height, and difficulty of access, made by the two brothers already mentioned; and the facts which he records being the latest news from Sinai, will prove exceedingly interesting to all who desire information on this scriptural subject. They enable us, for instance, to trace the course of the Israelites throughout the whole peninsula. They stretch from the vicinity of Suez, through various well known valleys, viz., Wardan, Sidri, Maghara, Mokatteb, Feiran and Aleyat to the giant granite rock, Mount Serbâl, whose lower part is literally clothed with them. They continue through various valleys towards and around Petra and Mount Hor, quite across the peninsula of Sinai; "but their central site is around Mount Serbâl, the leading avenues to which they throng in innumerable multitudes." This statement alone is a commanding argument; it points to one assignable cause and one particular people.

Mr. Stanley, although he rejects this supposition, fortunately confirms Mr. Forster's decipherment of a particular inscription in a very remarkable manner. Great difficulty has long been felt respecting the kind of birds denominated " quails " in Numbers xi. 31. Various writers have objected to this species of feathered fowl, but have been unable to suggest a correct solution of the difficulty of the passage. Mr. Forster had deciphered three short inscriptions of Professor Beer's, viz., Nos. 46, 47, and 48, and in each of these he had discovered two words which signify " red-legged cranes from the sea." Such birds had been seen in Egypt, but had not been noticed in the desert. Mr. Stanley, however, witnessed a flock of these red-legged, geese-like cranes flying from the sea, inland; and that, too, at the precise spot where the feathered fowls were supplied as food for the Israelites. " The sky," he states, " was literally darkened by them." Connecting the Mosaic narrative—the existing inscriptions on the spot—and the observations of Mr. Stanley, we have a singularly beautiful confirmation and explanation of an important scriptural miracle, and a lasting testimony of contemporary authority to the truth of the Sacred Records. We deem this kind of testimony peculiarly important in these days, when German Neology is so prevalent among some of the authorised professors at our seats of learning. There is, for instance, a sceptical tone in Mr. Stanley's volume which is exceedingly injurious to sound and sober belief in the narrative of Moses, and we hail the appearance of any confirmation (such as those afforded by Captain Butler and his brother) of the truthful simplicity of the oracles of God. Mr. Forster's "Letter to Lord Lyndhurst" on this subject, is a fresh contribution to sacred literature worthy of attentive perusal; and we feel sure that all who will qualify themselves to pass an opinion on the subject, will derive pleasure and profit from its instructive pages.

THE REFORMATORY MOVEMENT.

THE attention of the public is still directed with renewed zeal towards the reformation of juvenile criminals and the prevention of increasing criminality. The "Reformatory and Refuge Union" have held a meeting in the City of London, and raised funds to the amount of £2000 for the assistance of reformatories and refuges in the metropolis. The leading bankers of the city have sanctioned the movement by subscribing either £100 or £50 each. Another "Union," which devotes itself more especially to the necessary legislation, has held an important meeting at the Law Amendment Society's chambers. M. De Metz has also attended the meetings. Roman Catholics have opened a reformatory at Blyth House, Brook Green, Hammersmith, under the superintendence of the late Archdeacon Manning. Various counties have opened their institutions. The two latest which have received certificates from the Home Secretary of State are, one on the estate of Lord Ward, near Witby Court, Worcestershire, of which the Rev. D. Melville is the general superintendent; another is that at Castle Howard, Yorkshire. We have already noticed the preliminary proceedings: it was opened on the 26th of May with four inmates, under the management of the resident master and chaplain, the Rev. Samuel Fish. As a farm of about thirty-seven acres is attached to this Institution, it will afford every facility for training labour-masters for other and newer establishments. Its affairs are conducted by a Committee, of which the Rev. Canon Harcourt is the Chairman, and the Rev. Thomas

Myers, Vicar of Sheriff Hutton, near Castle Howard, is one of the Honorary Secretaries, and the corresponding member of the Reformatory Unions.

OUR PROSPECTS.

We can hardly realise as yet the quick transition which we have made from peace to war, and from war to peace; we had barely arrived at the consciousness of war when we found that it had ceased, and we are just as slow in realising the thought of peace, now that, by God's grace, it is restored to us. This, we think, is the true solution of what has appeared to many an enigma—the comparative apathy with which the tidings of peace were received among us. Peace was looked upon as a thing of course, as the normal state of English society, and the necessary consequence of English bravery. There was therefore no very extravagant ebullitions of joy, and no very enthusiastic gratitude to those who had brought it about. The illuminations throughout the country were far from general, and were obviously in most instances mere exhibitions of public spirit. The Government rocket-shows drew together, it is true, vast multitudes, but we cannot suppose that these cared for, or thought of, anything more than the beauty of the fireworks and the ingenuity of their designers. We heard a great deal said about the extravagant sum which was being spent on an hour's amusement, and the recklessness with which lives and limbs were thrown away in producing it; but we heard nothing which could lead us to regard the display as a national thanksgiving for peace, or even, in any sense, as a commemoration of its conclusion.

Another cause tends to somewhat of the same result; the English people were, perhaps, rather willing than otherwise, that the war should have continued for another year or two. They knew the power of the tremendous armament which had been prepared but not employed; they felt confident of the issue of another campaign in the East, when the reign of mismanagement was over, and the strength of our army known; and, above all, there was a natural anxiety to avenge the wrongs of Kars, and to clear the British name from the sneers which continental critics had cast upon it. So that although peace was earnestly hoped for at last, it was not so at the moment when it was signed. The case was different in France; peace was there a political necessity; and, indeed, if it had not been we should have had to wait for it much longer. The real peacemaker was the Emperor Napoleon, who could not afford, by throwing away the chance which the Russians held out, to incur the risk of an indefinitely protracted war. And if our Government had to give up several advantages which it might otherwise have obtained, to gratify the political necessities of their ally, we may be assured that the concession will be returned tenfold in the strengthening of the bonds of alliance, and the unfettering of our commerce.

The peace will, before long, be better appreciated; it was a very honourable one for all who were concerned in it, not less to those who granted, than to those who accepted, it. Both parties had to forbear, otherwise it would not have been lasting; its moderation is our security for its permanence; and we must congratulate ourselves, that it has performed the true function of a peace so well, by its regard, not so much of what would terminate one war, as of what would prevent another. The fact of the occurrence of the last war must completely have dissipated the wild notions which some men entertained about the possibility of European nations ever again resorting to such a mode of settling their differences. More wars than one are exceedingly probable: the treaty of Paris guaranteed the friendly relations of the contracting powers, but it did not negociate for the rest of the world. We cannot again expect a Russo-Turkish war, or, indeed, that Russia will, if she can help it, ever break with Western Europe while the French Empire exists. But we think that a conflict is inevitable, and that Italy will be the battle-ground: we do not see how Austria can uphold her present footing there, and at the same time avoid a collision with Sardinia. And there seems to be but little doubt as to the part which England would take in the event of an open rupture, for the Government has long ago given plain intimations of its intentions. It is also rumoured that not improbably we should have Russia for an ally, and that her present dislike of Austria would produce some very decided measures on the side of Poland as well as of Lombardy. At any rate we feel sure that Sardinia will be enabled to extend her empire to Rome; king Victor Emanuel is the only man who has shown himself worthy of ruling the Italian people, and we believe, as we hope, that he will not be long in acquiring the empire at which he aims.

In another direction our prospects are more perplexing: we seem to be in some little danger even yet of a war with the United States, and we cannot look forward to it without some feelings of dread. Not that we have any fears for the issue, but that we know at how vast a cost even success would be purchased. The alleged cause for war *was* the misconduct of our ambassador, Mr. Crampton, and his dismissal by the American Government. There appears to be little doubt that in some points Mr. Crampton went far beyond his instructions, and ill-represented either the Government or the country. The Government must have seen this, and ought to have withdrawn him at once, for it can never be politic to keep a representative at a court where he has in any way rendered himself personally obnoxious. The question which has been decided at the time we write, is not whether Mr. Dallas shall be required to leave his post as ambassador here. We have the assurance of Lord Palmerston that he has no wish to suspend diplomatic relations, and that he is anxious to retain Mr. Dallas, in order to negociate with him about the Central American question. In every point our Government has shown a most laudable desire for peace, just as the American Government has endeavoured to hurry on a war. But, however much we may strive to avoid it, we feel certain that war may yet break out, and central America may supply the pretext. We have it on the best authority, that to the Americans foreign war is a political necessity, to ward off for a time the more dreadful struggles of civil war. For the contest between the North and the South, the slave-holders and the non-slave-holders, has nearly reached its crisis, and if not interrupted will break out into a most bloody strife. The Americans know, as well as we do, that they must ultimately submit to a disgraceful peace, that our forces both naval and military are better fitted for war than ever before, but they have to choose between two evils, of which war with us may be deemed only the lesser, and we must be prepared to meet them.

THE RUGELEY POISONINGS.

A CRIMINAL case which has held so prominent a position in public attention as that of the Rugeley poisonings, cannot well be passed over in reviewing the facts of the quarter. Regarded in some lights, it has been sufficiently discussed already; regarded in others, we hope that it will not soon be forgotten. It will be well now to let the question of Palmer's guilt remain where the verdict of the jury left it, and to rest content on the medical points, with the very decided opinions of the chief medical authorities in the country. It will be desirable not again to harrow the public mind with those morbid details on which the newspapers seemed to gloat with such peculiar delight, and to waive for the present the question of the lawfulness of capital punishment, and its application to Palmer. We take the case as it stands, pointing to his fate as a warning to those who are travelling the same path, in its first stage, if not in its last. The poisoner and his victim were types of a large class, to whom public attention has been for the first time largely directed. The "turf" and the "ring" embrace no inconsiderable portion of English society, and their baneful influence extends far beyond the actual sphere of their operations. It is not many years since gambling in one of its shapes—at the "hells" of London—called for distinct legislation; and, since then, it has been gradually assuming the form of "betting," which has now reached a height which we shudder to contemplate. The amount of crime caused by it among the lower classes led, not long since, to some partial remedial measures; but the evil practices of those whose open profession was more honest, and whose position in the world was more respectable, were tacitly passed over. Among them were Palmer and Cook: the one representing those who had money to make, the other those who had money to lose. The former class has always been regarded as one of the most dangerous which it is possible to meet with; and we are sorry to know that every large town swarms with them: the latter comprehends many junior members of the aristocracy, and a large proportion of the young men of fortune throughout the country. They affect to look at Palmer and Cook as the church looks at a dishonest clergyman; but without the shadow of a reason. Nothing can be more exact than the analogy between Palmer's betting transactions, and the ordinary proceedings of Epsom, or Ascot, or Doncaster. The horses are so many dice on which are staked the fortunes and the happiness of thousands. The sums which are risked on the chance of one horse gaining a few inches on another are almost incredible, and show plainly the desperate nature of the game at which these gamblers play.

We hope that the time is not far distant when every form of betting will be made penal: for the old maxim of the jurists is very true, that what the law does not prohibit it sanctions. We do not believe in the argument, commonly brought against legislation of this kind, that the more gambling is put down by legislation, the more shapes will it assume, and the more malignant, because more secret, will be its evil. This is only partly true; every time that legislation is brought to bear upon some one of its phases, a new testimony will be raised against it, and its devotees will have a fresh opportunity of seeing its legal, if not its moral, criminality. Some one's eyes will be opened, and that is all that we can expect. Men like Palmer will cling to gambling so long as they determine that their bread shall depend upon it; but men like Cook will not so easily be seduced into the idea of its honourableness when they know that it is penal. We wait anxiously, therefore, for some form of legislation against it, and we trust that we shall not be disappointed.

Meanwhile, the fate of Palmer will be a sad, but a telling warning; his modes of raising money were worse in degree, but not worse in kind, than those of thousands who are still counted respectable members of society. The lust of money must indeed have reached a fearful pitch, when, to work out its own ends, it can poison a wife, a brother, and a friend. But we know that the same unscrupulousness is acting elsewhere, in different directions, with just as little regard to all that is holy in human feelings. In any shape, this curse of our century should be preached against, and prayed against: it is rife everywhere,—with seeming legitimacy in the Exchange, with obvious illegitimacy in the betting-house; so that it covers the country like a flood, and threatens to overwhelm us like a whirlpool. But we can do no more now than trace the analogy, and leave those who need it to apply it to themselves.

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE.

The Cambridge University Reform Bill is now before Parliament; it will readily be seen how meagre are its provisions, and how little they affect the real evils which have to be combatted. We must point to Oxford as an example of a similar scheme, in the further stages of its development. We do so with the greatest pain, because we know that there, not a single change has been made which is worth the name, and because we are alike surprised and annoyed that a mere attempt at blinding men's eyes should so far have succeeded as to pass through Parliament. There were two strong parties in the House of Commons when the Oxford Bill passed. Mr. Gladstone was in the zenith of his power; and it was felt, that any measure to which he was decidedly opposed would have a difficulty in passing. On the other hand, Mr. Gladstone and his party were unwilling to lose the votes of the great body of Liberals, all of whom were bent upon university reform. Accordingly there was a fusion of parties: Mr. Gladstone consented to a little more reform than he had at first determined on, and the Liberals offered to rest content for the present with a very partial measure. But how was the public and the press to be satisfied? This was agreed to be done by the appointment of a Commission, which, it was promised, should deal with the colleges one by one, and restore them to their true position. The Bill which was actually brought before Parliament, was the second of two which had been submitted to the coalition: the former of which, wholly framed by Dr. Jeune, the Master of Pembroke College, is almost word for word the basis of the present Cambridge Bill. Nearly all that the Oxford Bill has done, and that the Cambridge Bill proposes to do, has been to alter the outward framework of the university: the state of learning, the whole apparatus of study with which a student has to do, is left just as it was before. It is of little or no consequence whatever, to the great majority of those who avail themselves of a university education, where the governing power lies, or what is the constitution of the different deliberative assemblies: all that a student needs is, to have literary and pecuniary aids supplied to him, as far as the means of his college or university will allow. Reform should begin with the student, and its chiefest object should be to give him as much help as possible. This is exactly what it has failed to do at Oxford, and what it seems equally improbable that it will do at Cambridge. We cannot but consider it disgraceful, both to the legislature and to the country, that their chief seats of education, with all their splendid endowments and opportunities, should be allowed to have so little influence for good upon the education of the country. Hebdomadal councils should be left alone, at least until the education itself is improved, and the path of the student smoothed. So long as pretended reformers throw dust in the eyes of the country by schemes which wholly neglect the interests of the student, and leave him to fight the battle of poverty single-handed, or to pick up knowledge for himself as best he can,—so long will our universities be a standing reproach, and their influence be not for good, but for evil.

THE ABBEY CHURCH OF ST. ALBANS.

We are glad to notice a movement which has been lately set on foot for restoring this venerable fabric to its original state, and obtaining for it the dignity of a cathedral. We have not many relics of mediæval architecture which we can compare with it, either for size or beautiful simplicity, and even on this ground it would be desirable not to allow it to fall into decay. But there is the additional argument, that it would exactly meet the want of a separate cathedral, which is so much felt in the archdeaconry of which it is the centre. The hope that its restoration will facilitate the separation of that part of Hertfordshire from the diocese of Rochester, has caused the movement to take a very extensive hold on the sympathies of the inhabitants; and we believe that nearly one-half of the £20,000 which is required has been already raised. We bring the cause before the notice of our readers with the greater readiness, as we know that the most competent architect of the day is engaged for the work, and that he will not, like most modern church-restorers, utterly destroy every trace of beauty under the pretence of improvement.

THE SUNDAY BANDS.

There are certain persons in the country who are determined that their attacks on the Sabbath shall not cease until its sacred character is altogether destroyed. Again and again have we to return to the charge, for every fresh repulse seems only to create a fresh *point d'appui*, so that, even at the risk of wearisomeness, it becomes our duty once more to defend God's day from its profaners. The question, lately, has turned upon the bands in the London parks on Sunday afternoons, which Sir Benjamin Hall had established, and which Lord Palmerston, at the request of the Archbishop of Canterbury, had prohibited. The prohibition was so directly in deference to the feelings of the religious world, that an agitation immediately commenced, in which every kind of invective was hurled at the "Sabbatarians," and "Puritans," as they were termed, whose "miserable prejudices" had so far curtailed "the people's enjoyments." Crowded meetings were held, at which the bands were claimed as a public right; and influential deputations waited upon the premier, to induce him to change his resolution: although we are glad to say that they obtained no better success than the assurance that the question of revival could not for a moment be entertained. But even now the enemies of the Sabbath pretend to have hope; the minds of the working classes are not allowed to be at rest, being infected with false views of their true position, and inflamed with a sense of fancied injustice, in the expectation that the surrender of the Sabbath may at last be necessitated by the public safety. We hope that the pulpits of the Church of England will be as untiring in this question as the platforms of infidel meeting-halls; we hope that her ministers will be perpetual witnesses, both in word and deed, against the slanders of their opponents. Above all, we hope that none of them will change sides, even upon this one point of Sunday bands. We regret that so many have done so; not because we are insensible to the grounds which have caused the change, but because this point involves the whole question. It is not merely a question of whether bands are justfiable or no: it is a question as to whether the Sabbath is holy, and whether any desecration of it can be right. It may be true that walking in the parks is a healthy thing, and that the bands promote it; but it does not follow that there is nothing better, or that the bands are essential to it. It may be true, in some cases, that the war is not between the parks and the pulpit, but between the parks and the pothouse; but we cannot believe this as by any means a general rule, when we know that the gin-palaces were as full as ever, and that the religious services in the neighbourhood of the bands were nearly deserted. The greater portion of those who were in the parks when the bands were played, were persons who might have been, and, in the majority of instances, who would have been, keeping the Sabbath as God has commanded, and as by His grace we have been able to keep it in England for centuries.

But the chief fact which, we trust, that those who are wavering in the question will bear in mind is, that the Sunday bands do not stand alone. The yielding of this one point would be like the first moving of a floodgate which, when once stirred, is irresistible. As Lord Palmerston wisely observed in the House of Commons, it may seem a slight step in itself, but it is an obvious violation of the existing state of things, and we could not tell whither it would lead. The Anti-Sabbath agitators make no secret of their ultimate objects, nor do they conceal the fact that the questions which they have lately stirred are but preliminary to the final one—Is the English Sabbath to be kept holy or no? If once the law which recognises the obligation of the Sabbath is directly broken by the legislature, those who live by catering for the public amusement will not lose the opportunity, and we shall have the Continental Sunday in England without delay. Let us beware of the slightest bend in this direction; let us pray

God that we may be spared the fearful scenes of Continental Sabbath-breaking, which robs God of His glory and man of his rest.

We are writing now from the Continent, and we cannot but hold up in warning what we witnessed yesterday. It was a Sunday, and, as being the great holiday of the week, was appointed by the French government to be kept in honour of the infant son of Napoleon III. We walked through Paris at midday, but we could not find a single church open. Instead of churchgoers the streets were filled with gaily-dressed people crowding to the theatres, admission to which was, on this occasion, by imperial command, gratuitous. Soon afterwards great numbers of balloons were sent up, and during the whole afternoon the lower class amused themselves with penny shows and dancing booths in one of the large open spaces of the city. At night there was a general illumination, and a public display of fireworks, which attracted, it is calculated, nearly half-a-million onlookers. This is the way in which the French give thanks to God for His "late signal mercies vouchsafed to them;" and this is what it is intended that we should have instead of our days of humble thanksgiving, and the holy calm of our Sabbath services. We earnestly hope that our fellow-churchmen will not, by their divided opinions upon the question, give the present, or any subsequent government, a pretext for receding from their righteous determination to shield us from the curse of the Continent—the want of a day of rest, and above all of a day of prayer.

But as members of the Church of England we have to act another part in this question: we have not merely to endeavour to keep the day legally consecrate, we have also to strive that its consecration may be a blessing to the people at large. This, we think, is the hardest part of our duty: it is easy to clamour about the benefits which the Sabbath brings, it is more difficult to work, with all our energies, that those benefits may result in our individual circles. We must use every possible exertion to make our services less dreary than they sometimes are, and our Sunday schools less wearisome to both teachers and pupils. We cannot always expect men to come to church, or boys to school, if every source of human pleasure is taken away, and every means of human weariness supplied. We speak with especial reference to afternoon services and afternoon sermons. Nothing could well be more dull and uninteresting than the services which we have attended in London on summer afternoons. The prayers slovenly read—the sermon, generally on some abstract point of theology, served up under a form wholly unintelligible to the audience; and the attendance as miserably small as could be expected. And similarly with Sunday schools: the rooms themselves have almost invariably been crowded and stifling, the children weary and uncomfortable, the teachers for the most part careless about anything else but getting through their task as soon as possible. The natural consequence is, that the working classes will go anywhere on Sunday afternoons rather than to church, and their children are only too glad when they are old enough to be allowed to leave the Sunday school. It is often so at other periods of the day: but while it is so at all we shall have a difficulty in persuading those who frequent the parks that church is a better place for them. We hope that all who have the interests of the Sabbath really at heart, will do their best that the Sabbath and its services may be considered by the working classes as not merely a duty but also a delight.

LORD DALHOUSIE.

India has lost one of her ablest governors in Lord Dalhousie: we hardly know which of his predecessors we could place beside him, for none of them has done so much to make our empire in the east a firm and lasting one. His financial and administrative abilities, whether singly or combined, have never yet been equalled by any of the long line of illustrious names who have held the supreme place in India. Our empire there, until within the last ten years, was merely kept up by force; the native powers would easily have driven us from their shores if they could have combined, whilst we should have left behind us scarcely a single monument of our dominon, and certainly none in the affections of the people. Our rule is bad enough now, we know, but Lord Dalhousie has done all in his power to make it otherwise, and the changes which he has set in motion will not be long in altering the whole state of the country. He has given himself up most nobly to the task of amelioration: he has for eight years worked without a day's intermission, until at length all his physical powers have failed him, and sheer fatigue has laid him so prostrate that not long since his life was despaired of. He has now come home for a few years' rest, and we sincerely wish him the repose which he needs, for we see other work for him to do. He is the man, above all others, to whom we must look when the present

Government is too weak to stand. There is hardly a single statesman besides him who can hope to form anything like a permanent Administration, for the leaders of the different parties have tried the experiment in vain, and nearly all others have been irrecoverably stained by the part which they have taken in the war. Lord Dalhousie combines all that we need, both in position and in character. He has not been rendered unpopular by any recent political agitations; he has not acquired any party-odium; he comes before the world with the fame of his governorship reflected brightly upon him, and the belief in his ability undiminished by any secondary considerations. So that his position gives full scope for the unimpeded exercise, as well as the true appreciation, of his talents, and these are of the highest order in every respect. He has the power of forming great schemes, and also of carrying them out; he has unwearied industry, and the habit of close attention to the details as much as to the larger applications of his measures; he has forethought and foresight, the most necessary of all qualifications for a legislator, which give us confidence that his acts are necessary for the future although we cannot see their expediency in the present. He is, in short, an extremely able and vigorous statesman, and the sooner his talents are brought to bear upon our whole home administration the more likely shall we be to avoid those dark social problems which hang so luridly in our horizon.

CONVOCATION.

Convocation has had another deliberative session, at which the conversation degenerated into the twaddle which had always been predicted as the result of a meeting of clergymen. We are sorry that in so long a session nothing of the slightest interest was brought forward, except the case of the Wesleyans in the Upper Chamber. Nothing could be more tedious than the debates on the discipline of the clergy, and nothing could give better grounds for the popular sneer that the clergy are not fit to govern themselves. Certainly the report which was presented was a more feasible scheme than that of the Lord Chancellor, so happily rejected by the House of Lords, but that is not saying much for it. We sincerely trust that Convocation will do something, in a matter of such importance, more worthy of its own high character and more likely to receive the sanction of the Government.

We record, with much pain, the manner in which the Upper House entertained the petition, to which we alluded in our last number, for the reconciliation of the Wesleyan body to the Church of England. The Bishop of St. David's took the lead against it, expressing himself extremely indignant that the petitioners had ventured to insinuate that examinations for ordinations were not always so strict as they might be. If the fact had not been notorious, the conduct of the bishop might have been pardonable; but the real state of the case is so well known to all who have to do with it, that we certainly should like to have a more open acknowledgment on his part of the evils which the petitioners deplored. The speech of the Bishop of Exeter was one which is calculated to do lasting harm to the cause of unity and brotherhood: we had almost said that it is as unchristian as it certainly is uncharitable. His lordship said:—

> "He regarded the history of Wesleyanism as a most marked proof of the extreme danger of the sin of schism. Persons committing themselves to that sin did not know to what lengths they might be carried. The experience of the Church regarding schism had shown that separation always produced heresy, and in no case had this been more strongly proved than in England. He lamented the schism which had been produced by Mr. Wesley, and entertained a *feeling of pity* for his followers; and if any indication was received that they wished to be received into the Church, he should be most anxious to encourage them. But, until that was the case, it was not a desirable or becoming course for the Church to take, to go begging to those persons and say, 'We are anxious to have you back again; we understand you, that our ordination is not rightly conducted, and in order to satisfy you we will do such and such things.' It appeared to him that it would be most improper to take such a course. . . . . All he wanted was that the Wesleyans should acknowledge their error, and express a wish to be delivered from it. That must be accompanied with a feeling that their error was a *sin*. The Church ought to be very cautious how it received them, until they indicated some sense of the condition in which they must be regarded by every faithful member of the Church: they were in a state of schism, and therefore in a state of sin."

Such language as this will certainly never bring the Wesleyans back to our communion, and we cannot cease to regret that it was uttered. However, it will now be our duty more than ever to show by our lives and actions that the Church of England really supplies all those wants which the Wesleyans profess to seek for in vain, and the absence of which led them at first to leave her. We must strive to show how energy and holiness can be united in her ministers, and how devotedness and brotherly love are possible among her laity. This seems to be at present the only probable way of mending those unhappy divisions which have so long reigned among us. In this, as in all other great works which the Church is carrying on, we must not look to Convocation, but to ourselves and to God.

THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

The exhibition this year is a very remarkable one: it is an epoch in the history of modern English art, not so much because it contains great results, as because it is full of new hopes and promises. As Mr. Ruskin remarks in his pamphlet, every one must be struck with the very marked change in the character of the paintings The once despised Pre-Raphaelites now contrive to contribute a decided majority of the pictures, including almost without exception the *chefs d'ouvre* of the exhibition. Their principles have taken decided root, and we must sincerely congratulate those who have so nobly weathered the storm of criticism, that they are at last appreciated by the great body of young artists, and that their opponents are fairly shut out. We feel sure that their extravagances will wear away in time, and that the good which is in them will take such firm hold upon English art as to form an entirely new school, never to be superseded by a better. It will be a great thing if the tide can be turned in favour of art at all, and much more if in favour of art as a faithful expositor of nature. Indications are not wanting which point to a more general appreciation of art in England than has hitherto prevailed. It may not be altogether improbable to suppose that pictures may in some degree take the place of books. Men are becoming tired of book-study, they are looking elsewhere for profit and delight, and we think that at no distant time art may be to the English people what literature is now. We should be to some extent glad if this were so; we should certainly rejoice to see God's works better known, and the lessons of their beauty better read; and if this change should come, we shall have to thank those most chiefly who first turned the tide, and we shall have to consider that this was fairly done in the exhibition of 1856.

CONTINENTAL AFFAIRS.

The past quarter has been productive of many deeply interesting events on the Continent of Europe. The inundations of France have been fearfully destructive to property though not to life, and they appear to have furnished Napoleon with one of those opportunities for display and sympathy which he knows how to use. But still there have been murmurs respecting the large sum to be devoted to the baptismal *fêtes*, for even many Frenchmen are utilitarian enough to suppose that all this money would be far more usefully employed in repairing the devastations of nature, than in mimicking her thunders and lightnings by fireworks and illuminations. The Emperor himself feels that the *fêtes* are out of character at a time of national calamity, and has announced that if the preparations had not been in such an advanced state, the money might have been employed in aid of the sufferers. But holidays and spectacles are dear to the heart of *la belle France*, and the gay Parisians must not be put out of humour by disappointments on such a grand scale. France has much to learn and as much to unlearn before she can make any very great advance in political and social freedom.

The public sympathy with our ally Sardinia and its government has been rudely shocked of late. Much as the world admired Count Cavour's protest against Austrian despotism at the Paris conferences, and earnestly as people were prepared to join enthusiastically in every aspiration for Italian freedom—whether in jeopardy from Austria, the Pope, or France—Englishmen do not like the revelations which have been lately made respecting persecution in Sardinia; and they have been shocked to learn that a poor simple peasant, who, on a village green, in conversation with his neighbours, dared to assert that the mother of Jesus, the virgin Mary, had other children besides her first-born, has been thrown into prison, and, after trial, condemned to incarceration by this pattern government. The possibility of imputing any degree of criminality, much less of blasphemy, to a man in such circumstances, is an absurdity which we can scarcely realise in this country; but in Roman Catholic countries it is very different, and one of the greatest blasphemies that a man can be guilty of there, consists in that audacity which would set up a simple historical fact against a dogma of priestcraft, and, worse still, prove it by a reference to the New Testament! But this is not the only instance of a strange kind of political liberty under the enlightened rule of Victor Emanuel. On the day when peace was celebrated at Turin there was much rain and storm, for the elements are at the present day as little accommodating to royat edicts as they were in the time of King Canute. An editor remarked that the proceedings were "all mud," and the result was that the paper was prevented from coming out for that day. There is in this country a strong feeling in favour of Sardinia, but that feeling will soon decay if we hear of many such outrages on the liberty of the subject as these are. Sardinia is now looked upon as a bulwark of constitutional government: let her maintain her position.

SATURDAY HALF-HOLIDAY.

We are glad to see that this plan is being more extensively adopted; every week adds to the number of great firms which thus give an instalment, at least, of mingled justice and mercy, to those thousands whom they employ.

The following extracts, read at a Public Meeting at Guildhall, nearly a year ago, under the auspices of the Early Closing Association, will afford some information as to the extent to which success had been achieved even then.

Adverting to an application made in the early part of last year to the wholesale drapers, it is stated:—

> "The result, though not all that could be desired, yet was highy encouraging, some of the largest City firms having consented to close at two, others at one, and scarcely any houses in the trade being now kept open on Saturdays later than three o'clock."

Referring to an application made to the Association by the clerks and warehousemen in the wholesale book and publishing business, it is also stated in the same Report,—

> "That the Board was induced to address the firms in that trade upon the subject. This communication led several employers to come to an agreement to close on Saturdays at five, instead of seven o'clock, others at three, and many at the earlier hour of two, for a certain portion of the year. Subsequently to this decision, those firms who fixed upon five o'clock have been pleased to make the concession of another hour, and are now closing at four for a considerable part of the year."

Further:—

> "The Board gladly point to the woollen factors, tobacco merchants, hop factors, most of the Insurance Companies, the General Steam Navigation Company, Lloyd's, the Stock Exchange, the Baltic Coffee House, all of which now suspend business at two o'clock on Saturdays. Numerous other cases are almost daily occurring of firms in various professions and trades adopting a similar arrangement."

How gratifying to observe such proofs of the onward progress of good feeling on the part of employers towards those under them. And how important that it should be so, for—

> "Man upon man depends, and, break the chain,
> He soon returns to savage life again;
> On either hand a social tribe he sees,
> By those assisted, and assisting these;
> While to the general welfare all belong—
> The high in power, the low in numbers strong."

With regard to shops, Mr. Lilwall very well says in his pamphlet on this subject—

> "A stigma was cast upon the women of England, when it was first proposed by the Early Closing Association to appeal to them to abandon the custom of evening shopping, then so prevalent,—'Ladies will still shop when it suits them, despite all your entreaties to the contrary,' was the comforting cry which on all sides resounded in our ears. Nevertheless, the appeal was sent forth; and the result was a subsequent falling-off in evening shopping amounting to little short of the marvellous. Now, are we to say that the employers of London, who have themselves in their own persons tasted of the bitter waters of protracted and harassing labour, would prove, in such a case as the one proposed, less considerate than the ladies; or shall we not rather conclude that, like them, they also will be ready, if need be, to put themselves to a little trouble and inconvenience, when by so doing they will assist in lightening the burden which is found to press heavily upon the shoulders of an important section of their countrymen? I am, of course, assuming here that their are no real impediments further than those of mere usage, to the proposal to change the collecting day of the City houses. If, however, there should prove to be insuperable difficulties in the way of effecting it, there is no choice but to bow to such necessity, falling back upon the other two suggestions proposed."

There has been long a notion prevalent in many minds that all Nonconformists, ministers and people, are indifferent on this subject. That, satisfied with the general fact, that those who are attached to their own congregations do keep the Sabbath, they care very little about others. We are glad to take a few proofs to the contrary.

The Rev. Dr. Cumming, speaking of public Holidays, and with a view to turn them to good account, observes that they—

> "Ought to be spent in the open air, in the country, or at the sea-side. You thus (says he) combine the greatest amusement with the best restoratives; the bracing air to be the only smoke that

comes near your lips, and the public-house—excepting the place were you have your mutton-chop and a glass of bitter ale, if my teetotal friends will allow me to go even thus far—to be as sacredly abjured on those days as the warehouse or the shop. A visit to the Crystal Palace, either on the summer Holiday or on the Saturday Half-Holiday, will combine the pleasure of a country promenade and the advantage of a museum, both lightened by the best military music in England. I look upon the Crystal Palace as a noble monument of genius, a magnificent school for study, a rich enjoyment to men that have taste, and a means of æsthetic education to those who have none; and most earnestly do I wish it great prosperity. I look at that most magnificent provision in the neighbourhood of London, as one of the most eloquent calls to the long-hour system to repent of its past iniquity, and to relax into a new, and nobler, and more philanthropic career. It is calculated, I said, to create a purer taste, to improve the social habits, and, in its place, to contribute to the outward enjoyment and refinement of young and old. * * * There are also the Zoological Gardens—a very interesting and instructive resort. A little acquaintance with botany or mineralogy will give an interest in collecting plants. A fern, or as it is called in the north, a bracken, the heath-bell, the weed on a common, the shell by the sea-shore, or the pebble on the beach, are full of interest. I have exhausted many a Holiday with intense delight in tending and watching the habits of bees and the architecture of bee-hives, and many an agreeable hour have I spent in apiarian company and fellowship. The minutest creature that God has made overflows with wisdom and instruction."

The Rev. J. Sortain, of Brighton, has also well expressed himself upon the same point:—

"He wanted to see that the men who had been toiling, had gone to recreate themselves in those healthful, stalwart, elevating—physically elevating—games which were [or rather *used* to be] so intimate to Englishmen. He spoke deliberately. If he were a parish clergyman in the country, he knew of no position that he should like better than that which Dr. Parr occupied, when, seated on the lawn before his vicarage, his benevolent eye looked on the groups of his parishioners carrying on their enjoyments and their games, keeping up the high principle of the old English feeling of mutual love and healthful exhiliration. This was not the degrading scene of the pot-house; but the broad expansion of a practice which he trusted would be infused into our towns as well as revived in our villages. He was anxious that, as those who had left the universities, after toiling anxiously through the winter, had gone into different districts to recreate themselves during the summer months, the people should have the same kind of recreation."

The following is from Professor Miller, of Edinburgh:—

"Early closing is the key to the family altar, and the Saturday

Half-Holiday is the key to the Sabbath. The Saturday afternoon is the time for recreation; that is the time for steamboat trips and cheap railway-trains, and for opening Crystal Palaces and British Museums. That is the time for throwing open, too, the public gardens with their military bands. Then and there let bishops and baronets be seen walking arm in arm, enjoying the sight of the people innocently enjoying themselves. * * * Yes, the Saturday is the day for preparation. There is something good in every religion, in one sense. Adopt it! * * * There is the Jew: I want to be a Jew upon half the Saturday. I do not want to work, and I do not want my fellow-man to work upon half that day. It is a visiting-day on the morrow; not gadding from door to door, from house to house, in idle gossip. No. If I am to visit a mighty potentate on earth to-morrow, I will prepare myself to-day. If there is any chance of that great personage returning my visit, and coming into my poor home, I will prepare that home for him. Well, Saturday evening has come. There is visiting on the morrow. The poor working-man visits then a mightier Being than any earthly potentate—he visits God in his own house, his sanctuary; and if he do this as he ought, he will meet his God there, he will hold communion with Him; he will not come empty away."

"But it is necessary, that persons in the receipt of weekly wages should be paid at an early hour on Saturday, or, better still, on Friday or Thursday, if late Saturday-night and Sunday trading are to be effectually abolished. Indeed, for the attainment of this important object, this is not less necessary than the granting of the proposed Weekly Half-Holiday. Nor would the helping to secure that object be the only good arising from an earlier payment of wages. On the contrary such earlier payment would be a great benefit to the workman *himself*. It would place him and his family in a position to lay out their weekly hard earnings to the best advantage, instead of being driven, as they often are now, to make their purchases at those shops which keep open till midnight and on the morning of the Sabbath, whose articles, as a rule, are notoriously the most inferior, and whose prices too are proportionally exorbitant. The poor, who, to use a familiar but unpolite expression, usually pay through the nose for what they buy, have much to learn upon such subjects. It may be observed, in passing, that with many masters, or perhaps more often with their foremen, it has been the custom to pay their workpeople not only late on Saturday nights, but also at public-houses,—a usage which cannot be too severely deprecated. Surely the great enemy of our race could not easily devise a scheme more vicious in its tendency. Now the avoidance of the sad consequences of that custom may be added to the advantages before specified as likely to arise from an earlier payment of wages."

Mr. Lilwall observes—

"Indeed, now that Parliament has decided that our Public Institutions, together with the Crystal Palace, shall not be thrown open on Sundays, it becomes more than ever the duty of *all* parties to do their utmost to obtain for the industrial classes the necessary time for visiting those places of entertainment during the week.

"It is the duty of those who *supported* Sir Joshua Walmsley's motion, because, if it be desirable that the people should have access to our Museums and Public Galleries, it is surely not the less so because such access is interdicted upon the Christian Sabbath; consequently all, who, from a simple aim to promote the instruction and enjoyment of the 'poor man' were advocates of Sir Joshua's motion, cannot but sympathise with the Saturday Half-Holiday Movement, as the best substitute that can be provided for the above motion, now signally lost, having been negatived by the almost general voice of the nation, and finally, by so overwhelming a majority in the House of Commons. I trust that the sympathy of these gentlemen with the movement will assume a practical shape, and that the Early Closing Association will, in its present efforts, receive their cordial and active support.

"Nor is the claim for co-operation in the Half-Holiday Movement less strong upon those who *opposed* the motion of Sir Joshua Walmsley. Whilst exerting themselves to have that motion negatived, they constantly asserted (and, I am sure, in at least the majority of cases, with much sincerity) that, deeply commiserating the condition of the sons of toil, so far from wishing in one iota to limit, their earnest desire was to augment, their true enjoyment. Now, in the Saturday Half-Holiday Movement a most favourable opportunity presents itself by which to attest the sincerity of those professions. Permit me, therefore, to urge that they should exercise to the utmost their influence also on behalf of this cause. It is exceedingly important that the friends of the Lord's Day should not allow themselves to be lulled into apathy by the failure, striking though it was, of the recent efforts to open our halls of science and art on Sundays, as the tendency of Sir Joshua's motion was merely to augment and secure a *national recognition* of a vast amount of Sabbath pleasuring that previously existed, and which, but by a special interposition of Providence, will never be diminished to any great extent till men's labours during the week are materially lightened."

Our space compels us to be brief, but we must take a few evidences as to how the half-holiday does work in those cases where it is granted. Mr. S. Westbrook, in the following passage from the letter before quoted, bears his practical testimony to the good that has already flowed from Saturday earlier closing:—

"The Weekly Half-Holiday has enabled those who have friends in or near town to enjoy in an increased amount the social amenities of life; to see many dear friends whom otherwise they could not have visited without some inconvenience or Sunday travelling.

"In fine weather it has afforded opportunity for many a stroll into the country, thus evoking or reviving the love of nature, and giving fresh air, and health, and the sense of freedom and enjoyment. While many have engaged in the manly exercise of cricket to brace the nerves and strengthen the sinews, and cement good companionship.

"The husband and wife, the father and children, have enjoyed the social tea, and in winter a romp around the fire, and in summer the pleasant ramble or gambol in the fields, on a day of the week on which all agree such healthful recreations are right and proper. Yet these pleasures were to them comparatively unknown before. Add to which, fathers have seen their children by *daylight* in other months than June and July, and on other days than Sundays. Have not father, wife, children, all been benefited by such opportunities? Ah, who can say how much the conjugal and parental bond has been strengthened, parental influence increased, filial affection and respect deepened, and the future happiness of the family circle, and the well-being of its individual members promoted, by the opportunity for giving play to those affections which God has implanted in the human heart!

"The sick chamber, the invalid friend, the bereaved and sorrowing relative, could render no small tribute of gratitude for the comfort and consolation, the cheering intercourse, the animating visit they must have lost but for the Saturday Half-Holiday."

A. writes:—

"I am living in one of the large commercial houses in the City; our time for closing on Saturday is three o'clock. * * * Saturday to me is looked upon as a bright and happy day, for I am a married man. I live about four miles from business, in a most convenient neighbourhood for recreation and exercise.

"In the summer months, if fine, my wife and myself decide in the morning before leaving my home, as to our afternoon's enjoyment: the plan is formed—Kew Gardens, a boat on the Lea, a ride to the Forest, a walk in the green lanes, or a visit to a distant friend. If wet, reading or music at home. And thus the harass of city life is greatly alleviated by the comforts and gladness of Saturday's blessings. Again, these advantages prevent Sunday pleasure; for, believe me, after the fatigue and close duties of the City, from day to day, there was formerly a great disposition for roving and travelling on the Sunday.

"Now, by the present arrangement, I have no excuse to make God's day my day of pleasure—a day being given to me by my employers. I would that all employers would feel their responsibility in this matter, and do their part to prevent the interference with the Sabbath as a day of *rest*.

"I can bear testimony also to the way in which our young men generally devote their time, and the cheerful manner they engage in the duties of the day, knowing the hour will arrive for the enjoyment of out-door exercise, change, and sunshine."

B. also writes as follows:—

"Very cordially do I testify to the advantages of the Saturday Half-Holiday. I am a warehouseman—married, and having a family.

"Not only is my own life a happier one in consequence of the opportunities afforded, by this means, of visiting some suburban retreat, and enjoying that which comes pure and free on the broad heath, or by an interchange of friendly visits in the social circle, sweetening life; but each member of my family now is made glad as the week draws to a close. Their hearts are joyous, and their countenances are beaming with delight, when the happy parent returns from his accustomed city life to spend half a day in the family circle, or accompany them in search for healthful recreation—besides which, an opportunity is thus afforded for the reciprocation of that affection which is the basis of successful, moral training.

"In short, it is a benefit of considerable value; a great boon, coming regularly from the shores of commerce once a week—*enriching the recipient without impoverishing the giver*."

Professor Miller furnishes us with a gratifying illustration of the manner in which the Half-Holiday has already been enjoyed by the people of Edinburgh also:—

"Let me tell you a fact. There was a gentleman who came from London last summer to Edinburgh. (The Lord Provost of Edinburgh is here, and will put me right if I am wrong in saying that the Half-Holiday Movement is working gloriously in Scotland.) The gentleman did not believe in the Half-Holiday, and said he would not give it to his men, simply because he was sure they would make a bad use of it. But he had a friend in Edinburgh who was a Half-Holiday man; and he, too, had come from London. One fine summer evening they met near one of the lungs of our town—East Princes's Street Gardens. They heard music, and saw crowds going in. Said his friend, 'Let us see what this is.' He wiled him in; and there he saw hundreds upon hundreds of working men and women, with children gambolling like kittens, all dressed in cleanest attire. 'What is that?' said he. 'That is the Half-Holiday.' The tear sprang to his eye, his lip quivered, and he said, 'I will be an opponent of this no more.' Sure I am he has kept his word, and he is now a hearty earnest advocate of the Half-Holiday."

Should our readers wish for further proof we can refer them with much satisfaction to Mr. Lilwall.*

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* The Half-Holiday Question Considered; with some Thoughts on the Instructive and Healthful Recreations on the Industrial Classes. By John Lilwall, Honorary Secretary of the Early Closing Association. London: Kent and Co.

QUEEN'S LETTERS.

THE following Declaration respecting the issue of "Episcopal" in lieu of "Queen's" Letters, has been extensively circulated, signed by large numbers of the clergy.

"Certain religious societies which formerly received Royal Letters enjoining the archbishops and bishops of each province to cause collections to be made on their behalf, having, notwithstanding the withdrawal of such Royal Letters, procured Episcopal Letters to be sent to each incumbent in the same way as when they had the sanction of Royal authority: the undersigned feel themselves called upon to state their strong objections to such a proceeding on the part of a few societies out of many which have equal claims to public support:—

"1. The recent withdrawal of Queen's Letters was hailed by many as a timely relief, and as a cause for thankfulness. They had long been regarded with dislike, as favouring certain societies to the exclusion of others, and as tending to fetter the free judgment and action of both clergy and laity.

"2. The issuing of Episcopal Letters, while it tends to re-impose the yoke in another and not less embarrassing form, may place both the clergy, the laity, and the society for which it is made, in a false or a painful position.

"3. It may oblige the clergy either to disregard the injunction of their bishop, or, out of deference to his office, to advocate a cause they do not cordially approve.

"4. It may oblige the laity either to neglect the appeal of their pastor, or to support, by their offerings, a society which has not their sympathy.

"5. It holds out an inducement to the society to rest its claim to public support, not so much upon the importance of the work in which it is engaged, or the principles on which it acts, as upon the official patronage it may be able to secure.

"For the foregoing reasons, the undersigned earnestly, but most respectfully, remonstrate against the substitution of Episcopal for Queen's Letters. They feel convinced that, in so doing, they are adopting the course which is most for the advantage of the various societies now sustained by the Christian benevolence of England, and most consistent with the respect due to episcopal authority, with the responsibility and discretion of the clergy, and with the free judgment of the laity."

We give this movement our most decided support.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

The following extract from a well-known book is valuable as giving the real opinion of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Sir J. F. Buxton, and others, on this important question.

"At dinner (says Mr. J. J. Gurney*) we had an interesting party,—Dr. Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester, Dr. Lushington, the civilian Buxton, and a family party, including our sister, E. Fry. The conversation during dinner turned to the subject of Capital Punishments. Lushington, in the warmest terms, expressed his abhorrence of the system, and declared his opinion that the poor criminal was thus hurried out of life and into eternity, by means of the perpetration of another crime, far greater, for the most part, than any which the sufferer himself had committed. He even indicated a feeling, that the worse the criminal the more improper such a punishment. Buxton rallied him, and re-stated his argument with great pleasantry. 'The Doctor assures us, that if your Lordship was condemned to the gallows, or you, Dr. Chalmers, were about to suffer the "*ultimum supplicium*," he would be the last man to prevent the execution of the law, or prevent the translation of the virtuous to a happier state; but to terminate the probationary existence of the most degraded of our race—the worst of robbers or the most outrageous of murderers—was opposed at once to all the feelings of humanity, and to all the principles of religion.' After all, however, there is a great deal of truth in Dr. Lushington's statement; and, substantially, we all agreed."—*Hanna's Life of Chalmers.* Vol. III. p. 262.

CHURCH RATES.

THE following scheme has been circulated in private as a contribution towards the settlement of the Church Rate question:—

"The ministrations of the Established Church being *parochial*, every parishioner has a common law right thereto.

"This is the foundation of church rates:—

"All parishioners are *alike* called upon to maintain the fabric of the church, together with the church-yard, and to contribute *pro rata* towards the support of Divine worship, and the celebration of Divine ordinances in the church, *because* ALL the parishioners alike have *a legal claim* to the ministrations of the Established Church, from the font to the tomb.

"If, consequently, the opponents of church rates are to be relieved therefrom, this can only be *equitably* accomplished by their renunciation of all claim on the church's ministrations, as *parishioners*. The following, therefore, seem to be the only fair conditions on which any person in a parish should be exempted from the payment of church rates.

"1. By their renunciation of the common law right which every parishioner now has to the ordinances and offices of the Established Church: such as the claim to a seat in the church; to baptism for his children; to marriage according to the forms of the church; and to burial in the church-yard. The law now being, that *any* person in a parish, baptised *by any one* with water, in the name of the Holy Trinity, has a right to Christian burial, according to the form of the Church of England, and the clergyman can be compelled by law to read the burial service over his remains, except he die excommunicate or by his own hand.

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* Reminisces of Dr. Chalmer, by Joseph John Gurney, Esq., not published.

"2. By all *the tenants* of such persons, for whom the latter may have engaged to pay all rates and taxes, being also deprived of the aforesaid rights, *unless they pay the church rates themselves.*

"There is a large class of householders, whose landlords pay all the rates and taxes. Now, if a landlord so engaging to pay his tenant's rates, repudiates his liability in the matter of church rates, he imposes on the church the spiritual charge of his tenants, while he refuses to bear their legal share towards the sustentation of the church's fabric or the support of the church's ministrations. Would this be just? Would it be commonly honest?

"3. By all who refuse payment of church rates, being deprived of any voice in vestry as to the making of a church rate for any given year.

"ON THESE CONDITIONS, *let all be exempt from the payment of church rates, who decline to do so.*

"According to the foregoing scheme, the law would stand as follows:—

"A vestry to make a church rate is called in the usual way.

"All present at, and taking part in, such vestry, declare, *ipso facto*, that they are willing to pay any church rate that shall then and there be legally made for the current year—the *amount* of such rate being, as at present, a matter for the decision of the vestry.

"Any person in the parish, declining to pay the church rate so legally made as above, to make a written declaration to that effect; and such person to be exempt from payment of the rate; BUT ALSO to have no longer any claim upon the offices or ministrations of the Established Church for himself and family.

"It will be observed that *no denominational term* has been used to characterise the opponents of church rates—nor is it at all necessary in the preceding view of this question. All that is required is simply to ascertain *who is willing* and *who is unwilling* to pay church rates. The latter may call himself by any name he pleases —Dissenter, Nonconformist, or even Churchman—this matters not. The only question to be asked is, Do you refuse payment of the church rates? If you do, then you forfeit all claim upon those ordinances and upon the use of that church, *for the celebration and support of which the rate is made.*

"Nothing appears to be simpler or more equitable than this method of settling the church rate question.

"Who can object?

" *Not, certainly, the upholder of church rates.*

" He pays them; and enjoys their *usufruct*, in the right which he thereby continues to possess to all the ministrations of the church.

" *Not, assuredly, the opponent of church rates.*

" He pays them not; and thereby renounces, of his own accord, all claim upon ordinances which he declines to support, and which he is relieved from supporting.

" A very short and simple Act of Parliament would suffice to place the question on the above footing. No new forms of audit, no cumbrous machinery, would be requisite. No question would be raised as to who were Churchmen or Dissenters. No further heartburnings and dissensions would trouble our parishes. Nothing would be necessary beyond a mere registration of the parishioners into *church ratepayers* and *non-church ratepayers.* Ratepayers continuing, as hitherto, possessed of *responsibility* and *privileges*—non-rateyayers being relieved of *both.*

" What it may be asked, can be more equitable than such an arrangement?

" Is it just that those who decline to bear their parochial responsibilities, should keep intact their parochial privileges? Do they seek to be relieved of the former? RELIEVE THEM BY ALL MEANS. But let them not, at the same time, retain the latter. Let them not be empowered, by any unjust abolition of the present law, TO MAKE CHURCHMEN EXCLUSIVELY PAY FOR WHAT CHURCHMEN DO NOT EXCLUSIVELY ENJOY.

" Would not such a method of settling the church rate question ease tender consciences, and do justice to all parties? By it, the Church of England would be relieved from the odium of spiritual tyranny, now so ungenerously, as well as unjustly, cast in her teeth; and no more contests about church rates could take place. Agitation would cease, dissension subside, and no party, in or out of the Established Church, feel any longer aggrieved. In this matter at least would be verified the words of the Prophet: ' *The envy also of Ephraim shall depart, and the adversaries of Judah shall be cut off; Ephraim shall not envy Judah, and Judah shall not vex Ephraim.*' —Isaiah xi 13."

Literature of the Quarter Classified and Reviewed.

I. THEOLOGY, CHURCH GOVERNMENT, &c.

The Harmony of the Divine Dispensations: being a Series of Discourses on Select Portions of Holy Scripture, designed to show the Spirituality, Efficacy, and Harmony of the Divine Revelations made to Mankind from the Beginning. With Notes Critical, Historical, and Explanatory. By GEORGE SMITH, F.A.S., &c., &c. London: Longmans. 1856.

The long title of this work explains fully its character, and we have not yet met with a volume in which more sound learning was more usefully employed. Mr. Smith is a layman: it is scarcely necessary to say this concerning a man so well known to every scholar and divine; and he alludes to this very pleasingly in his preface, when speaking of the form in which it has seemed best to him to show his work. The texts are selected with great discrimination, and lead the reader onward gradually through the mazes of the Old Testament to the brightness of the New. It must be observed that these discourses are *not* sermons, nor intended as such; they are learned, conclusive, eloquent, and most interesting dissertations.

While, however, we thus give our highest commendations to the work in general, there is one portion in which we think Mr. Smith has allowed his theory to carry him greatly too far. We allude to the "Tabernacle of David." After showing, and rightly too, that the tabernacle in question was that which the king prepared for the ark when he brought it from the house of Obed-Edom, he proceeds as follows:—

> "Let me call attention to this important fact, that the ark of the covenant with its golden Cherubim, the seat of the Shekinah of God, was here placed in the open vision of the people, who, with free access, there worshipped before the Lord. The ark, which had before been kept in the sacred seclusion of the most holy place, to which no one but the high priest, and he only once in the year, could approach, was thus made fully accessible to every worshipper. To what extent the Shekinah at this time appeared over, or between, the Cherubim, we are not informed; but its connexion with them is clearly recognised. For when the removal of the ark from Kirjath-jearim is first mentioned in Scripture, it is in these words: 'And David arose, and went with all the people that were with him from Baale of Judah, to bring up from thence the ark of

God, whose name is called by the name of the Lord of Hosts that dwelleth between the Cherubims.' (2 Sam. vi. 2.) So that there appears no reason to doubt that the ark, the Cherubim, and the divine glory, appeared in the tabernacle of David, as they had previously in the Mosaic sanctuary, as the seat of the Divine Presence. And this view seems to be fully confirmed by the language of the pious king, when driven from this sanctuary by the rebellion of Absalom. 'My soul,' he says, 'thirsteth for God, for the living God: when shall I come and appear before God?' (Ps. xlii. 2.)"

Now to this we object, in *limine*, that the divine SHEKINAH was not *always* visible between the Cherubim, but only on specific occasions, and then "the cloud covered the tabernacle." We cannot imagine that the SHEKINAH was visible when the ark was carried into battle, or when the Philistines sent it back out of their country, or when, in the presence of all the people, it was successively removed from Bethshemesh to Kirjath-jearim, and from thence to the house of Obed-Edom, and finally to the city of David. An attentive examination will show Mr. Smith that the appearances of the Shekinah were rare and exceptional; but we cannot now further enlarge on this topic: it will be sufficient to show that there is no reason for believing—first, that the ark was exposed to common view, because we are not told of any internal curtains in the tabernacle of David; or, secondly, that even if this were so, therefore the SHEKINAH would be visible to the whole congregation at all times of worship. Mr. Smith goes on:—

> "We next direct attention to the ministers of this tabernacle; and here another remarkable fact meets us: they were not priests. In the midst of the Hebrew church, whose priesthood was appointed immediately by God, and charged with the great duty of officiating between Him and His people, we see the most sacred symbol of the Levitical economy, the seat of His glory, made accessible to the people, without even the medium of a priest.
>
> "That this was the case, is evident from the account which is so minutely given of the arrangements which were made for the services of this tabernacle. David appointed a ministry to conduct the religious worship of this sanctuary, and to 'minister before the ark:' they, however, were not priests, but Levites. (1 Chron. xvi. 4, 5.)"

Now here, again, we find an error. David did expressly summon the priests, Zadok and Abiathar, to be present at the bringing up of the ark; he named two priests to be always present at the worship celebrated therein, viz., Benaiah and Jehaziel, as Mr. Smith himself admits: so there does not appear any ground for believing that the worship celebrated before the ark in the city of David, was at all more simple, or less ceremonial, than that celebrated away from the ark in the tabernacle at Gibeon. But Mr. Smith shall proceed further:—

> "Besides these general services, the Levites who were appointed to minister in the tabernacle of David, were called to discharge special and particular duties. The first of these is described in our version as 'to record;' a phrase not very intelligible in our language, and therefore far from conveying to our mind at first sight a definite sense. And yet, considering the importance of the subject, and the relation of the word to the worship of this important and interesting sanctuary, it is most desirable that we fully comprehend its import. This word, then, is very frequently—indeed, generally—rendered in our authorised version, 'to remember.' It is the word thus rendered, Eccles. xii. 1; Isai. xxxviii. 3; Jer. xv. 15, and in numerous other texts. But it also means, 'to bring to remembrance;' (Isai xliii. 26; Ezek. xxi. 23;) and in this sense is frequently translated, 'to make mention.' (Psalm lxxi. 16; Isai. lxiii. 7.) As, therefore, this bringing to remembrance was effected by *vivâ voce* communications, it is rendered in the Sepuagint version by a word (ἀναφωνοῦντας) which literally means, 'to lift up the voice.' We have been thus particular in tracing the meaning of this term, because it brings before the mind the scriptural idea of Old-Testament preaching."

To this we have less to object. It is a conjecture, and may be a true one; and if so, it is certainly both interesting and important. But, once more, Mr. Smith makes an assertion which was necessary to the carrying out of his theory:—

> "Sacrifice was abolished with circumcision. This rite made no part of the worship offered to God in the sanctuary on Mount Zion. The plea of Popery, therefore, and of Popish imitators everywhere, is here placed in direct collision with the clearest, highest, and most explicit apostolic authority. Christianity knows no sacrifice for sin, but that of the Lamb of God who died on Calvary, and whose death it is a blasphemous parody to pretend to repeat."

Now if Mr. Smith will but look to the 1st and 2nd verses of the 16th chapter of the First of Chronicles he will find it written:—"So they brought the ark of God, and set it in the midst of the tent that David had pitched for it: and they offered burnt sacrifices and peace offerings before God. And when David had made an end of offering the burnt offerings and the peace offerings, he blessed the people in the name of the Lord." Here the last stronghold of this curious theory is overthrown; and we find the Mosaic sacrifices—"peace-offerings" among the rest—in full force at the tabernacle of David.

We have thought it necessary to examine with some care this particular portion of Mr. Smith's work, because with all the rest we can cordially agree.

The Tongue of Fire; or, the True Power of Christianity. By William Arthur, A.M. London: Hamilton, Adams & Co. 1856.

In this little, but eloquent, volume, Mr. Arthur has attempted to depict the true power of Christianity, as caused and evidenced by the Baptism of the Spirit. We regard this as by far the best of the author's works; and his description of the sphere of a preacher's duties, and the mode in which he should seek to obtain power to fulfil them, is most striking and valuable.

Millennial Studies; or, What saith the Scriptures concerning the Kingdom and Advent of Christ. By the Rev. W. P. Lyon. London: Ward. 1856.

We have read with great attention and with complete satisfaction this small, but learned and logical production. We think that it entirely disposes of the question. It is marked by a tone of earnest and sincere piety, and by the greatest tenderness and deference of those from whom the author is compelled to differ.

Select Works of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D. Edited by his Son-in-Law, the Rev. William Hanna, LL.D. Vol. VIII. Edinburgh: Constable. 1856.

This volume completes the Institutes of Theology, also the Prelections on Hill's Lectures in Divinity, and four addresses delivered to the students of the New College in Edinburgh. We have already spoken of the chief of these works, and can only here reiterate our satisfaction at the advance towards completion of so good and cheap an edition of Dr. Chalmers' works.

The Prophecies of Daniel, and the Revelations of St. John, viewed in their Mutual Relation, with an Exposition of the Principal Passages. By Carl August. Auberlin, Dr. Ph., Licentiate and Professor Extraordinarius of Theology in Basil. With an Appendix, by M. Fr. Roos. Translated by the Rev. Adolph Saphir. Edinburgh: Clarks. 1856.

We have often wished for a comparison of the two books which are here taken and viewed in connexion, amidst the great variety of interpretation which are given of the prophecy of Daniel and of that of St. John. We are not able to adhere entirely to any one; but we owe much to Dr. Auberlen for having placed the two books in juxta position. There is, moreover, a very lucid explanation of the views taken by other writers, among whom stand Elliott, Hengstenberg, Ebrard, Ewald, and many others. This circumstance confers an incalculable value on the book, independently of the other chief merit to which we have alluded.

The Two Antichrists; or, Infidelity and Romanism viewed in their Relative Bearings, and traced to some of their Leading Sources and Practical Results. By the Rev. J. Davies, D.D., Hon. Canon of Durham. London: Seeleys. 1856.

The nature of this book is sufficiently indicated by the title. It appears to have been preached in the form of sermons, and afterwards, by a very slight modification, to have been reduced to its present shape. It contains the usual arguments, put forth with average ability.

Christology of the New Testament, and a Commentary on the Messianic Predictions. By E. W. Hengstenberg, Doctor and Professor of Theology in Berlin. Second Edition. Translated from the German, by the Rev. Theodore Meyer, Hebrew Tutor in the New College, Edinburgh. Vol. II. Edinburgh: Clarks. 1856.

The present volume embraces the prophecies of Isaiah, Zephaniah, and Jeremiah; and, as might be expected, by far the larger portion of the volume is occupied by the first-named mighty prophet. Dr. Hengstenberg does, of course, confine himself to those portions of the book which treat of the Messiah; but these are so numerous and so important that there is very little left untouched on. We shall reserve our further remarks on this most valuable contribution to theology till the work is complete.

The Words of the Lord Jesus. By Rudolf Stier, Doctor of Theology, Chief Pastor and Superintendent of Schkenditz. Translated from the Second German Edition. Vol. III. Edinburgh: Clarks. 1856.

This volume takes us as far as the middle of the eleventh chapter of St. Luke. The questions which are treated in it are of the greatest importance. And at the present moment, when the subject of divorce is even yet before our legislators, it may be well to call the attention of all who wish thoroughly to understand the subject, to the manner in which it is treated by this venerable divine. He puts the question, since Christ answers the Jewish query about the lawfulness of divorce by the solemn words "What God hath joined together let not man put asunder,"—what are those marriages in which the contracting parties are joined together by God? and this subject he pursues in a way which ought not to be hastily lost sight of.

The history of the young ruler, whom Jesus commanded to go sell all that he had and give to the poor, is also beautifully related: but we are a little surprised to find, that Dr. Stier did not seem to be aware that "the eye of the needle" is an expression occasionally applied to a high narrow gate placed beside the great gates of eastern cities; and that though there is no particular difficulty in a camel finding entrance, yet this can only be done by laying aside the load on the animal's back. This explanation makes the remark at once intelligible and most significant.

Prophecy Reviewed in respect to its Distinctive Nature, its special Function and proper Interpretation. By Patrick Fairbairn, D.D., Professor of Theology in the Free Church College, Aberdeen. Edinburgh: Clarks. 1856.

Professor Fairbairn is so well known as a learned and able expositor, that the mere announcement of his name as the author of such a book as that here named, must be a guarantee to the reader that it will be well worthy of his most serious consideration. Nor will he be disappointed in this expectation. Many writers leave half their subject untouched, because it has been written upon by others with whose opinion their own coincide, or at most but slightly differ from them. Others feel it needful to combat all opposing theories, and thus either needlessly enlarge their works, or else fritter away the space which should be devoted to more positive teaching. Dr. Fairbairn avoids both these errors. He treats his whole subject as if his work were likely to be the only one accessible to the student, and therefore he makes it complete. He pretermits all controversy, and thus makes the book positive; while at the same time he is able to compress into one volume of moderate dimensions, matter which most writers would have expanded into two, if not three.

Systematic Theology. By Ralph Wardlaw, D.D. Edited by James R. Campbell, M.A. Vol. I. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1856.

It is well known, that for more than forty years Dr Wardlaw presided over a theological institution, the object of which was to train up ministers for that body to which the doctor himself belonged. While so presiding he delivered regular courses of lectures, which from year to year he altered and enlarged as he found necessary. It can hardly be needful to say that such a course of systematic theology, proceeding from such a divine, could hardly fail to be of great value. Differing, in many respects, from the somewhat similar works of Chalmers and Watson, it is more purely metaphysical than either, and yet equally practical. It does not lose sight of the great and important truth, that all systematic divinity is to have its fruit in the consequences of a Christian life. Dr. Wardlaw quotes liberally from other writers, but he proves that he had thoroughly digested their works. We shall look forward with much interest to the continuation of so able a work.

A Little Book. London: Partridge and Co. 1856.

We cannot sympathise with the speculations of the writer of this "*Little Book*," except so far as they indicate him to be a devout seeker after truth. Philosophically they seem to us to be romantic in the extreme. They will hardly excite much attention, and perhaps the author scarcely expects or desires that they should do so.

Signs of the Times, Letters to Ernst Morit. Arndtz on the Dangers to Religious Liberty in the Present State of the World. By Christian Charles Josias Bunsen, D.D., D.C.L., D.Ph. Translated from the German by Susanna Winkworth. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1856.

Within a month from the first publication of this work in Germany, upwards of 2500 copies were sold; and though many of the topics treated of in its pages will be scarcely interesting to the English reader, yet we think that Mrs. Winkworth has exercised a sound discretion in translating the whole book, and presenting it in its entirety to the English reader. The author's good feeling towards this country, his patriotic conduct on more than one occasion, his great researches into theology and ecclesiastical history, all entitle him to a respectful hearing. We shall find many things, as churchmen, to which we must object. Mr. Bunsen, after an examination of English episcopacy, condemns it altogether. That it requires much reform and many modifications before it can do much *real* service to the church we admit; but we are not prepared to renounce a mode of church government which only wants to be purified to become the most apostolical of all practicable.

Suggestions for Increasing the Efficiency of the Church of England. A Letter to the Right Hon. Viscount Palmerston, M.P. By the Rev. John W. Lester, Incumbent of Ashton Hayes, near Chester, and Graduate of Cambridge. London: Heylin. 1856.

Mr. Lester is already well known to the literary world as a Christian critic, the present pamphlet will exhibit him in an equally advantageous light as a Church reformer. We shall select a few passages from his Letter, which we think extremely valuable.

"I. *Shortening the Morning Service;* indeed, a judicious revision of the whole Liturgy. Your lordship cannot be a stranger to the extreme length of the Morning Service, especially when the Communion is celebrated. Three distinct Services thrown into one, without any regard to unity, must produce weariness in the worshipper. The Lord's Prayer five or six times repeated, three petitions for the Queen, two Creeds, the Collect for the day twice recited, may be mentioned in proof. Even a novice to the Service, though perhaps struck with its beauty, must complain of its painful length. What must it be to those who know every sentence!

"It may be asked, 'Why not shorten the sermon?' But, my lord, I must confess that I am one of those who like to carry out every part of Divine worship and teaching with the strictest propriety. I would neither hurry over the prayers for the sake of the sermon, nor would I lightly esteem the sermon for the sake of the prayers. I would so conduct every part, as though it, and it alone, were the whole service.

"But I must go yet further. The sermon is an essential portion of a clergyman's duty. It is of the highest appointment, even the Divine; as much so as the Sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper. Christ Himself commissions His disciples, and through them ourselves: 'Go ye therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen.' And the Apostle Paul says, 'For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish foolishness; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God.' And again, in the same chapter, and at the seventeenth verse, he declares, 'For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel.' Is the sermon, then, to be degraded into almost the lowest place in the service? Is it to be left to the last few minutes, when the congregation, already exhausted, is not in a proper frame of mind to gain spiritual advantage? Besides, in most country places, and doubtless also in towns, many persons can attend public worship but once in the day; and supposing that to be the morning, is not a hurried discourse a serious loss? It is, perhaps, the only time in the week that they can hear the Scriptures orally explained and enforced: is it therefore just to push the exposition to the furthest extremity of the service? Twenty minutes are not enough to discuss the most momentous things on this side the grave. I freely admit that the complaint of dull preachers is partly correct; but is it not possible that the sermon may appear heavier from the already exhausted state of the hearer? Even true eloquence finds it difficult to gain the attention when the mind is already worn out; and then the attention is not immediately gained, not perhaps till the preacher warms with his subject, and makes his auditory forget their previous exhaustion by his solemn and earnest appeals. Is not this, my lord, an additional argument in support of a shortening of the service?

With regard to the inequalities of church revenues, Mr. Lester speaks as follows: he takes but one example, but that one is sufficiently clear:—

"II. I now turn to a second suggestion: *The more equal distribution of the church's income.* It is unnecessary to speak of the better division of parishes, that subject having received the attention of the Marquis of Blandford, and also the support, I believe, of Her Majesty's present ministers. But I do not think his lordship's Bill touches on the equalization of livings throughout the entire church. It is generally admitted that this is one of the most objectionable features in the church establishment. In making out my case, I shall bring under your lordship's notice but one example, and that by no means the worst. It may, however, be easily multiplied by any one conversant with the true state of the church. In the 'Clergy List,' I find the following:—

Benefice and County.	Value.	Population.
WIGAN, R. * Lanc	£2,230	9,872
St. George's, P.C.	150	8,477
St. Catherine's, P. C.*	150	11,525
St. Thomas, P. C.	100	7,097
Abram, P. C.	120	1,710
Billinge, P. C. *	325	2,677
Haigh, P. C.	150	4,498
Hindley, P. C. *	148	7,023
Holland, P. C. *	165	3,359
Pemberton, P. C.	200	7,049

"A vast difference here, my lord! I ask whether £150 is enough for the support of a minister superintending a populous district in such a parish,—a district by no means a paradise of loveliness, but one of incessant din and dust and smoke? Must he not almost inevitably involve himself in difficulties, unless he has some private means, or ekes out his scanty pittance by taking pupils, or keeping a school? In the latter case what becomes of the district? How is it possible for a man already jaded and overtasked, to overtake his parochial duties? Why, my lord, to bring the church's influence to bear upon such a population, a man must have untiring energy, and undergo ceaseless labour; and even then, how small oftentimes the result!

"But the matter may, I think, be arranged. Distribute the incomes more fairly, regard of course being paid to the lives of the present incumbents; and then place the same pecuniary amount of patronage in the hands of the present patrons. Perhaps it will make my meaning plainer, if I take the same parish of Wigan:—

PRESENT PATRONAGE OF EARL OF BRADFORD.	£	PROPOSED PATRONAGE TO BE GIVEN UNDER RE-ARRANGEMENT.	£
The Rectory of Wigan...	2,230	Rectory	813
		St. George's	325
		St. Catherine's	325
		St. Thomas	325
		Abram	325
	£2,230		£2,113

PRESENT PATRONAGE OF RECTOR OF WIGAN.	£	PROPOSED PATRONAGE TO BE GIVEN UNDER RE-ARRANGEMENT.	£
St. George's	150	Billinge	325
St. Catherine's	150	Haigh	325
St. Thomas	100	Hindley	325
Abram	120	Holland	325
Billinge	325	Pemberton...	325
Haigh	150		
Hindley	148		
Holland	165		
Pemberton	200		
	£1,508		£1,625

We shall make only one more extract, but it is one of great importance:—

"IV. On one other point, my lord, and I have done. *Permission granted to Clergymen of the English Church to allow Ministers of orthodox Churches to occupy occasionally their pulpits.* This I think might be done without any injurious result, were the clergyman to be held responsible for the tenets of the preacher whom he thus introduces to his people. It may be urged that the church would be overrun with Presbyterian, Wesleyan, Independent, Baptist, and Free Kirk ministers. Be it so; what then? Would harm follow, if they were godly men? But there is little danger of this, I ween, whilst men are so fond of their own peculiar *ism*, and so intolerant to those of others.

"Not only would no bad result follow, but rather an enlargement of Christian sympathy and charity. Does not intercourse with other nations dissipate in a great measure the petty national prejudices of every thoughtful man? Does it not tend to enlarge his views and deepen his sympathies? Beneath the various phases of custom and language and laws, do we not find, even in the most uncivilised nations, the indelible features of a common humanity? Man, wherever found, is bone of our bone, and flesh of our flesh. So it is in the Christian world: outward forms, dissimilar services, differences on minor matters, cannot obliterate the leading characteristics of a genuine Christianity. There may be laws of sectional distinction; but wherever there is a true believer in Christ, there is a member of the universal church. The superficial observer may be unable to trace any likeness; but the man of larger comprehension and deeper thought will find beneath the surface the same throbbing heart, yielding the same fruits of Christian meekness, love, and holiness. Or, changing the illustration, the gold coins current in different countries vary in size, inscription, and emblem; yet, if genuine, they all have the ring of the same metal. The size or inscription cannot change the metal itself. Call it by what name you will,—a sovereign, a Napoleon, or zecchino,—it is still gold. And true Christians may bear various names, and differ in superscription and emblem, and yet the sterling gold of heaven remain unchanged in them all. Little outward differences cannot convert it into a baser metal."

A Vindication of the Organ. A Review of the Rev. Dr. Candlish's Publication, entitled The Organ Question. By the Rev. Alexander Cromar, M.A., Minister of St. George's Presbyterian Church, Liverpool. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1856.

The question which is here mooted has been so long settled to our own satisfaction in the church of which we are members, that we can hardly refrain from a smile at the nature of some of the arguments adduced in the book before us. At all events we shall rejoice, for the sake of psalmody, to see the cause which Mr. Cromar advocates, triumphant.

1. Puseyism: its Subtle Policy, and Romeward Course. The Roman Breviary, Monastic Institutions, &c.
2. Letter to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Exeter, in reference to his Lordship's Letter to Dr. Lushington, on his Judgment in the Case of Westerton *v.* Liddell, Clerk. By William Peace, a Lay Member of the Church of England. London: Partridge and Co. 1856.

Two very satisfactory pamphlets. Mr. Peace is a keen observer, and while he lashes error he still preserves the spirit of charity.

II. SERMONS.

Sermons by the late Dr. Newton, with a Sketch of his Character and an Account of his Death. A Memorial Volume. London: Partridge and Co. 1856.

This volume contains fifteen sermons by the late Robert Newton. They were taken down verbatim in short hand, and may therefore be accepted as fair specimens of his average preaching. On this ground they will be the more acceptable to those who loved and reverenced that good and able man. They exhibit no remarkable power of philosophical analysis, no great depths of research, but they are strong, clear, evangelical, and affectionate.

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1. Sermons on the First Epistle of Peter. Chapters II. and III.
2. Sermons on the First Epistle of Peter. Chapter IV.
3. Scriptural Elucidation of the Article of the Christian Faith, "I Believe in the Holy Ghost."
4. "Have Mercy upon me, O, God.." A Meditation on Psalm LI. By H. F. Kohlbrügge, D.D., of Elberfeld, Germany. London: Partridge and Co. 1856.

These publications make known to us a German divine of great power and spirituality, holding the doctrines of Calvin in their most extreme sense, but so putting them forward, as Toplady and Hawker did, to make them subservient to the great work of salvation.

"Not Ashamed of the Gospel of Christ." A Sermon preached in Great St Mary's Church, before the University of Cambridge, on Sunday, April 27, 1856. By the Rev. John Furniss Ogle, M.A., Jesus College, Honorary Missionary of the Patagonian Missionary Society. London: Partridge and Co. 1856.

This is an able and uncompromising sermon, and not the less so that its author fairly acknowledges that a portion of it is not his own. It embodies a protest against several expressions in our Liturgy, which, while we can conscientiously use them ourselves, we feel to be stumbling-blocks in the way of many among our brethren. He instances false teachings, pleading as their foundation such phrases :—

> "Especially the blasphemous and soul-destroying doctrine that, by Divine mysterious efficacy in the sacraments, and not by faith in Christ, we receive the Holy Spirit for regeneration, and are made partakers of Christ for salvation. This may, with too good reason, plead the sanction of some expressions retained in our Liturgy,

but it is directly subversive of, and opposed to, the whole tenor of the New Testament doctrine."

"The lack of discipline, besides rendering impossible a separation between the believer and unbeliever in the use of external ordinances, is a cause of sin to the minister himself. In the Burial Service he must employ, in speaking of the avowed unbeliever, an unrepentant, open transgressor, language which, if there be force in words and intelligibility in the intention of our services, belong only to true believers and consistent followers of Christ. 'The author has resigned his own benefice, while he rejoices that others holding the same views, do not see it necessary to go so far. He is in connexion with the Church of England alone, and holds no other doctrine than that of her Articles and Homilies. The causes of complaint are blemishes, no essential part of the Church of England system. An injunction, such as was several times issued in the pious reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, would free the clergy from obligation to use expressions to which they conscientiously object, and thus much ought forthwith to be done, if pious and enlightened men are to be retained in the ranks of the ministry, or hereafter to be admitted.'"

There are many other topics touched on in this sermon which we would gladly notice did our space permit.

III. HISTORY, TRAVELS, AND BIOGRAPHY.

The Monarchy of France; its Rise, Progress, and Fall. By William Tooke, F.R.S. London: Low and Son. 1856.

This volume should have received some notice in our last number, for it is one of great merit and considerable importance. The earlier portions of the volume give us a philosophical and well drawn-up history of the French monarchy to the period of the first Revolution. Of course it is but an abridged account, or rather a *precés*, of the annals of the country; but the author has kept in view the principles of government, and has exhibited the growth of the various institutions which made up the French constitution, till at last the work, which had been so ably begun by Louis XI., was consolidated by Richelieu, and finally systematized by Louis XIV. and his ministers. The student, who has no other work to refer to than this of Mr. Tooke's, will find all the chief facts well digested; and he who can have recourse to other historians will still do well to consult this for its political and philosophical accuracy. The latter portion of the work will be less acceptable to the general reader. It was natural that Mr. Tooke should be deeply interested in those wondrous events which were going on under his own observation, and equally natural that he should consider them as invested with the same interest for others; but the real value of this part will be like those French memoirs which our author praises so rightly as "*Memoires pour servir á l'historie.*" We congratulate Mr. Tooke on so solid, so valuable, and so endurable a volume.

The Aged Pilgrim and his Songs; or, Memoir and Poetical Remains of the Rev. James Raban. By Thomas Ray. London: Ward. 1856.

The annals of a humble, simple, and affectionate pastor afford but few materials for the biographer and still fewer for the reviewer; yet Mr. Ray has contrived to make this little volume eminently interesting by the way in which he has treated his subject. We shall not enter into the particulars of Mr. Raban's life, but extract a few of those anecdotes which are so plentifully sown through these pages. The subject of this biography was born at Olney, and was much connected with the circle in which Cowper moved; of the poet and his friends we find many notices, and an anecdote of Mr. Bull is far too *piquant* to be omitted:—

> "The Rev. W. Bull was accustomed to pray with his eyes open —a habit now become unusual; though the eminent Dr. Chalmers was an exception to the more devotional and refined custom, that of closing the eyes. Mr. Bull was engaged to preach in a village chapel, where he could see from the pulpit every one that passed through a field adjoining it. As he was engaged in prayer, with his eyes open, he saw a milk-maid with her pail upon her head. She was walking carelessly, and, somehow or other, unduly attracted the attention of the good man. A large dog happened to be running, and perhaps sportively, when he without the least apology, rushed against the maid, giving her such a violent shock, that the pail was shaken from its steadiness, and discharged its contents over its luckless owner. In the sudden emotion which such a scene produced, Mr. Bull exclaimed, 'I thought it would come to that!' 'I thought it would come to that!' Some of the hearers were surprised, but the good man recovering himself, continued his prayer."

Another anecdote of Cowper himself is worth citing:—

> "On one occasion the Rev. W. Bull had invited the lowly-spirited Cowper to dine with him. The poet accepted the invitation; and for an exercise before the entertainment, walked to the house of the venerable divine. When he had arrived, foot-sore and faint, the good man received him most cordially, though with some degree of confusion. He had forgotten the invitation, had

made no preparation, and had sent his wife some few miles in the country on special business. Ceremony was not wanting between these two humble and lowly characters. The absence of mind in the one, and the extreme disappointment of the other, only served to excite the smile, and give them some topic for the future, on which to dwell with pleasantry and amusement.

"The back of the Academy-house was not one of the most suitable for the purposes designed. Cowper tells us that Mr. Bull took him after the light dinner they had—when no preparation had been made—to a favourite seat, 'where he sits and smokes, with his back against one brick wall, and his nose against another.'"

And the following letter will give an amusing idea of the kind of correspondence in which Cowper was wont to indulge. It is addressed to the same person:—

"MON AIMABLE ET TRES-CHER AMI,—It is not in the power of chaises or chariots to carry you where my affections will not follow you. If I heard that you were gone to finish your days in the moon, I should not love you the less; but should contemplate the place of your abode as often as it appeared in the heavens, and say, Farewell, my friend, for ever! Lost! but not forgotten! Live happy in thy lantern, and smoke the remainder of thy pipes in peace! Thou art rid of earth, at least of all its cares, and so far can I rejoice in thy removal; and as to the cares that are to be found in the moon, I am resolved to suppose them lighter than those below—heavier they can hardly be."

We would gladly extract characteristic anecdotes of Mr. Pentycross, Lady Huntingdon, Mr. Berridge, Mr. Romaine, and many others which we have noticed here, but we must content ourselves with two or three:—

"It is related of the celebrated commentator, Thomas Scott, that on one occasion he appeared in trouble. Mr. Bull, the minister of Newport Chapel, observed it, and ventured to say, 'My friend, you are in trouble; you are unhappy; I read it in your countenance.' Mr. Scott replied, he had been so, but was better. 'Come then, my friend,' said Mr. Bull, I will expound to you the cause of all your anxiety. You are too common; you make yourself cheap. Visit your people less, and converse more with your own heart. How often do you speak to them in a week?' 'Thrice.'—'Ay, there it is. Your sermons are an old ballad; your prayers are an old ballad; and you are an old ballad too.' 'I would wish to tread in the steps of Mr. Newton.'—'You do well to follow his steps in all other things, but in this instance you are wrong, and so was he. Mr. Newton had a path which no man but himself could have used so long as he did, and he wore it out before he went from Olney. Too much familiarity and condescension cost him the estimation of his people. He thought he should insure their love, to which he had the best possible title, and by those very means he lost it. Be wise, my friend—take warning; make yourself scarce, if you wish that persons of little understanding should know how to prize you."

The next two concern Mr. Raban himself. We do not like such distinctions as "*The* Olney Washer-woman," "*The* Olney Thresher:" we hope for the sake of their Christian humility that the individuals in question never heard of their peculiar designations.

"In a season of general distress, I happened to know, from my private visits, something of the poverty of this poor but pious widow,—'The Olney Washer-woman.' She, with her two or three young children, dwelt in a poor cottage in

'The deep abyss of Silver End,'

as Cowper called the vicinity of his own lofty old mansion, and one of her windows gave her a peep into the poet's garden and summer-house. Having, after our usual weekly prayer-meeting, mentioned this good woman's seeming destitution, we collected some small sums for her relief, and which, on the next evening, I hastened to convey to her. I was most agreeably surprised, just after a hard day's work at her washing, to hear her exclaim, 'I am glad indeed to see you, to tell you how happy I have been in my soul all day; for I have had no food myself to-day, having given my poor children all I had in the house, before I sent them to school for the day. Then I prayed to the Lord to support me, either by sending me food, or taking away my appetite: and my soul has been so very happy in thinking over the promises and consolations of the gospel, that I have really not wanted any food for my poor body. Bless the Lord, who has answered my poor prayers!' 'And now, my dear friend,' said I, joyfully, 'the Lord has sent you relief for your bodily wants,'—handing over the sum I had collected for her. This visit was closed with prayer and thanksgiving.

"The next anecdote was related by himself many years after his visit, for the encouragement of those who are tried in a similar way.

"I well remember, though many years ago, after an evening's prayer-meeting, on conversing with my poor hard-working friend, 'the Olney Thresher,' that he mentioned what a severe conflict he had met with in the morning. He was unable to procure anything better for his breakfast than barley-bread and water. 'But,' said he, 'my rebellious heart, aided by the temptation of Satan, would not submit to this poor fare. So, after arguing the matter over with myself, and praying to the Lord to strengthen me, I resolved to punish my proud stomach by keeping on my threshing till I became hungry and thankful; and then, between eleven and twelve o'clock, I should enjoy my breakfast, and bless the Lord for my barley-bread and water!' Let 'the poor of the flock,' who may be called to endure many privations, think of this anecdote in the hour of trial, and it may surely do them good. 'Behold,' says the

Apostle James, 'we count them happy which endure. Ye have heard of the patience of Job, and have seen the end of the Lord; that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy.'"

Studies from History. Vol. 2. Savonarola and Dawn of the Reformation: Melancthon and Spirit of the Reformation. By the Rev. W. H. Rule, D.D. London: Mason. 1856.

This volume is fully equal in merit, though somewhat less picturesque, than Dr. Rule's previous work on Richard I. and Mohammed II. The view he takes of Savonarola is quite in accordance with that we have ever entertained, and he fairly makes out his case both against Roscoe and the Romanists. The sketch of the Life of Melancthon is a valuable contribution to the History of the Reformation. We would suggest to Dr. Rule, Anselm and William the Conqueror, as well deserving, and well qualified, to repay such a mode of treating history as his. We must again call the reader's attention to the evident fact that these books are not second-hand compilations. Dr. Rule has made his own researches for his own purposes.

Syria and the Syrians; or, Turkey in the Dependencies. By Gregory M. Wortabet, of Beyroot, Syria. 2 Vols. London: Madden. 1856.

Numerous as the works are which appear on the subject of Syria and the Syrians, each new one is sure to be welcomed on account of the deep interest attaching to the subject. The dependencies of the Turkish empire present so many points which concern our commerce, call forth our philanthropy, or appeal to our religious feeling, that any production which tends to throw light on their condition,—and on this especially, the chiefest of them all,—cannot but be welcomed. M. Wortabet is a Syrian Christian of intelligence and education, and has given a graphic account of his own land, showing how hopeful is its condition, and what bright prospects it opens to those who are willing to aid in civilising and christianising it.

IV. NATURAL HISTORY AND PHILOSOPHY.

Tenby, a Sea-Side Holiday. By Philip Henry Gosse, A.L.S. London: Van Voorst. 1856.

Regularly as the hot weather sets in, and we feel those periodical longings to escape from the great brick-and-mortar wilderness, and refresh and renovate our minds with the ever new and uncloying beauties of nature; when lassitude and weariness, nights of unrest and days of feverish disquietude prostrate our energies, and unfit us for the ordinary business of life; then it is that we anxiously look for, and gladly welcome, one of Mr. Gosse's delightful volumes; smelling, not exactly like Dan Chaucer's Oak Chaplet, "of the woods and the morning breeze," but of the shores and the rippling waves; and transporting us, in fancy, to the shingly beach and the broad level sand, the rock and cave and the chalky cliff, from whose high vantage ground the eye, delighted, looks forth upon the wide expanse of waters, flashing and gleaming in the sunshine, and overwrought, as it were, with a golden network: we see the white sails come and go, and the whiter wings of the sea-birds, like gleams of light, appear and disappear, and the breeze, so fresh and invigorating, comes to us laden with briny odours, infusing new life through our wearied frame, and making our pulses bound again, as in the careless days of childhood. Such, we say, is the effect of these books from the accomplished pen of Mr. Gosse; so full of interesting information, so graphically descriptive, so genial in their tone, and, above all, so sound in their moral and religious teaching. Pleasant it is, we say, to read such a book as this "Tenby," amid the whirl and distraction of busy life; doubly pleasant if we, too, can take "a sea-side holiday," and look upon the very scenes and objects which it describes; but far more pleasant still must it be to join one of the Marine Natural History Classes, which every Autumn meet at some appointed spot on the British coast, and explore the rocks and tide-pools, caves and sandy creeks, which are, as we learn from the pages before us, so rich in rare and beautiful forms of animal and vegetable life. Well is it for those who, having the pure and elevated tastes which incline them to such a study of the wondrous works of nature, possess also the means and opportunities of following their inclinations. For ourselves, we can only participate in imagination in their pleasures, and learn the truths, which are presented to their very eyes, through the medium of Mr. Gosse's luminous descriptions, and exquisite pictorial illustrations, of which we have, in the present volume, no less than twenty-four, devoted chiefly to the *infusoria*, and such minute forms of animated existence, as require a microscope for their examination. Except two, which represent charming groups of the sea anemonies, and one picture of the Great Rhizostome, our largest native medusa; they are all magnified examples of microscopic forms, and strike us as revelations from an unseen world, so strange and startling are they, so shadowy and indistinct, and yet so beautifully and wondrously fashioned: little semi-pellucid globes, and tubes, and vases; and spiral or branching stalks, with rays and delicate fringes, of all arborescent and floral shapes. One is often tempted to ask—can this be an animal? Does it not rather belong to the world of vegetation? Nay, is it a complete and distinct organization at all, and not rather an accidental collection of floating films, or exuviæ of some kind? Such a notion as this is, however, soon dispelled by a perusal of the results of Mr. Gosse's careful investigation, given in language at once terse and elegant—simple enough for the veriest neophite to understand, and yet satisfying all the requirements of a strictly scientific investigator. For this close union of the two characters of the man of science and the popular instructor, we scarcely know of any one so felicitous as our author; and we only regret that his books are published at such a price as to place them out of the reach of the many. In their present form of publication it would, perhaps, be scarcely safe to venture upon a cheaper issue; but it may be well for the publishers to consider whether they might not be reproduced in some less expensive form, with advantage to himself, to the author, and certainly to the public at large. *Such* a teacher ought to have as wide a stage as possible to lecture from: and we ask this for him in the name of science, of morality, and, above all, in the name of Christianity, which is altogether ignored, if not denied and scoffed at, by many of the scientific lights of the age.

But we are forgetting "Tenby," with its delightful scenery, so graphically sketched by Mr. Gosse, its sandy flats, rocky ramparts, creeks and bays, and verdant slopes and wooded heights, its interesting locality so replete with natural beauty, and studded with ruins of castles and abbeys, choice abiding places of the genii of history and romance, whom our author does not fail to invoke on all fitting occasions. In this book, as in the other volumes from the same pen, there is a truly pleasant blending of the picturesque and the poetical with the scientific, so that the mind is insensibly allured to study, and feels nothing of the weariness which ever attends the effort to comprehend scientific facts put forth in a dry, hard, dogmatic manner. A pleasant teacher, indeed, is Mr. Gosse, as happy, and as much at home, among birds and flowers, as when surrounded by his marine clients, to which, however, he devotes the principal share of his attention; now giving a description, which reads like a romance, of the various stages of growth through which the acorn barnacle (*Balanus poreatus*) passes, beginning as a dancing atom, which, under the microscope, resembles a minute water-flea, and ending in what appears to be part of the rock, to which it is firmly attached, a low, cone-shaped projection of a hard calcerous texture, within which case the hermit crustacean lies snug enough, projecting only at times the fringe-like *cirri*, which, by their revolutions, cause little currents to flow into the orifice of the shell, bearing the animalculæ on which the creature feeds. Now describing the contents of one of the little pools, hid in the darkest nook of a rocky cavern, where snowy and orange-disked and primrose anemonies variegate the bottom and sides; and the sea-oak weaves its thread-like root over the olive-coloured Fuci; and the smallest and most delicate of flexible corallines shoot forth their tiny stems and branchlets; and a hundred other forms, wonderful as beautiful, attract the eye of the marine naturalist, and set him thinking and investigating. But we must not enter into these minute details, else might we be tempted to transcribe passages from every one of the 398 richly-stored pages before us. Many of our readers will, we have no doubt, purchase the volume; and follow Mr. Gosse, with as much pleasure as we have done, through his adventures by flood and field, and researches into marine natural history. One great charm of the book lies in its pleasant, gossipping, conversational style. It is written in the form of a series of letters to a relative, and is admirably calculated to answer the purpose which its author had in view, when desiring it to be accepted as a lesson in the important art of "How and What to Observe."

Beckstein's Hand-Book of Chamber and Cage Birds. Edited by H. G. Adams. London: Ward and Lock. 1856.

The great standard authority on domesticated birds is the German naturalist Dr. Bechstein, and we have in this elegant little volume the pith and substance of his more bulky and expensive work, with an infusion of fresh matter, anecdotal, poetical, and experimental, such as its editor knows well how to supply. Those who keep feathered pets, cannot do better than consult this book, which is beautifully got up, and illustrated with portraits of the little songsters so life-like, that one almost expects to see the beaks open, and to hear the burst of melody, which is so delightsome to the sense.

Mr. Adams never misses an opportunity of pleading for his feathered clients, and enforcing upon those who keep them in confinement, the responsibility, for such it really is, of strict attention to their wants and comforts. Here is a passage from his preface, which we commend to the notice of all bird-keepers.

"Beautiful birds! neither wild nor free,
They are sporting now by the greenwood tree;
Not now unchecked may they go and come,
And choose for themselves their food and home.
They are captives here: oh! treat them well;
Give them pleasant homes wherein to dwell,
With warmth, light, air, and wholesome food,
And all that tends to the prisoner's good."

The Sea-Side Lesson Book: designed to convey to the Youthful Mind a Knowledge of the Nature and Uses of the Common Things of the Sea-Coast. By H. G. Adams. London: Groombridge. 1856.

We have here, in a series of familiar descriptive chapters, under such heads as, The Mighty Deep, Ships and Boats, Sailors and Fishermen, Fish and Fishing, Crustaceous and Testaceous Animals, Sea Weeds, Sea Birds, &c., an account of all the most prominent objects and operations of nature as most likely to attract the attention of youthful visitors to, or dwellers by, the sounding shore. The book is simply and clearly written, in a decidedly religious spirit, and well calculated, we think, to answer its intended purpose: the scientific terms, which are necessarily introduced, are explained by a reference to their derivations; and there are numerous questions for examination at the end of each section. The work is also well printed, in good large type, has pretty wood-cuts to render it attractive, and is strongly bound in cloth. Moreover it has the recommendation of cheapness.

Wings and Stings; a Tale for the Young. By A. L. O. E. London: Nelson. 1855.

The authoress of this book, for we think it must be a lady, writes very pleasantly, notwithstanding the bitterness of the name formed by the initials in her title-page. "Wings and Stings; or, Lessons of Insect Life," is a story well calculated to please, and at the same time to instruct, young readers, both intellectually and morally. In it bees perform a very important part: and the moral of the tale, which is called the comb, may well be likened to the sweet honey stored therein. We can strongly recommend this prettily illustrated volume to all parents and teachers.

The Flora of the Colosseum of Rome. By Richard Deakin, M.D.
London: Groombridge. 1855.

Dr. Deakin, an English physician residing at Rome, a lover of botany, and of ruins haunted by the memories of the past, has here produced, what to those of kindred tastes with himself cannot be other than a very interesting book.

> "Arches on arches! as it were that Rome,
> Collecting the chief trophies of her line,
> Would build up all her triumphs in one dome,
> Her Colosseum stands."

And there, in that now deserted and wreck-strewn arena, amid those rifled walls and ruined arches of the great Vespasian amphitheatre, covering a space of about six acres, and within a circumference of 1740 feet, may be found, as our enthusiastic botanist informs us, no less than *four hundred and twenty* distinct species of plants, which find a soil and a situation congenial to their several natures and habits of growth. Some there are which prefer the shade, others the sunshine; some the rich moist soil, others the dry and sandy; here creeping along the ground, and shunning observation like humble merit, there climbing like ambition to the loftiest elevation, and flaunting like pride in the garish eye of day. Green tufts and tresses and slender sprays; feathery fronds, and boughs that bend and wave or stand stiff and rigid, beset with spines or clasped by lithe tendrils; all are here flourishing spontaneously, making a verdurous world, amid the scene of desolation, and glorifying the hoary ruins with their richly-tinted blossoms.

> "See o'er the bench where queens and emperors sate,
> The ivy hangs its crown to mock their state."

A fine theme is here for the moralist, but it is one on which we must not now dwell, the object of our remarks being, like that of the volume before us, to "call the attention of the lover of the works of creation to those floral productions which flourish in triumph upon the ruins of a single building." We are tempted to extend this quotation from our author's preface, that our readers may see how pleasantly he discourses of those "stars of this nether sphere," which we all so love and admire:—

> "Flowers are, perhaps, the most graceful and most lovely objects of the creation, but are not at any time more delightful than when associated with what recalls to the memory time and place, and especially that of generations long passed away. They form a link in the memory, and teach us hopeful and soothing lessons, amid the sadness of by-gone ages; and cold indeed must be the heart that does not respond to their silent appeal; for though without speech, they tell of that regenerating power which reanimates the dust of mouldering greatness, and clothes their sad and fallen grandeur with graceful forms and curiously constructed leaves and flowers, resplendent with their gay and various colours, and perfume the air with their exquisite odours."

The four hundred and twenty plants here described, are arranged by Dr. Deakin according to their natural orders, of which, at the commencement, a synoptical table is given, exhibiting their Linnæan characters also. The scientific descriptions are interspersed with poetical quotations, and remarks on their most striking peculiarities. The volume is altogether nicely got up, but is not so well illustrated as it deserves to be.

Rustic Adornments for Homes of Taste, and Recreations for Town Folk in the Study and Imitation of Nature, By Shirley Hibbard. London: Groombridge. 1856.

A charming volume this: we know not which most to admire, the printing, illustrating, binding, or authorship,—all are so good. Shirley Hibbard can write like a poet on the most prosaic of subjects: but in this book, although the subjects are mostly poetical,—for who shall say that birds, and bees, and flowers are not so?—he has not allowed—

> "The golden reins of fancy to hang loose,"

because his object was to produce a useful as well as beautiful volume. It is a book of practical utility, and truly in it the *utile et dulce* are happily blended. Snatches of poetry will burst out now and then, even in the midst of talk about bee-hives and bird-cages, fern-cases and water-tanks; as a labourer whistles at his work, as the housewife trills a merry ditty while performing her daily duties,—so Shirley Hibbard enlivens his grave discourses with flashes of fancy, and bright gleams of imagination, and one likes his talk all the better for this. But let us see what is meant by this "Rustic Adornments for Homes of Taste." First, we have the aquarium, that new device for preserving aquatic plants and animals in life and vigour, far away from their native seas and rivers. Full directions are here given for constructing and stocking both marine and fresh water aquaria, with an account of the most suitable animal and vegetable inhabitants; where they are to be found; and how transported and managed; select lists of the plants best adapted for the fresh water and garden aquarium; and many useful hints about fountains and fish-ponds, and the like. The Wardian case is then treated of, and some elegant designs given for its construction; and following this with congenial subjects, we have miscellaneous ornaments for dwelling rooms, such as vases for cut flowers, fancy pots, miniature plants, illuminated trees, &c. We then enter the aviary, and are told all about feathered pets, how to manage them, and make their prison lives healthy and happy. Here, too, we have beautiful designs for cages, such as would almost, we fancy, tempt a bird to leave its leafy woodland to live in them: only we remember what Chaucer has said about its unextinguishable love of liberty; and how Wordsworth has said—

> "———— No sea
> Swells like the bosom of a bird set free:"

and then we think of gilded slavery, and sigh for the poor captives, which yet *do* seem very happy in their confinement. Next we enter, nay not so, look from a respectful distance on the apiary, and think of blind Huber and Shakspere's busy commonwealth, honey of Hybla and swarms of Hymettus, and listen to our author, who discourses eloquently of hives, and all sorts of bee lore, which he seems to have at his fingers' ends. But we must not tarry here, having yet to look into the rockery, the fernary, the rosary, and to hear all about garden scenery and ornaments, such as rustic gates and chairs, lawns and flower beds, summer houses and arbours, &c., &c. Here, however, we must conclude our notice of this truly elegant book, in which are several chromo-lithographic plates, and numerous woodcuts, all well executed. When we next require a presentation volume for a fair friend, this will decidedly be the one.

The Mesmerist's Manual of Phenomena and Practice. By George Barth. Third Edition. London: Baillière. 1856.

Mr. Barth has long been known as one of the chief authorities in this country on the subject of Mesmerism. This third edition of his Manual may be taken both as a proof that his views are spreading and that he himself is recognised as an able exponent of them. In itself the volume is coolly and dispassionately written, and contains much calculated deeply to interest the student of physiology and psychology.

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1. Bacon's Essays. A Lecture. By Richard Whately, D.D., Archbishop of Dublin.
2. The Jews. A Lecture. By the Rev. Charles M. Fleury, Chaplain of the Molyneux Asylum.
3. The Wisdom of God in the Salvation of Man. A Lecture. By the Rev. J. G. Manly.
4. Missionary Work; who is to do it. A Lecture. By the Rev. W. Pakenham Walsh. Dublin: Oldham.

These tracts are lectures delivered at the Rotunda in Dublin, by their distinguished authors, before the members of the Young Men's Christian Association. It will be beyond the limits of our time and space to analyze what were intended rather for meditation than for criticism; but we shall just make a few selections from the first-named lecture; the others are more common place. Archbishop Whately very wisely observes, speaking of the cloudy language used by some would-be metaphysicians among ourselves—

"It is chiefly in such foggy forms that the metaphysics and theology of Germany, for instance, are exercising a greater influence every day on popular literature. It has been zealously instilled into the minds of many, that Germany has something far more profound to supply than anything hitherto extant in our native literature; though what that profound something is, seems not to be well understood by its admirers. They are, most of them, willing to take it for granted, with an implicit faith, that what seems such *hard* thinking must be very accurate and original thinking also. What is abstruse and recondite they suppose must be abstruse and recondite wisdom; though, perhaps, it is what, if stated in plain English, they would throw aside as partly trifling truisms, and partly stark folly.

"It is a remark that I have heard highly applauded, that a *clear* idea is generally a *little* idea; for there are not a few persons who estimate the depth of thought as an unskilful eye would estimate the depth of water. Muddy water is apt to be supposed deeper than it is, because you cannot see to the bottom; very clear water, on the contrary, will always seem less deep than it is, both from the well-known law of refraction, and also because it is so thoroughly penetrated by the sight. Men fancy that an idea must have been always obvious to every one, when they find it so plainly presented to the mind, that every one can easily take it in. An explanation that is perfectly clear, satisfactory, and simple often causes the unreflecting to forget that they had needed any explanation at all.

"Now Bacon is a striking instance of a genius who could think so profoundly, and at the same time so clearly, that an ordinary man understands readily most of his wisest sayings, and, perhaps, thinks them so self-evident as hardly to need mention. But, on re-consideration and repeated meditation, you perceive more and more what extensive and important applications one of his maxims will have, and how often it has been overlooked: and on returning to it again and again fresh views of its importance will continually open on you. One of his sayings will be like some of the heavenly bodies that are visible to the naked eye, but in which you see continually more and more, the better the telescope you apply to them.

"The 'dark sayings,' on the contrary, of some admired writers, may be compared to a fog-bank at sea, which the navigator, at first glance, takes for a chain of majestic mountings, but which, when approached closely, or when viewed through a good glass, proves to be a mere mass of unsubstantial vapours."

Again, on time as an agent, how wise is the following both from Copleston and Whately:—

"When Bacon speaks of time as an 'innovator,' he might have remarked, by the way—what of course he well knew—that though this is an allowable and convenient form of expression, it is not literally correct. In the words of the late Bishop Copleston (in the volume of his 'Remains,' which I edited), 'one of the commonest errors is to regard time as an *agent*. But in reality time *does* nothing, and *is* nothing. We use it as a compendious expression for all those causes which act slowly and imperceptibly. But, unless some positive cause is in action, no change takes place in the lapse of one thousand years; as, for instance, in a drop of water enclosed in a cavity of silex. The most intelligent writers are not free from this illusion. For instance, Simond, in his Switzerland, speaking of a mountain-scene says—"The quarry from which the materials of the bridge came, is just above your head, and the miners are still at work: air, water, frost, weight and *time.*" Thus, too, those politicians who object to any positive enactments affecting the Constitution, and who talk of the gentle operation of time, and of our Constitution itself being the work of time, forget that it is human agency all along which is the efficient cause. Time does nothing.' Thus far Bishop Copleston.

"But we are so much influenced by our own use of language, that, though no one can doubt, when the question is put before him, that effects are produced not *by* time, but *in* time, we are accustomed to represent Time as armed with a scythe, and mowing down all before him.

"There is no more striking instance of the silent and imperceptible changes brought about by what is called 'time,' than that of a language becoming dead. To point out the precise period at which Greek or Latin ceased to be a living language, would be as impossible as to say when a man becomes *old*. And much confusion of thought, and many important practical results arise from not attending to this. For example, many persons have never reflected on the circumstance that one of the earliest translations of the Scriptures into a vernacular tongue, was made by the Church of Rome. The Latin *Vulgate* was so called from its being in the vulgar, *i.e.*, the popular language then spoken in Italy and the neighbouring countries; and that version was evidently made on purpose that the Scriptures might be intelligibly read by, or read to, the mass of the people. But gradually and imperceptibly Latin was superseded by the languages derived from it—Italian, Spanish, and French, while the Scriptures were still left in Latin, and when it was proposed to translate them into modern tongues, this was regarded as a perilous innovation, though it is plain that the real innovation was that which had taken place imperceptibly, since the very object proposed by the vulgate version was, that the Scriptures might *not* be left in an unknown tongue. Yet you will meet with many among the fiercest declaimers against the Church of Rome, who earnestly deprecate any, the slightest changes, in our authorized version, and cannot endure even the gradual substitution of other words for such as have become quite obsolete, for fear of unsettling men's minds. It never occurs to them that it was this very dread that kept the Scriptures in the Latin tongue, when that gradually became a dead language."

We shall make only one more extract, but it is peculiarly pertinent at the present moment.

" Far ahead of his Age as Bacon was, it would be too much to expect of any one not gifted with infallibility to have been wholly free from the prejudices prevalent in his time.

" Besides, a tendency, apparent in many places, towards an undue depreciation of Aristotle, which was a natural reaction from the excessive, absurd, and almost idolatrous veneration that had long been paid, chiefly to the least valuable of his works, Bacon was also, in a certain degree, infected with the vulgar errors of that Age.

" For instance, in his Essay on the 'Greatness of Kingdoms,' he speaks of aggressive wars with a view to extension of empire, and of seeking plausible pretexts for them, in a style which not even a Russian would venture to use in these days. Bad as men's practice still is, the sentiments they express are happily much more conformable to justice: and as it is the character of right theory to be always somewhat ahead of right practice, we may cherish a hope that the conduct of states is (though as yet very backward) in a way to improve.

The Cystic Entozoa in the Human Kidney. By T. Herbert Barker, M.D., F.R.C.S. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1856.

We notice this brochure on account of the light it throws upon some instances of what was once considered to be spontaneous generation. Dr. Barker, speaking on the origin of Entozoa, says,—

"But the most curious point connected with these inquiries relates to the transformations which these entozoa may undergo in the body, and includes the fact that, under favourable conditions, the various forms of cystic entozoa became converted into the cestoid variety, that is to say, into tape-worms. I do not apologise for repeating to the Society that part of the author's paper to whom I have above referred, which details some of the experiments upon which this fact is based.

"Küchenmeister of Zittau found, by direct experiment, that when young dogs were made to eat along with their food a number of the Cysticercus pisiformis, so common in the rabbit, these entozoa were converted in a few weeks into the Tænia serrata. He also found that, by giving the Cœnurus cerebralis of a sheep to a dog, the same result ensued. Thirdly—and this is the most telling experiment with regard to the human subject—he (Küchenmeister) gave a number of Cysticerci, taken from the hog and rabbit, to a condemned criminal, at periods varying from 130 to 12 hours before execution. After death, a number of young Tæniæ, in different stages of development, were found in the intestines. After proving his position so far, the same experimentalist varied his experiment. Having produced a Tænia serrata in a dog, by feeding it with the Cœnurus, he caused lambs to take the Tænia joints, and obtained, in the short space of 18 days, a development of the Cœnurus in the brain, in the muscles, and under the skin of these animals.

"Dr. Thomson has very practically observed how intimately the subject of the development of the entozoa is linked with the origin of these products in the human subject, from the imbibition of foods. He thinks the Tænia in the human subject is dependent on the swallowing of the larvæ of the Scolex with the food, and that the Scolex itself has its most common source in the Cysticercus cellulosæ of measly pork. This, he says, agrees with the general idea, that in many cases of Tænia the people are accustomed to take uncooked animal food. The origin of the cystic entozoa in the human subject is not yet known, but its cause is possibly the same as in the lower animals. The Cœnurus of the sheep seems to proceed from the larvæ of the Tænia thrown off by the dog, and *vice versâ*. The same author remarks, that the inhabitants of Iceland are at this moment suffering from a prevalent hydatid disease, which Von Siebold thinks is occasioned by the people swallowing, accidentally, the ova of Tænia thrown off by dogs, of which immense numbers are kept in that island. He further states, that Tænia is common among the Abyssinians, who, it is well known, are accustomed to take uncooked animal food. I would notice, incidentally, that this part of our enquiry has an interesting though indirect bearing on the subject of the propagation of cholera, as suggested by the learned and indefatigable President of the Medical Society of London, Dr. Snow.

"From the facts I have already stated regarding the patient who came under my own care, it is worthy of observation that his diet has certainly been very peculiar. At the same time his wife, who has lived on the same diet, has had no symptoms of similar character. This fact it is interesting to note, since, in one of the cases under Mr. Gay, a man and his wife were both simultaneously the subject of hydatids, as though from a common cause; and in the inferior animals grouped together, as the writer in the 'Medical Times' observes, the hydatid disease generally developes itself in the whole flock at the same time.

"On the supposition that the ova of certain forms of cystic entozoa are capable of leading, in the human subject, to the development of other forms of cystic growths, one might infer that this patient had ample opportunities of becoming impregnated with the Echinococcus, and might thus trace his disease to a dietetic source; but at the present time, and in the absence of further experiments, it would possibly be going too far to consider this matter otherwise than as a probable hypothesis."

The author concludes thus:—

"Not many years ago, the whole question of the entozoa was a sealed and mystic volume, which, when broken into, was full only of hard sayings and speculations, partaking more of the character of old alchemy than of rational thought. Perhaps, indeed, no theory so entrapped the world for a time as that of spontaneous or equivocal generation, the utter and absurd fallacy of which is now so manifest. As time goes on, and experiments advance, it is not too much to suppose that we may consider the pathology of the entozoa in the light of a proved scientific problem, wrought out by the most rigid rules of inductive philosophy."

Bank of England Charter, Currency, Limited Liability Companies, and Free Trade. By Edmund Phillips, Esq. London: Richardson Brothers. 1856.

This pamphlet will probably produce a great sensation. It will not overthrow the monopoly of which it complains, but it will make many men think on the subject who have not done so hitherto. The author commences thus:—

"The most wonderful thing in these present very wonderful and most enlightened times, when the liberties and equal rights of the people are so fully understood, and so clearly defined, is the existence of any monopoly in these kingdoms; but more particularly of that stupendous and mischievous monopoly created by the Bank of England Charter.

"As, however, the masses of the people know nothing of the subject, and even the ordinarily well-informed classes in other respects, consider it much above their comprehension, we perhaps ought not to feel so much surprise that no reform of this institution has yet been attempted, particularly when men swear by the Bank, and say, "As safe as the Bank of England," "As good as the Bank," &c., &c.: but to which it might be replied, in the words of the immortal Shakspeare,—

> "——— Plate sin with gold,
> And the strong lance of justice hurtless falls;
> Clothe it in rags, a pigmy's reed doth pierce it."

It cannot too be denied more than it is to be regretted, that there are many statesmen, bankers, and capitalists, who fancy they find either their own pecuniary interest, or their personal ease, in keeping this question of Bank Reform as obscure and mysterious as possible; and the Charter so supported by ignorance on the one hand, and selfishness on the other, seems as strong as Sebastopol, and he must be a bold man who dares venture alone to attack it. Still, a simple truth combined with honesty of purpose, may sometimes prevail against greater odds than these. A review of the different bearings which this Act has had upon the industry and welfare of these kingdoms, may not be without benefit."

The author cites the opinions of Sir James Graham, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and Sir Robert Peel, as being the same as his own:—

"That first-rate statesman, Sir Robert Peel, also doubtless saw the evils that might arise from making bank-notes a legal tender, without gold in the Bank's coffers to pay them on demand; and he did all that he conceived to be in his power, or in the power of the country at that period of his legislation, to remedy the evil, when he *limited the quantity of notes* which should at any time be issued by the Bank, to fourteen millions over and above the quantity of gold in its cellars. He certainly did not see his way clear to have entirely a gold currency: but had he known that California and Australia would be the means of supplying from twenty to thirty millions of this precious metal yearly, there can be no question, from the whole course his legislation took, that he would not have hesitated at once to declare the necessity of having no notes issued, which promised to pay in gold on demand, unless *that* gold was in the Bank cellars to redeem them when called for."

He next cites the history of the Bank of Venice:—

"Apart from the acknowledged principle that all monopolies should be abolished, history affords no example of a bank, conducted as the Bank of England is, ever leading to good results. The only at all parallel case is that of the Bank of Venice, which lent all its capital to the state, for the purpose of carrying on aggressive wars against its neighbours; and so parting with its capital, used paper money in its place. The end of this establishment is thus summed up by the historian:—'That such was the illusive and insidious nature of that Bank, that it increased in popularity in proportion to the extent of the derangement which it produced; yet such was the fortuity of circumstances, that for several centuries its integrity does not appear to have been doubted, until its agio, or difference between paper and gold money, reached thirty per cent. and over, when the senate found it necessary to make an edict that the bank-notes should not fall below twenty per cent. discount, and to make it imperative upon the people to take them at that rate. This disrepute of the Bank continued without any amendment until it was finally broken up.'"

The following account of the effects produced by Bank privileges may be worth considering:—

"This money, or *these notes*, being thus sent into circulation, and not being wanted for legitimate trade, were again deposited in the Bank; and they were again issued, either in buying more of the national debt, or else in the form of loans to the public upon stocks, bills, or other securities; so that money was popularly spoken of as being worth nothing. All descriptions of produce went up in the several markets to an inconceivable degree, approaching to romance: even spices rose one or two hundred per cent. in the course of a few weeks, and merchants who had stocks of any article found themselves hundreds or thousands of pounds richer in the afternoon than they were in the morning. But even this prosperity tired, and was found unequal to carry off the plethora of money, and then all sorts of Joint-Stock Companies were set afloat; butchers and bakers, pawnbrokers and washing companies, with Foreign and English mines, and every conceivable schemé, found supporters. Railways, which have since been blamed under similar circumstances, were then unknown. One mine in particular may be noted, amongst many others, where a £500 share was sold for a premium of more than £1300; but which has since been sold at the Stock Exchange, capital and premium together, for £5! All the world indeed went mad through this excess of paper, and sudden addition to the circulating medium."

So far all went well, we were in a period of unexampled prosperity. "And now comes that melancholy and oft-repeated tale, the panic, which immediately followed this excitement, and which was thus brought about. Gold being demanded abroad to carry out all these wild schemes, and to pay the balance of trade thus created against this country by the inflated and inhanced price of all imported merchandise (for be it remembered that paper will not pay the foreigner,) the Bank found out that everybody was overtrading, and reprobated the conduct of all the merchants, instead of blaming itself for having first depreciated the currency, *and indeed debased it; for if paper be added to gold to double or treble the quantity of money, the currency is as much debased as by the addition of so much iron or copper.* Still the people were so blind as to believe that the Bank did no wrong, and rather praised that institution for bringing the nation out of the difficulty: but much upon the same principle did the Bank deserve praise, as a man would who should throw another into the Thames, and afterwards draw him out half-drowned. Let the blame, however, lie where it may, it is on record that seventy-nine banking establishments suspended payment; and upwards of a thousand merchants, as well as hosts of smaller tradesmen, most of whom either compromised with their creditors, were declared bankrupts, or passed through the Insolvent Courts, all within the course of a few months after the Bank began to retire its accommodation from the public, by which it was estimated that nearly half-a-million families were brought to the verge of starvation!

"Nor was the Bank itself free from the consequences of its own over-trading. The Bank itself was as near as possible being obliged again to suspend cash payments; and this it must have done but for the accidental discovery of some boxes of one-pound notes, which had been called in, but were not destroyed.

"The panic being thus stayed by the ruin of half the traders of the kingdom, who had been made to pay the difference between paper and gold—for they had bought in one currency, and were obliged to sell in the other—all enterprise was for a time destroyed, so that no merchant dared to import anything for fear prices might be still more ruinous. The value of our own productions also fell to such an extent, as to make this country the cheapest market in the world. This of course brought foreigners here with their gold once more; so that by our not purchasing from abroad to the usual extent, and by selling double of our own manufactures, the precious metals again came back.

"The nation with its usual elasticity and industry, shrugged its shoulders and again set to work, the people being then, as now, blind to the insidious character of the Bank's operations; and indeed it must be confessed that the people really thought *they* had been to blame."

The following observations are important as to the common fallacies about the Bank of England's circulation:—

"They (that is, people in general) assume it to be about nineteen millions, by taking first the amount of notes issued, and deducting therefrom the amount of notes remaining in the till of the Bank's banking department. But *to see* what the circulation really is, we ought to look at the amount of securities held by the Bank, or in other words, the debtors of the Bank. Now it is very clear that the Bank held securities, in March, to the extent of nearly forty-five millions; and it is equally clear that the Bank must have given value for these securities; and, therefore, if the Bank made only twenty-four millions of notes, they must have been issued a second time—that is, after they had been deposited in the banking department for safety, or for the convenience of the customers of the Bank. Then supposing that the Bank bought with these notes, in the morning, five millions of the consolidated debt of the kingdom; the parties who sold this debt, and received this money, having probably no *immediate* use for it, send these notes, or a cheque of equivalent value, to their Bankers; and in less than five hours the money is again re-deposited in the till of the Bank as private deposits. But is it to be argued, that because these notes are re-deposited with the Bank, they are not circulated?—certainly not; for they are as much in circulation as if the proprietors of these notes had kept them in their own iron safe: they may be called for at a moment's notice; and it will be quite out of the power of the Bank to retain them: *ergo*, they are circulated. The circulation, therefore, must be measured, not by the quantity of paper money manufactured, but by the many times that the same notes are employed; and this can be found only by looking to the amount of securities which the Bank holds. Here we will again refer to the *Gazette* of the 29th of March, 1856, wherein it appears that the Bank held securities as follows, say:—

Government Debt	£11,015,100
Ditto other ditto..................	3,459,900
Ditto Securities	11,951,006
Private ditto	18,425,297
	£44,851,303

"Thus it is seen that the Bank was receiving interest on nearly forty-five millions of notes, while at the same time the Bank's circulation was *called* less than nineteen millions. He would be a clever man who could lend forty-five millions of money, on mortgage of estates, where he had only nineteen millions of money to carry out the operation! For a *security* implies the mortgage of something either of the Public Debt, or Bills of Exchange, or Shares in Railways, &c. We must therefore consider that the word circulation is quite a fallacy, if taken in the sense the Bank Directors wish to convey it: viz., as stated, thus:—

Notes issued.....................	£24,221,825
Deduct Notes in till of Banking Department	5,836,745
	£18,385,080

and saying nothing about how often these same notes have been employed, and again re-deposited with the Bank."

To rectify all these evils the author proposes to refuse a renewal of the Bank Charter, and to pay off Bank Stock:—

"To conclude: if this country does not pay off its debt to the Bank, it can only be compared to an improvident man, who prefers lending money to his neighbours, instead of paying his own just debts. We are told that this nation has always thriven under the present system, and therefore there is no need of any change: but we must remember that the industry and ingenuity of the Saxon race will surmount almost any difficulties, however unjust and tyranous such difficulties may be; and particularly so where progress and profit are the reward. The prosperity and greatness of the nation, then, can be no argument in favour of any abuse. By such reasonings, half the legislation of the past century must pass for nothing. England throve before the passing of hundreds of the most important Acts of Parliament. Should this Bank Charter continue for another ten years (for it cannot, under any circumstances, *last longer*), there is no knowing what mischief—what ruin—may befall the kingdom."

The Trade Spirit *versus* The Religion of the Age. A Discourse. Edinburgh: Hogg. 1856.

This discourse is a severe, but scarcely too severe, diatribe on the spirit which it describes. Such books as "*The Successful Merchant*,"—who, be it observed in passing, was not a merchant at all in the higher sense of the word, but merely a tradesman,—have done great mischief, by holding out to imitation, men whose only notion of business was, that they were to get money by means of it. Our author observes:—

"We are deeply infected, as a people, with the worship of wealth. This is a result, mainly, of the trade spirit and success in trade. It is also, by its reactive influence, one of the chief causes of the insatiable cupidity, the unbounding grasping worldliness, which is so prevalent in trade. Man, doubtless, will have somewhat to admire, 'to glory in;' and if he rise not to the apprehension of those nobler objects which should fill his soul, he will yet with a childish interest rejoice in the gewgaws and rattles of earth. The object varies with the times. Brute force and skill in arms were the admiration of the dark ages; now, in an age of commerce, it is success in acquiring gold. It will not be said that the one is much better than the other: calm reason, as well as Scripture, condemns and repudiates both.

"The growing separation of classes, according to the dying words of the late lamented Justice Talfourd, is one of the greatest and most ominous evils of our time. The cause of that alienation it is not difficult to discover. Money is at bottom the standard according to which men are gauged, and stamped, and labelled; and he who is destitute of money must submit to be deemed of no account. Man is estimated not by what he is, but by what he possesses. His essential character is quite overlooked; and he is absurdly reverenced or despised on the ground of mere accidents of position. Our feelings are perverted as well as our judgment.

"The disease which thus rankles in society, has also begun widely to infect the church. The man with the 'gold ring' and the 'gay clothing' has a marked supremacy of honour and influence; the poor man, living from hand to mouth, in daily dependence on Providence, has neither influence nor regard. Nor is it to one sect alone that this description is applicable: an idolatry of wealth, and an itch for outward distinction, is the sin of all religious parties alike. To keep their ground in the locality or the country; to stand well in the eyes of the general community; to show how much of wealth and political influence they possess; and to flourish individually at the expense of their neighbours—'robbing Peter to pay Paul'—would seem to be the wretched aims of all sects now existing around us."

Very strong, but not too strong, is what follows:—

"Here I should have been content to stop: but what shall we say of the positive, formal immoralities of trade, now grown so enormous as to excite the attention of statesmen, if not the concern of the church; the lies, frauds, and impostures, which have now on every hand attained such a prevalence, as to make it a grave question whether the world is not such, that sin is necessary to succeed in it; whether it be barely possible, for a man to be at once a successful man of business and a conscientious man of God. On this disgusting and appalling subject, I know not how to speak. Were it but one or two notoriously wicked men that were guilty of those practices, it were easier to denounce them with some hope of effect; but it is our decent church-going people, shaven, sleek, and demure in their pews on Sunday, yet during the week resorting to artifices to which no honourable or ingenuous man could stoop; nay, quietly perpetrating villanies and iniquities greater than those that have sent others to the hulks.

"I use strong language; but not one whit stronger than the plain facts demands. The trade-advertisements that appear in every newspaper, it would make one blush for humanity to read; often downright lies in so many words, often so worded as to convey an impression, the making of which is in effect a lie; and those, too, emanations from men who would take it much amiss to have their Christianity questioned, or their right to hold up the head in the street. Obnoxious, from deliberate conduct, to the vilest epithet in the language, men will yet carry it as if followers of all that is honourable, ay, and heirs of that kingdom into which, we are assured, 'no liar' shall enter. The process by which they thus impose on themselves, or are 'blinded' and imposed on by the 'god of this world,' it were curious to trace. The subtleties of the school-men are nothing to the sophistries with which men vindicate their iniquity in the pursuit of trade. The adulteration of goods in this country, has proceeded to such an extent, that of nothing that a man purchases can he be sure that it is that for which he buys it. This detestable practice, also, men contrive to reconcile with a profession of religion. The Christian man, with his eyes open, drugs and deteriorates an article; defrauds, and perhaps poisons the consumer; and if it be only done quietly and discreetly, does not find himself to be less a Christian than before. Petty dealers increase their gains in this way. Heads of 'extensive concerns,' that roll weekly in their chariots to church, grow rich on the nefarious traffic, and are worshipped for their wealth. With all the excuses that may be offered for it, this is one of the blackest and most damning features of our moral state as a people. It plainly shows, in particular, that the spirit of trade, at this moment, is impatient of all moral restraints; and that, if the strong arm of human law were only kept at a distance, there is nothing, however iniquitous or atrocious, that would be allowed to stand in its way."

We do not go with the author altogether in all that follows; we think that there is really an increasing spirit of vital religion among us; but mammon worship is the worship of the time, and we are glad to find it dealt with as our author deals with it.

"The position of religion in Britain at this moment is peculiar; not quite discouraging, but such as to call for solicitude. It would seem to indicate, that God, in his providence, is calling his church to the performance of a great work; according to her fidelity and success in which, the present critical state of her interests will be fruitful of issues of good, or of evil, for a long period to come. Never was vital religion at a lower ebb in this country than now; yet never was there a more general disposition to treat religion with unfeigned respect. There are few instances of very decided, much less of eminent godliness; yet men are nearly unanimous in thinking well of religion, and all the better of a man that makes a credible religious profession. We cannot long continue in this state. If the church does not take advantage of the flood of general feeling now in favour of religion, and seek to get men thoroughly imbued with its spirit, a re-action will occur; and the world, disgusted and wearied with empty profession, will overwhelm religion and its professsors with scorn. A thoroughly Christianised society, or an exasperated infidelity, is the alternative we must speedily meet.

"Our churches owe a great duty to society; how they may best perform it, I shall not attempt to say. They must first, it is probable, see to themselves, that they really are what they profess to be,—make themselves what they should be, and then God will honour them, for they will be morally fit, to operate with effect on the world. The sight of things as they are, is sufficient to drive men into unbelief, if not into blasphemy; for, unless in the case of those who have been taught, and imbued with the spirit of religion in childhood, it is difficult in after life, amid such imbecility and gross inconsistency, to believe that the whole affair is anything else than a lie. If religious convictions and feelings still arise in the breast of the man, he has yet no disposition to identify himself with the selfish and clamorous sects, and hollow professors around him; but stands aloof, with a contempt and disgust of them, better founded it may be—and we are sorry to say it—than the ready reproaches of atheism and infidelity they will hurl at him.

"Political economy has more to say than she has said, respecting the whole subject of man's social existence—as regards alike means and results—the production, the distribution, and the consumption of our entire artificial pabulum; and her final deliverance, whenever elicited, will be found exactly to tally with, scientifically to vindicate and enforce, the whole course of human action now enjoined by religion. Consciously or not, the philosopher will co-operate with the religious teacher. Pursuing different objects, they will yet meet at the same point. Profit will be seen to be co-ordinate with duty. And science will unite with faith, in putting a stop to disorder and suffering, and establishing the reign of right and of happiness among men."

V. POETRY.

Plain Rhymes for Plain People. By Mrs. Joseph Fearn. London: Partridge and Co. 1855.

In these days, when the Word of God is either openly repudiated, or secretly neglected, and when tracts of an impure or frivolous tendency are sought for with avidity, we hail such a pamphlet as the above, which we have read with much pleasure, and which we can most safely recommend as an auxiliary to the acquisition of saving truth. The object of the writer is to embody in simple verses the sacred narratives. The present tract includes the Book of Genesis, and her aim, we believe, has been to direct the readers of that class for whom the Rhymes were written, to the fountain of God's Word *itself*, from whence she has derived her materials. We find by the title page that it is "adapted for Sunday Schools," but we think it equally suitable for *all* sections of the poor and simple masses of our population. We have known Mrs. Fearn for some time through the pages of Christian miscellanies, especially those of the "Church of England Magazine," (a writer in which first suggested to her mind the *plan* of this little work), the "Church Sunday Scholars' Magazine," and the "Servants' Magazine," in which latter, we understand, she is a stated contributor, and for whose specific advantage, viz., the *servants of England*, she is, we hear, a most zealous and earnest benefactor: for *this* long neglected and spiritually undisciplined class of our community, the present pamphlet is most suitable. The price renders it available to all, being only 2d. each, or 14s. per hundred. Should this series succeed (which, by God's blessing, we trust it may), Mrs. Fearn meditates a second, comprising the Books of Exodus and Leviticus. We wish her object "*God speed.*"

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1. Sonnets, chiefly Astronomical, and other Poems. By the Rev. James A. Stothert. Edinburgh: Marsh and Beattie. 1856.
2. Adversity. A Poem. By the Rev. John C. Boyce. London: Simpkin. 1856.
3. Songs of Early Summer. By the Rev. Archer Gurney. London: Longmans. 1856.
4. Lonely Hours. By Caroline Giffard Phillipson. A New Edition. London: Moxon. 1856.

We have classed these poems together as having much about the same merit, a certain smoothness of versification, and much pleasing and natural feeling. The third named volume is less entitled to this praise than the others, but on the other hand it exhibits, if not more power, at least more ambition. But, perhaps, it will be only fair to let our authors speak for themselves. We select from Mr. Stothert:—

THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH.

"Around the globe, behold each wondrous string,
  By science stretched across her giant lyre,
  Swept by no human hand; each trembling wire
Thrilled by Electric Force, on magic wing,
Whose impulses the poles together bring.
  With lightning swiftness speeds the subtle fire
  Brief messages of joy, or fond desire;
With deeds scarce finished distant cities ring.
Beneath the broad Atlantic, on it sweeps,
  High o'er the burning plains of India rolled,
From crag to crag 'mid Alpine snows it leaps;
  Image to me, in ways to sense untold,
How, reaching far across those heavenly deeps,
  Soul may with soul, unseen, communion hold."

This is a fair, nay a very favourable specimen of the sonnets. Our next shall be one of the most pleasing of the other poems:—

A DREAM.

“ In a foreign city dwelling,
While I lie in balmy sleep,
Springs of thought within me welling,
Inner senses vigil keep.

“ Travelling through an English valley
Till the night is on the wane,
By the limes' o'er-arching alley
Entering now an ancient fane.

“ Moonlight shadows, slowly creeping
Noiselessly on floor of stone,
Lead me where my friend is weeping
Shrouded in the gloom alone.

“ Two fair babes of his are lying
In the hollow vault beneath;
There was comfort in their dying
Crowned with infancy's pure wreath.

“ Now we talk of them as living
Far beyond our darkling night;
His sad heart awhile misgiving;—
Have they reached the Godhead's sight?

“ Vaulting aisle, asunder rending,
Shows a wintry sky o'erhead;
Two bright crowns of stars descending,
Hover o'er the kneeling dead.

“ Straight, our soothed senses thrilling,
Comes a voice of silver tone,
Both our hearts with sweetness filling,
Steals through aisle and chancel lone:

“ ‘ Not so ends their plaintive story,
Leaving them in dreamy rest;
Your dear infants are in glory,
Throned on their Saviour's breast.”

Mr. Boyce's poem, though he tells us that it was “perused and very favourably noticed by the late Mr. Justice Talfourd, Samuel Rogers, Esq., the Rev. the Regius Professor of Poetry in the University of Oxford, and other living poets and literary men,” yet does not rise above the level of ordinary prize poems. We will take an extract long enough to enable the reader to judge:—

“ Go to the fields for knowledge: search the soul
So character'd in Nature's ample scroll,
So mirror'd in her bright and laughing rills,
So throned upon her majesty of hills,
So whispered by the wild wind's zeal to bring

Faint sounds from far, of village bells, or spring,
To soothe the heart whene'er the mantled face
Owns the sweet presence of his soft embrace.
A mute endearment his, and yet he brings
His angel-message from the King of kings
Too deep for words—to watchful Thought alone
The solemn import of his tale is known.
She kens his ministry, and leaps to hear
His joyous footfall at her cell, as dear
As lover's tryst well kept, when evening's dew
Is glistening in the sunset's golden hue.
Far hath he travelled, fraught his laden wings
With Araby's soft balm, and precious things
Of everlasting hills—a witching spell
Of myriad scents and sounds commingled well.
His reedy pipe full oft in valleys deep
Hath startled Silence from her stillsome sleep,
Or sweeping o'er, a strange, untimely lay,
Disturbed the dreamy minstrel of the spray:
And 'tis his mission to give wider range
To the pent soul:—of thoughts an interchange:
To blunt grief's edge, create th' enquiring smile,
And lure to blank forgetfulness the while,
Then to the intellect no longer dim,
To ope the purport of his one wild hymn:—
That wheresoe'er hath lain his viewless way,
All creatures own His universal sway,
Who chronicles the smitten sparrow's fall:—
And framed one covenant of love for all."

From the very pleasing poems of Mrs. or Miss Phillipson, we shall take a hymn, sad, and tender, and plaintive:—

"Could I but serve thee, Lord, aright,
   Life's stormy hours to me
Would seem with Heaven's own sunshine bright,
   And sweet tranquillity!
No blighting cares would then oppress,
   No gloomy doubts or dread,
Grief's thorny crown would lightly press
   Upon my suff'ring head!

"But now I seek thy face in vain
   And list thy voice with fear!
Bow'd down by this world's with'ring chain,
   Pierced by its sharpest spear!
Sadly I lift my wand'ring eye
   To thy fair realms of love:
Each hour my heart more mornfully
   Pines for its home above!

"And yet I come not near to thee,
Or why this burning tear?
This spirit of despondency,
This earth-born dread and fear!
Let thy calm faith my bosom fill
Thy quenchless peace be given,
Thy conquering power o'er grief and ill
Which lifts the soul to Heav'n!

"And oh! for that meek trust in thee
Which fill'd thy saints of yore,
Untiring love and charity,
All holy gifts before!
May I, my God, before thy shrine
Lay every earthly care,
Then hush'd and sanctified be mine,
Thy dearest blessings there!

"Upon my onward path, thy smile
Could I in brightness see,
To cheer my lonely heart awhile
I could come nearer thee!
Oh! for one moment, bid it shine
Into my spirit's deep,
Then, Lord, I will no more repine,
But in its shadow keep!

"It will not be for long: this life
Is ebbing fast away;
And coming sounds of war and strife
Proclaim the world's decay!
Then let us nestle on thy breast,
And fix our hearts on thee,
Our future home of joy and rest,
Throughout Eternity!"

And, now, what shall we say to Mr. Gurney? He is always equal to the late Robert Montgomery, in many respects a much better poet. Perhaps he will consider this praise enough; for we remember a volume by him to the praise and glory of that strangely over-rated, under-rated, and wrongly-rated man. We do not think we have said much for him, but yet, if he were quite a young man, we should have considerable expectations from him. He has much power, but he has not yet learned to manage it, and therefore now we fear he never will. We take, however a sonnet from the midst of many equally devout; one which, did it not bear the name of Arthur Gurney, we should have attributed to Robert Montgomery.

THE INCARNATION.

"This world in darkness lay, benightened, lost,
When dawned the Star of Bethlehem to cheer;
Then brake the ice of aimless infidel fear;
Man dared to trust; Earth's Rubicon was cross'd.
Long by fierce gusts of passion tempest-tost,
Our race had sunk beneath the appointed sphere,
Had sought their heav'n in base enjoyment here,
And unbelief congeal'd with killing frost.
Then, from the chosen seed, from David's line,
Came He, the Lord, the Prophet, Priest, and King,
The mild Redeemer and the mighty God:
Through shuddering nature swept a thrill divine,
True hearts the accents found of love to sing,
And low the children bent to kiss the rod."

The Rivulet: A Contribution to Sacred Song. By T. T. Lynch, London: Theobald. 1855.

Some time ago we noticed Mr. Lynch's "Rivulet," and spoke highly of the tone of feeling it displayed, expressed our admiration of it in a poetical point of view, and at the same time hinted, that there was a want of care, a want of finish, which would probably prevent justice being done to the author's poetical ability. Since this the volume has been made the subject of a very fierce controversy. The "Morning Advertiser" accused Mr. Lynch of writing a book which might have been written by a Socinian. The "Eclectic Review" was rather sharply blamed for the praise which it had bestowed on the book; and we were given to understand that Mr. Lynch, who is a Congregational minister, was a favourer of neologists and neology, and that many of his hearers wore beards, wide-awake hats, and other unchristian appendages. Now we are very sincere admirers of the "Morning Advertiser," we look upon it as one of the few thoroughly honest papers in existence. Mr. James Grant, the editor, is a true Protestant, and an evangelical Christian; and he, by his able editorship of the paper in question, has rendered such services to the cause of religion, as few journalists have ever had the opportunity of doing: for it must be remembered that the "Morning Advertiser" reaches classes who read no other paper, and have few other means of information. It is therefore with regret that we feel obliged, in this case, to throw our judgment against that paper, and to agree with the "Eclectic Review," and the fifteen ministers who have protested against Mr. Grant's conclusions. Mr. Lynch *may* have neological tendencies, and we admit that a neologian *might* have written the 'RIVULET;' but, on the other hand, it might equally well have been written by a most orthodox Christian. In fact we do not want doctrinal statements, even in hymns, properly so-called; whenever the attempt is made so to exhibit doctrine, it will uniformly be found that the doctrine and the poetry are alike spoiled. Hymns are for the expression of devotional feeling. Now we never looked on Mr. Lynch's poems as properly hymns; they are fitter for the closet than the congregation, and certainly we should not go to such a volume for explicit statements of doctrinal truth. Mr. Lynch it is true calls them hymns, and many of them deserve the title. We shall take two, which we think will vindicate the author from the charges brought against him, and at the same time justify our late criticism. Our first shall be one which only a Christian could feel; but surely a diligent poet would not have left so harsh a line as the last one of the first stanza—

"Rise! He calleth thee, arise!
Come, O sorrow-blinded man;
He who lighted first the eyes,
Only He relight them can.

"Come, and see the face of one
Who familiar was with grief;
Now it shineth as the sun;
In his smile is thy relief.

"Rise! He calleth thee, arise!
Prisoner of an inward night;
Sin destroyeth earth and skies,
If it quench the fount of light.

"Come, of day-break 'tis the hour
When thou seest Christ the Lord;
See Him, and regain the power
Both to look and walk abroad."

Our readers shall judge for themselves with regard to one more, which we shall leave without comment as to its theology, only directing their attention to the beauty of its poetry.

"Lord, why dost Thou thy love conceal,
And why so long a silence keep?
When souls by Thee forsaken feel,
Childlike, they tremble and they weep;

"Or stand in mute and tearless woe
Like crosses, which their victims leave,
And which no more the sufferer show,
But tell of grief, yet do not grieve.

"O Lord, when darkest grows the hour,
And loneliest feels the childlike heart,
Then show Thyself in sudden power
To be the Father that Thou art.

"And when the rigid heart but seems
A monument of former woe,
Reveal love's meaning in extremes,
And crosses trees of life shall grow."

VI. FICTION.

Perversion; or, the Causes and Consequences of Infidelity. A Tale for the Times. 3 Vols. London: Smith, Elder and Co. 1856.

We are, we believe, violating no confidence when we state that this very clever work is to be attributed to the Rev. Mr. Conybeare, whose article on church parties, published a short time ago in the "Edinburgh Review," excited so much attention. The present tale is not unworthy of its paternity; there is a remarkable insight into character displayed in it; much knowledge of school and college life; and a great acquaintance with the "Causes and Consequences of Infidelity." The story is extremely interesting, but the interest flags in the third volume, and it would be better that in another edition, some of the more didactic and argumentative portions should be retrenched. The book will be extensively read at Oxford and Cambridge, just the places where it will be most qualified to do good.

Trevanion; or, the Voice of Conscience. A Narrative (founded on facts) of the Times of John Wesley. By Mrs. Quintin Kennedy. London: Partridge. 1856.

A well told tale of a youth, who from the position of a miner was raised to wealth and station, and finally lost both again. The religious convictions, the domestic history, the changing fortunes of the hero, are rendered more interesting by being associated with John Wesley and his labours among the Cornish miners.

Modern Accomplishments; or, the March of Intellect. By Catherine Sinclair. London: Simpkin and Co. 1856.

A neat and cheap reprint of a work which has been very successful, and we trust very useful. It is dedicated by permission to the Queen, and will be read with much pleasure and profit by many of her subjects.

Grace Hamilton's School Days. By Emma Jane Worboise. Bath: Binns and Goodwin. 1856.

We would gladly speak in higher terms than any which we are able to employ of this very well-intended book. There is a good deal that may be safely commended in its descriptions of early piety: but there is also much to be condemned in the nature of the denoument. It concludes, or nearly concludes, with an elopement, and towards the close touches on many points much better kept, at least as far as possible, from the knowledge of young people.

The Elephant's Feast; or, the Use of Birds and Beasts to Man. With Illustrations by Harrison Weir. London: Dean and Son. 1856.

Among books for children we can especially recommend this, for it is not only written in a pleasant and engaging style, and interspersed with moral observations well adapted for children, but it also gives them a very wholesome dose of sound natural history.

Fragments of the Great Diamond set for Young People; being a variety of Addresses to Children. By the Rev. James Bolter, B.A. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1856.

We cannot speak very highly of this little book. We have tried it with intelligent children who were not very much interested in it. Books for children can only be written by a peculiar class of persons. Their minds must be able not to condescend to—Dr. Watts did that—but to interpenetrate the mind of childhood—and this is a gift bestowed on few; certainly not on the excellent and pious author of these "Fragments."

The volume of the "Cyclopædiæ Bibliographica," arranged under subjects, is in active preparation, and will be ready for the press about the end of this year. Besides being very complete in Theological Literature, it will embrace nearly all departments of knowledge, pointing out the best books on each subject. It will be issued in the same manner as the volume already published on authors, their lives and works.

WHILE these sheets are passing through the press, we hear doubts thrown on the appointment of Mr. Trench to the Bishopric of Gloucester. We hope these doubts are without foundation: for we know of no one more calculated to adorn the episcopate than Mr. Trench. He must not be surprised that his appointment should be unpopular with the bigoted and the corrupt, nor that they should "signify their disapprobation in *their* usual way." He must expect a very miscellaneous accusation against him, — probably embracing every variety of moral and doctrinal delinquencies,—for this is the mode in which clerical parties do battle in these days. But we earnestly wish him success, less for his own sake than for that of the Church. We have just learned the appointment of Mr. Baring.

We hear, too, that the Bishops of London and Durham wish to retire from their labours, but that they stipulate for full pay, *i. e.* £10,000 per ann. in the one case, £8,000 in the other. If this statement be true, it can only be on the ground that the poorness of their preferment hitherto has prevented their making a proper provision for their families. Let us hope that this sad case will be enquired into. Should it be needful, a subscription among the curates of the respective dioceses should at once be set on foot. But we say this only provisionally, for the report may be without foundation.

PHOTOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS OF THE CLERGY.

OUR readers, especially our clerical readers, will doubtless remember our observations on this subject at the close of our last number. We are pleased to be able to say, that the plan for a regular series of clerical portraits is now matured: that a clerical portrait club is established, and that a portrait, in the very best style of photography, may now be obtained for the sum of half-a-guinea. By itself this would be so clearly a matter of mere trade, that we should say nothing about it save in our advertising columns, (where our readers will find further notice,); but, in addition to this, it is intended to supply copies, equal to the original, at the rate of half-a-crown each. Families and friends may thus be enabled to preserve the portraits of those most dear to them; and persons interested in public characters may form galleries of their own. We have seen some of these portraits, which appear to us the perfection of art. The photographic process serves as a basis, and on this the artist works: so that what finally meets the eye is the labonr of the miniature painter, who is prevented from going astray by the unerring sketch of the sunbeam.

THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND

Quarterly Review.

OCTOBER, MDCCCLVI.

ART. 1.—1. *The Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John—The Acts of the Apostles—The last six Books of the New Testament.* By the AMERICAN BIBLE UNION. New York: 1854—1856. Trübner and Co.

2. *Scripture, and the Authorised Version of Scripture; being the substance of Two Ordination Sermons. With an Appendix, containing Notes, and a Glossary of Words which have become obsolete in the sense which they bear in the Translation of the New Testament.* By SAMUEL HINDS, D.D., Bishop of Norwich. Second Edition, with additions. London: Fellowes. 1853.

3. *The New Testament translated from Griesbach's Text.* By SAMUEL SHARPE, ESQ. Third Edition. London: Hodgson. 1856.

[SECOND NOTICE.]

IMPORTANT as it must be to every reader of the Bible to understand the language of its writers, and necessary as it is for us to possess an English text that will bear the closest scrutiny, it will be acknowledged that these objects are of paramount importance in reference to the New Testament. It is upon this spacious field of inquiry that we now propose to enter, in resuming our task of considering the necessity of a revision of the English authorised version. The path before us is somewhat long and intricate, but we shall prepare our way in this direction by a brief notice of several important passages, which we find in Macknight's work on the Apostolical Epistles.

Matt. x. 29. "One of them shall not fall to the ground without your father." This, he says, implies that the *other* might do so. Compare with Luke xii. 7, where there is no such improper adherence to the Greek idiom.

Luke xxiii. 32. "And there were also two other malefactors, led with him to be put to death." This translation, M.* observes, "was derived from the Vulgate, and agrees with the Arabic, Syriac, and Ethiopic." The Greek should be rendered "now there were led also two others, malefactors, with him," &c., by which this shocking absurdity will be avoided. M. has not noticed what would have given additional force to his observation, viz., that this translation was adopted from the Genevan Bible; for Tyndal's Testament, Cranmer's and Bishops' Bible avoid this error, and render, "there were two evil-doers led with him to be slain."

Matt. xix. 4. "That he which made them at the beginning, made them male and female." M's. observation here is, that though this translation is the more obvious one, it is not the just one, as is evident from the circumstance that it does not show the force of our Lord's reasoning. It should be therefore, "that he who made them at the beginning, made a male and a female," *i. e.* one male and one female; which shows that adultery and polygamy are contrary to his intention.

2 Cor. iv. 3, 4. Of these verses M. proposes the following translation. "If therefore our gospel be veiled, it is veiled to them who destroy themselves. By whom the god of this world," &c. The present rendering is certainly unintelligible, and inconsistent.

Id. v. 2. "Desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven. Not that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon," &c. This, our objector M. says, is a jumble of metaphors, which no reader can understand. He cites Rom. i. 17, and other passages, as instances, in which our translators have rendered their version unintelligible by following Beza too implicitly. See notes to his Preface, sec. 4.

1 Cor. xiii. 1. "*Charity.*" The Vulgate translates the word αγαπη here by charitas. "With a view to enrich themselves by the alms of the people, the Romish clergy applied to alms-giving the high encomium which in this chapter is passed on love, and complained of the Protestants, as falsifiers, who so translated the word." (M's. note.) The previous translations were, as M. here says, departed from, to conciliate the Romanists. The older translations of our Bible should be restored in this and other passages.

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* We shall refer to this writer by the letter M., to avoid repeating so frequently the same word.

1 Cor. xv. 26. "The last enemy *that* shall be destroyed *is* death." This implies, that "there are some enemies who shall not be destroyed:" which is wrong, for all enemies shall be destroyed. See verse 25. Therefore this should be rendered, "Death, the last enemy, shall be destroyed." (M's. note.)

Id. xiii. 8. "Whether there be prophecies they shall *fail*." This might imply, says M., "that prophecies might fail of their accomplishment." It is to be noticed that the same verb, translated *fail* in the first part of this verse, is in the last rendered, *done away*. To avoid this inconsistency the rendering might be, as in the Genevan, *abolished*. In verse 11, the same verb is also given by another phrase, *put away*.

James iii. 8. "The tongue can no man tame." This, remarks M., sanctions a great error; that no man is able to subdue or tame his tongue. It should be, "The tongue of men no one can subdue;" meaning, the tongue of other men. We cannot but regard it as a strange fact, that an emendation so obvious should have been overlooked at all the several revisions of our English version.

The propriety of such amendments of the text as are thus pointed out by Macknight, few persons could deny. As an instance, however, that the best critics of other men's labours are not always to be trusted in their own improvements in matters of taste, or phraseological fitness, we may quote this commentator's translation of 1 Cor. ix. 25, 27. "I therefore so run, as not out of view; so box I, as not beating the air. But I bruise my body, and lead it captive, lest perhaps having proclaimed to others, I myself should be one not approved."

Having given these miscellaneous examples of defective translation, we shall now proceed to illustrate this matter more at large, by a series of classified examples, and begin with

I. *Instances of inexact or doubtful phraseology.*

2 Cor. v. 17. "New *creature*," for "new *creation*." So also in Rom. viii. 19—20, the very same word, κτισις, is rendered creature, but in verse 22, "creation:" a remarkable inconsistency, for it can scarcely be doubted, that whatever sense the apostle affixed to the word in one place was meant for the other. See also what Bishop Turton has written in his "Text of the English Bible," on the ellipsis here supplied in italics, by the words *he is*, p. 69.

Id. xi. 21. "He hath made him to be sin for us," &c.

rather, a *sin-offering;* for Christ could not become sin itself without losing his essential character as God.

2 Cor. xii. 2. "I have espoused you to one husband that I may present you a chaste *virgin* to Christ." The word αρμοζειν, according to the Greek commentators, means *betrothed.* The word espoused is inconsistent in some sense with the last clause of the verse.

Id. vii. 11. "What revenge;" rather, what punishment, for revenge is not a Christian virtue.

Ephes. iv. 14. "*Sleight* of men," for *trickery* of men.

1 Tim. iii. 16. "Without *controversy* great is the mystery of godliness." Ομολογουμενος means, and must mean here, not a unanimous consent, or indisputable statement; but rather a general confession, as we should say, *confessedly;* but this is a very different thing from saying that there has been, or can be, *no controversy* on the mystery referred to, which is contrary to the fact.

Coloss. ii. 8. "Spoil you," for "make a spoil of you."—M.

Id. ii. 3. "In whom *are hid all the treasures,*" for "*all the hidden treasures.*"—M. The present rendering is ambiguous, for it might mean, according to the usual sense of such words, "in whom are *concealed* all the treasures," &c.

1 Tim. iv. 1. "Doctrines of devils;" for "doctrines concerning demons." The former expression, which would generally be understood to mean the same as "*devilish doctrines,*" conveys no idea of the true sense of the apostle. The Greek word here is δαιμων not διαβολος. Hence, as here used, it may have reference to the worship of angels or saints. The Greek language called deified dead men or heroes,—or beings supposed to be of a mixed or middle nature, *i. e.* partly God and partly man,—by the name of δαιμονες. The Christian writer adopted this idea therefore for the class referred to—the equivalents of the latter. The same mistake has been committed in the rendering of Rev. ix. 20, which supplies an apposite illustration.

Id. iv. 2. "Speaking lies in hypocrisy;" "through the hypocrisy of liars." M. observes that this would be a more just translation of the words ενυποκρισει ψευδολογων, than that given in our Bible. See M's. note *in loco.*

2 Tim. ii. 23. "Unlearned questions avoid," rather, questions in which men are unlearned, or necessarily ignorant.

Heb. ix. 17. "A *testament* is of force after men are dead." The use of the word testament here, instead of *covenant,* is of very questionable propriety. "I cannot but think," says Bishop Hinds, "that we are mistaken in the application of this word; and that it was suggested as a rendering by the use of *testamentum* in the Latin version, not only as the uniform translation of διαθηκη in the New, but sometimes of בְּרִית in the Old Scriptures, which certainly never means a will." The bishop renders: "A covenant is ratified over dead victims," &c. See his lucid exposition, in the work prefixed as one of the headings of this article, pp. 114—115.

Heb. x. 7. "*Volume* of thy book," for "in the beginning of the book." So all the former translations of the Bible, from Wicklif downward, except Tindal's, which has "in the chefest of the boke." *Volume* and *book* are now identical; but perhaps the first word was used in the sense of a *roll,* which might be here admitted; more probably the reference is to the Pentateuch, which is the beginning "of The Book," *i. e.* the law. The amount of the phrase is, "In the law of Moses, I am described as coming to do thy will." So Professor Stuart in Comment. on Hebrews.

Id. viii. 1. "Now of the things of which we have spoken this is the sum." Κεφαλαιον, is, by S. Chrysostom and Theophyact, rendered the head or chief thing, which it properly means. So also in the Syriac. Our translation follows Beza and the Vulgate. The argument of the apostle, upon which he had been discoursing, viz., the high priesthood of Jesus, plainly indicates that he meant *this* to be the prime or *capital* article of the doctrine declared—the superiority of Christ, as being the minister of the true tabernacle—the heavenly sanctuary.

II. *Instances of apparently dogmatical bias in the present translation.*

Acts ii. 47. "And the Lord added to the church daily, such as should be saved." The original words τους σωζομενους[*] do not admit of this sense, but simply mean, *the saved,* or *those being saved;*—the present, not the future tense.

Id. xiii. 14. "As many as were *ordained* to eternal life believed." The word τεταγμενοι means rather *disposed,* or placed in order, as soldiers are in their ranks.

Ephes. ii. 10. "Which God hath before *ordained* that ye should walk in them." The more suitable word would here be, *prepared,* which the marginal reading has.

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[*] See Bishop Hinds on other passages of a similar kind in his work just referred to.—p. 41.

Heb. vi. 6. "If they fall away:" παραπεσοντας: which evidently must be translated, "having fallen away." Wall, on this verse, says, "I know of none but Beza whom the English translators could follow." Only the Rheims Bible of 1582 has, "and are fallen;" in the present sense.

Id. x. 38. "Now the just shall live by faith: but if any man draw back," &c. This translation has been very strongly censured on account of the addition of the words *any man*, which are not in the text; and certainly they ought to have been rendered without this addition, even in italics. See Bishop Turton's Observations on the Text of the English Bible, p. 86.

1 Pet. ii. 8. "Which stumble at the word, being disobedient: *whereunto also they were appointed.*" This translation seems to imply something like the docrine of reprobation. But εὶς ὃ και ετεθησαν do not mean anything of this kind; the εὶς ὃ refers to the προκομμα, or stumbing-block. They were not appointed to be disobedient to the word, but to stumble at the word when disobedient. The sense is therefore, "who when they are disobedient stumble at the word, against which (*i. e.* stumbling) they were placed or set," (Luke ii. 34; Isa. viii. 14, 15, and Matt. xxi. 44), *i. e.*, as Œcumenius explains it, "set themselves."

III. *Instances of defects in relation to the Ellipsis.*

First, of words improperly supplied, and not in the Greek text.

Gal. iv. 15. "Where is then the blessedness *ye spake of?*" The words here printed in italics are not so in our Bible, though, upon the usual principle of the translation in regard to these, they ought to have been so marked here. The Bishops' Bible—the previous translation—had, "what then is your felicity?" which is the literal sense, and so given in the Douay Testament, which has, "Where is then your blessedness?" Theophylact has, "To what a low state is your happiness reduced!" Macknight has, "What was then your happiness?" or, "what happiness then was yours?" as he paraphrases. The ancient versions, and one of the fathers (Jerome) read που, instead of τις, but no ancient authority sanctions the ellipsis, *ye spake of*, nor any of the former English versions.

Heb. iv. 15. "Was in all points tempted like as *we are, yet* without sin." The ellipses here marked in italics, does not convey the precise sense of the apostle, and is not exactly what that should have been supplied. The Greek is literally "tempted in all points according to his likeness to us," *i. e.* as far as his nature could be likened to us: for it must be remembered that in some respects our Lord's nature was not an exact likeness, having been made free from original corruption.

For the following two passages, we are indebted to Bishop Hinds:—

Acts. i. 22. "Must one be ordained to be a witness with us of his resurrection." There is no corresponding word in the original Scripture. The words are, "Must be a witness." As a supplementary word, ordained ought to have been printed in italics.—p. 119.

1 Cor. i. 26. Most persons will be disposed to question the correctness of the supplementary word, *called;* it was the *callers*, not the called, "who were many of them not wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble."—p. 54.

Secondly, Instances of words not supplied where the sense requires it.

Rom. iii. 7, 8. "For if the truth of God hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory," &c. These words could not be meant as the words of St. Paul, the writer of them; but are evidently put into the mouth of a supposed Jewish objector. Some words placed in italics would complete the sense; as, "if the Jew should say, the truth of God," &c. See M.'s note.

Id. vi. 17. "But God be thanked that ye were the servants of sin," &c. This declaration sounds equally strange with the former. The ellipsis should be supplied of a word or two here, which is wanting to complete the sense, or give a clear meaning to St. Paul's argument. "But God be thanked, that *although* ye were *once* the servants of sin," &c. The present translation is an over-scrupulous refinement adopted from the Bishops' Bible; the older translations having all had, "Though ye were once the servants of sin, yet have ye obeyed," &c.

1 Cor. xv. 27. "For *he* hath put all things under his feet." Who the pronoun *he* refers to cannot be doubtful, as the words are a quotation from Ps. viii. 6, and are there applied to the typical "Son of man." But as they now read in St. Paul, they seem rather to refer to *Death*, the noun in the previous verse. The ellipsis therefore should be filled up in italics with the word *Christ*, inserted from verse 25. "For He, *Christ*, hath put all things," &c.

Coloss. ii. 21. "Touch not; taste not; handle not." These are plainly a quotation of Pythagorean maxims, but, by being placed in a separate verse, the sense is disconnected from the word ordinances, and placed within a parenthesis. But if the ellipsis were filled up thus: "Why . . . . are ye subject to such ordinances as these? 'Touch not, &c.;' and the parenthesis removed, all would be plain."

To these we might perhaps add:—

Phil. iii. 1. "Beware of *dogs* . . . . beware of the *concision.*" The epithets here applied are incapable of being understood without some periphrasis. So also Rev. xxii. 13. Probably the apostle is here quoting a proverbial saying, and we might supply, "as it is said, beware of *dogs*;" and before the latter word the ellipsis may be, "the sect called the concision," or, as M. supposes, "the excision."

IV. *Instances of a defective arrangement of words in the English version, by too closely following the Greek* ordo.

Luke i. 1, 2. "Even as they delivered them unto us, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word." This mode of rendering would imply, that St. Luke and others were eye-witnesses. But in St. Luke's case it is not consistent with the fact, and there is no necessity in the original to render otherwise than thus: "even as they who from the beginning were eye-witnesses, &c." Erasmus thus paraphrases: "I dooe wryte such thynges, not as I have seen them myself, but as I have learned of others." (Ed. 1548, by Whitchurche.) Cave, in his "Lives of the Apostles," (St. Luke,) says "that although Epiphanius and others thought St. Luke was one of the seventy disciples . . . he himself plainly confesses that he was *not* from the beginning an eye-witness," &c.

2 Tim. ii. 6. "The husbandman that laboureth must be first partaker of the fruits." The marginal reading is: "The husbandman, labouring first, must be partaker of the fruits." It is not apparent why this was not preferred to the one in the text, which is an instance of a υστερον προτερον. The Genevan text had: "The husbandman must first by labouring receive the fruits." This is plain enough, though not according to the Greek *ordo*. Πρωτον should probably be taken as an adverb, and thus will mean, "must labour *before* he can be partaker," &c.

Id. iv. 2. "After their own lusts shall they heap to themselves teachers, having itching ears." The comma after *teachers*, is no doubt intended to denote that it is *not* the teachers who have itching ears; but this is manifestly insufficient; and those who *listen* to the passage would naturally suppose that these were meant. To clear the passage from so absurd a sense it would only be necessary to place the words thus: "After their own lusts having itching ears, they heap to themselves teachers," &c.

Titus ii. 11. "For the grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men." The marginal reading seems to us much more appropriate, and agreeable to fact: "that bringeth salvation to all men hath appeared."

Id. iii. 4, 5. "But after that the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared," &c. The whole verse will read much more intelligibly by placing the words in a different order. "But the kindness and love of God our Saviour toward man appeared after that he saved us, according to his mercy, not by works of righteousness which we have done, but by the washing of regeneration," &c.

2 Pet. i. 19. "We have also a more sure word of prophecy," &c. How, it has been asked, can any prophecy be more sure than the fact that St. Peter had witnessed, viz. of the transfiguration, to which he has just been referring? The rendering of Œcumenius is no doubt the correct one: "We have this prophetic word more sure," or firm, *i. e.* the prophetic word is confirmed by the fact referred to. The earlier translations avoided this incorrectness by rendering, "We have also a right sure word of prophecy," or, as in the Genevan, "most sure word," &c.

Two instances more of the same kind may be added; the first from Macknight, the second from Bishop Hinds:—

Heb. ii. 9. This passage might seem, says M., "to represent Jesus as crowned with glory and honour, that he might taste death for every man." Therefore the translation should be arranged more in conformity with the usages of our own tongue, and be thus given: "But we see Jesus, who was made a little lower than the angels, that by the grace of God he might taste death for every man, crowned for the suffering of death with glory and honour." The translation might be improved, perhaps, by reading, instead of a *little lower*, a *short while*, or a *little while.*

1 Tim. vi. 5. "Supposing that gain is godliness" ought to be, "supposing that godliness is gain;" *i. e.* expecting to gain some worldly advantage by the profession of religion. This mis-rendering, says Bishop Hinds, is the more remarkable, because the words which follow would seem sufficient

of themselves to suggest the correction. "But godliness with contentment is great gain."

Less important instances, but still deserving of correction, are such as the two next:—

Acts iii. 2. "Whom they laid daily at the gate of the temple which is called Beautiful," &c. Few readers would discern, from this order of the words, which is called "Beautiful," the temple or the gate; it might rather seem the former, but such is not the case. Of course the order of the words should have been therefore, "Whom they laid daily at the gate called the Beautiful one, of the temple."

2 Cor. xi. 33. "And through a window, in a basket, was I let down." Although the comma after *window,* may be thought sufficient to point out the precise sense in this case, yet it would have been much better, by a slight inversion, to read, "and through a window was I let down in a basket," &c.

V. *Instances of too close an adherence to the Hebraisms of the original.*

Heb. iv. 3. "As I have sworn in my wrath, *if they* shall enter into my rest:" also, verse 5, without the first clause. The English reader has here to learn that these words, marked in italics, are a strong form of negation in which the Greek has copied the Hebrew idiom. Ει, is here used as the equivalent of אם, which we should render correctly by, *certainly not.* The full form may be found in 1 Sam. iii. 17, and elsewhere. In Heb. iii. 11, the correct rendering is given of the Greek, ει εισελευσονται; so that it is the more strange we miss it in verses 3 and 5. But the Genevan and Bishops' Bible were followed here. Tyndal and Cranmer's had as in chap. iii., just noticed.

Heb. vi. 14. "Surely *blessing* I will bless thee, and multiplying I will multiply thee." We might naturally suppose that this was merely a strong mode of asseveration. But this would not be the full idea of the original, for this is the Hebrew mode of expressing the superlative degree. To have been consistent, the translation of Gen. ii. 17, should have been, not, "thou shalt surely die;" but, "dying thou shalt die," as in the margin. The sense here is, as Stuart renders: "I will greatly bless thee and exceedingly multiply thee;" and the Genevan version has, "Surely I will most abundantly bless thee and multiply thee above measure."

VI. *Instances of the adoption of words into the English version of Latin or Greek derivation, which are no longer used in their original sense or idiom.*

John i. 15. "He that cometh after me is *preferred* before me: for he was before me." The word *prefer* is not used now in the sense it bears in this text, which is that of a superior in time, or dignity. Whitby says, he can find no instance of such a sense in Greek writers, as is here given to the words, εμπροσθεν μου γεγονεν οτι πρωτος μου ην. The present reading came from the Bishops' Bible. Cranmer's had: "This was he of whom I spake, which, though he came after me, went before me, for he was before me." The genuine sense seems to be: "He that cometh after me, has existed before me, for he was my chief."

Id. viii. 46. "Which of you *convinceth* me of sin?" In chap. xvi. 8, he will *reprove,* with the marginal reading, *convince* here, as Bishop Hinds observes, the sense is to convict, from the Latin root vinco, and thence convincere—a sense we find in Shakspeare.

> "His two chamberlains
> Will I with wine and wassail so *convince.*"—Macbeth, Act i. sc. 7.

Acts xxviii. 2; Rom. i. 14. "Barbarian." Here the word follows the Greek idea of persons who were not Greeks, or speaking a different language. See 1 Cor. xiv. 11. A general word, such as foreigner, or stranger, would have been the proper equivalent, instead of a word which now denotes a person of uncivilized manners.

Rom. xi. 32. "For God hath *concluded* them all in unbelief." The marginal reading is *shut up,*—the sense of the Latin verb, concludo. In Gal. iii. 22, "Hath concluded all under sin," without the marginal reading. Our present sense of *conclude* is quite different to this. The Bishops' Bible, and previous ones, have, in the first of these passages, "*wrapped* up all nations," &c.

Phil. iii. 12, 13. "*Apprehended.*" Here the verb *apprehend* is employed in the Latin sense, *apprehendere;* which we only use in the signification of apprehending a criminal. But St. Paul describes himself as running a race, like that of the Athletes in the Grecian games; and the meaning, it can scarcely be doubted, is, that which Macknight has given to the passage: "I do not reckon myself to have laid hold of the prize;"—and in the former verse, "that I may lay hold on that for which I was laid hold on by Christ Jesus."

1 Thess. iv. 15. "Shall not *prevent* them which are asleep."

So also Matt. xvii. 25. "Jesus *prevented* him." Here the sense is plainly "to anticipate, to be beforehand with one." But the common meaning of these words, in the present day, would be to *hinder*.

VII. *Instances of words used in our present version in a sense in which they are no longer understood.*

Phil. iii. 20. "Our *conversation* is in heaven." Here the Greek word being *πολιτευμα*, citizenship, a striking idea is entirely lost sight of, and a vague, common-place word substituted in the room of it. But this is in conformity with our previous versions, except Wiclif's, which had "*lyvyng*." This, or "mode of living," or "conduct," was what was formerly meant by *conversation*, though the word is now chiefly restricted to *verbal* intercourse. But it was applied also to other words, *ανάστροφη* and *τροπος*. See, for the former, 1 Pet. i. 15; Gal. i. 13; Ephes. iv. 22: for the latter, Heb. xiii. 5. Beza, and others, render Phil. iii. 20, by *citizenship*. If St. Paul had meant nothing more than *manner of life*, he would probably have used one of the two other words we have referred to.

Rom. viii. 13. "If ye through the Spirit do *mortify* the deeds of the body, ye shall live." Coloss. iii. 5. "*Mortify* therefore your members," &c. The sense of the apostle here, is evidently that of *putting to death*, or, figuratively, *killing*. So Wicklif has it: "If ye bi spirit sleen the dedes of youre fleisch."

To these we add an instance, which Bishop Hinds has noticed, of the peculiar use of the word *will*, in the sense of *wish*, *desire*, and *to will*. Thus, John vii. 17: "If any man *will* do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God." One, not acquainted with the original, naturally understands *will*, as in other passages, to be the sign of the future tense; but in this case it is meant: "That we must study the teaching with the wish and intent to do whatever shall appear to be God's will." Luke ix. 24, is a still more remarkable instance. (See p. 20, of the work already referred to.)

VIII. *Instances of words now become quite obsolete, or antiquated in their use.*

Matt. vii. 13. "*Strait* gate," for narrow or difficult; not, as might be supposed, in opposition to crooked.

Id. xi. 19. "A friend of *publicans* and sinners." Publican meant here, taxgatherer, but now has quite a different sense.

Luke i. 7. "Well stricken in years," for "of advanced age."

Id. xiv. 7. "Chief rooms," for "the highest places."

Id. xiv. 10. "Worship," for "*honour* or respect."

Acts xxi. 1. "After we had *gotten* from them," for "*departed.*"

Id. xxi. 15. "We took up our *carriages*," meaning our *burdens* or baggage. See a former passage noticed in the "Old Testament," 1 Sam. xvii. 22.

2 Cor. viii. 1. "We *do you to wit* of the grace of God," for "we would have *you to know*," &c.

2 Thess. ii. 7. "He who now letteth will let," *i. e. hinder.*

Heb. x. 29. "Done *despite*," for "treated contemptuously or despised."

IX. *Instances of incorrect wording in relation to particular facts or things.*

Acts xvii. 22. "In all things ye are too *superstitious.*" St. Paul is here made to bring an accusation; but his words, rightly understood, are rather a compliment. The critics of modern times are supported by the ancient ones, in rendering δεισιδαιμονεστερους, in a good sense. Literally it signifies, "very much addicted to the worship of divinities;" or as we should say *very religious.* Beza thus renders "religiosiores." Our rendering "*too* superstitious," is otherwise objectionable, as it might seem to imply that *some* superstition was excusable.

Id. xvii. 23. "Whom therefore ye *ignorantly* worship." *Unknowingly*, or unconsciously, is clearly what the apostle meant, referring to the altar of the Unknown God, and connecting thus αγνωστω, with αγνοουντες. But the word, "ignorantly," could never have been addressed in such a sense to the philosophers of Athens, by an apostle "who became all things to all men, that by all means he might save some."

1 Cor. xi. 29. "Eateth and drinketh *damnation* to himself." The original word κριμα by no means warrants the idea of punishment in a future life, to which the word here used ought to be restricted, if used at all. The context, ver. 30, does not suppose it. The word "damnation," used here and elsewhere, it can scarcely be doubted,—as it conveys something not intended by the apostle,—would be advantageously supplanted by the more moderate and correct word, *condemnation*, which is, indeed, introduced in this same chapter, at

verse 34, as its substitute. This must therefore be considered as an example of over-statement of a fact by the use of a certain word. So also Rom. xiv. 23. "He that doubteth is damned if he eat;" which may be classed in the list of still more objectionable passages.

1 Cor. xi. 29. "Not *discerning* the Lord's body." Our present sense of discerning is *seeing*, or perceiving. But this, the Greek word, *διακρινων*, never bears. St. Chrysostom interprets, "not investigating, not considering, as is necessary, the greatness of the things set forth, not weighing the magnitude of the gift." All the older versions in English had, as the Bishops' Bible, "he maketh no difference of the Lord's body." Whether the translation of 1611 was intended to sanction a doctrine or not, certain it is, that it was first introduced by the Rhemish Bible of 1582. Perhaps a comparison of passages will lead to the belief, that *discerning* was used in our Bible, in the sense of the Latin *discerno*, at least in several instances. See 1 Cor. xii. 10, and other parallel passages.

Luke ii. 1. "That *all the world* should be taxed." Οικουμενη is here given with an overstrained meaning. The word may be intended to mean the whole empire; but the Romans, or their empire, did not include *the whole* world, except in a loose conversational sense.

Ib. ii. 2. "And this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria." Great objections have been offered as to the truth of the fact thus stated; which cannot be discussed here. It may suffice to observe that απογραφη means rather an *enrolment* of names, than *a taxing*. Historic facts necessitate a different rendering. Dr. Campbell's, perhaps, is the best. "This *first* census was made when Cyrenius," &c. Others render: "This enrolment was made before Cyrenius," &c.

Ib. xxiii. 44. "There was a darkness over all *the earth*." We need not suppose this darkness was beyond Palestine, and therefore *land* would be a far preferable word.

John vi. 7. "Two hundred pennyworth of bread," &c. Matt. xx. 2. "A penny a-day:" Luke x. 35. "Twopence:" Rev. vi. 6. "A measure of wheat for a penny." As the value of our penny is only about one-eighth of the scriptural coin,—the Greek drachma, or the Roman "denarius,"—which was the equivalent to the ordinary wages of a day's service, it is evident that by the retaining of such words, an insufficient idea is conveyed of the facts referred to.

2 Tim. i. 10. "Who hath abolished death." It can scarcely be regarded as a fact that Christ hath abolished death. One of the meanings assigned to the verb *καταργεω*, is that of conquering and overcoming, which seems to be the sense here.

X. *Instances of lowering the force, beauty, or dignity of the original by inadequate phraseology in the translation.*

1 Cor. i. 2. "Foolishness of preaching," should be "foolishness of the thing preached." This, Bishop Hinds observes, "is an instance of mis-translation, from overlooking the distinction of meaning between two different forms of the same word in the original language."—p. 38.

2 Cor. ii. 15, 16. These verses convey but a very obscure idea, to the mind of the general reader, of the apostle's meaning. Macknight renders thus: "For we are, through God, a fragrant smell of Christ among the saved and among the destroyed. To these, indeed, we are the smell of death, ending in death; but to the others the smell of life, ending in life." In this and in the preceding verse St. Paul describes a Roman triumph, in which flowers and incense were the usual accompaniments, and betokened approaching death to the captives. See his notes on the passage.

Ib. ii. 17. "As many which *corrupt* the word of God." The original word here employed is a remarkable one, *καπηλευοντες*; and, as M. observes, alludes no doubt to the practice of tavern-keepers *adulterating* their wine with water. See Isa. i. 22, and the Septuagint version of that passage. The force of the metaphor is lost sight of in the present rendering.

Ephes. iv. 15. "Speaking the truth in love." Αληθευοντες must mean rather, acting the truth, or being true; the idea of *speaking* is a gloss upon the passage. The Bishops' Bible has: "following truth," &c.; so the Genevan; and Beza has, "sincere nos gerentes in charitate;" so that the present substitutes a part for the whole of a Christian duty.

Phil. iii. 21. "Our vile body;" literally, "the body of our humiliation," which seems a much more expressive phrase.

Colos. ii. 15. "Having *spoiled* principalities and powers." The original is more significant: "having *stripped* principalities and powers of their glory," &c.

1 Tim. iv. 2. "Having their conscience seared with *a hot iron*." There is nothing in the Greek which properly corresponds with the words we have marked in italics. The

verb which is the original of our word *cauterized*, if translated by the verb used in the text, should have avoided an addition which gives the metaphor a grotesque form in reference to the conscience. The older versions, from which this verse was derived, show in this, and in some other instances, a want of right perception as to the use of metaphorical language. Thus, also, in Coloss. iv. 6, " Let your speech be always with grace seasoned with salt," as we now read it; they had, "*powdered* with salt." The Rheims Bible is the only one which rendered the above text in Timothy correctly but simply, " having their conscience seared."

Titus iii. 4. " The kindness and love of God our Saviour towards man *appeared*." Επεφανε, that is shone forth; an idea scarcely perceptible in the word *appeared*.

Heb. xiii. 5. The emphatic force of the original here, *ου μη σε ανω, ουδ᾽ ου μη σε εγκαλιπω*, is scarcely given in the present reading, " I will never leave thee, nor forsake thee." Macknight has it, " I will never leave, neither will I utterly forsake thee." But we should propose: " I will never leave thee—no, nor ever forsake thee."

Rev. iv. 9. " When those *beasts* give glory and honour," &c. The word beasts is here applied to some of the highest beings of the celestial hierachy—the cherubim, and it is certainly a most derogatory one, as well as quite indefensible, the word *ζωα* implying merely " living creatures," which ought to have been so rendered; and the same beings are thus described in the English version of Ezek. i. 5. Plato uses the word in reference to a rational creature, as Blackwell has observed in his " Sacred Classics Defended," and quotes the Phædo, and Timæus. In the last passage it is applied to God himself. See vol. ii. p. 132, note. This very improper rendering, as Blackwell terms it, no doubt came from the Vulgate, which has *animalia*, and was followed in all the earlier translations, from Wicklif downward; showing, as we cannot but think, a grossness of ideas which is altogether incompatible with such a subject.

1 Pet. ii. 2. " As new-born babes, desire the sincere milk of the word," &c. To give the passage its proper emphasis, it should be: " As new born babes, *desire ye earnestly* the pure milk of the word," &c.

James i. 12. " When he is tried," rather, " an approved person after trial," literally, " become an approved person."

XI. *Instances of words in the New Testament version, objectionable for their triviality, according to modern usage.*

Rom. xvi. 19. "*Simple* concerning evil;" which would now mean a silly person. Ακεραιος is rendered, in Matt. x. 16, "harmless," and the same sense is implied here.

Phil. i. 8. "Bowels of Jesus Christ," for tender sympathies. See Luke i. 78, where the same word, σπλαγχνα, is translated "*tender mercy,*" though it has there the addition of ελεους.

Heb xi. 23. "A *proper* child," (applied to Moses,) instead of the word "*beautiful.*" In Acts vii. 20, it is rendered "exceeding fair."

Id. viii. 2. "The true tabernacle which the Lord *pitched,*" instead of constructed, or fixed; much better words for the purpose.

Id. xii. 16. "One morsel of meat," rather "one meal," αντι βρωσεως μιας.

James i. 21. "Superfluity of naughtiness," for maliciousness, or malicious excesses.

1 John i. 3. "Our *fellowship* is with the Father." 1 Cor. i. 9. "*Fellowship* of his Son Jesus Christ our Lord." Unquestionably for this we ought to substitute the more becoming word, "*communion,*" as the translation has done in 2 Cor. xiii. 14, though retaining it as above by a strange inconsistency.

Rev. ii. 23. "I am He who searcheth the reins and the hearts." A Hebraistic mode of speaking, which would be more fitly rendered: "the inward feelings and dispositions."

XII. *Instances of the translation, as it now reads, apparently giving countenance to erroneous opinions.*

Acts viii. 9. "Simon . . . . used *sorcery* and *bewitched* the people of Samaria." So also verse 11. The vulgar doctrine of witchcraft, in all probability, has derived support from this and similarly rendered passages. But it should be observed, that the same verb is used respecting Saul after his conversion, chap. ix. 21, "All the people that heard him were *amazed,*"—εξισταντο; and of Simon himself, in this same chapter (verse 13). There is nothing, therefore, to sanction the idea of Simon's having been *a witch,* in our sense of the term, but only that "he astonished the people with magical arts." In Gal. iii. 1, we have the same error repeated, only that there the apostle uses the word εβασκανε, which properly means *fascinated;* and the word φαρμακεια in chap. v. 20, is again rendered *witchcraft,* though it means nothing more than drugs or potions used among the heathens for some purpose, either noxious or salutary, but connected with unhallowed practices, not necessarily, however, involving anything like modern ideas of *witchcraft.*

2 Cor. xii. 16. "Nevertheless, being crafty, I caught you with guile." From the words of St. Paul, as they thus stand, it might be possible to argue (as no doubt some have argued) that *religious frauds* are defensible. Looking, however, at the particle αλλ', rendered *nevertheless,* and connecting it with the sense of the following verse, "Did I make a gain of you?" and with what precedes, it may reasonably be determined, that the apostle is here merely stating a calumny of his enemies. Hence if we render "*they say,* being crafty, I caught you with guile," we have a good sense consistent with the apostle's argument, which loses its force if these words are his own. The Bishops' Bible has a note in the margin confirming this view of the subject,—"Thus said his adversaries."

2 Tim. ii. 26. "That they may recover themselves from the snare of the devil, who *are taken captive* by him *at his will.*" As it can scarcely be believed to be a doctrine of Scripture that Satan's power is so absolute as it is here represented, there is reason to question the validity of such an interpretation; and no fresh version of the Scriptures would, we are persuaded, allow the passage to present this distorted view of the words of St. Paul. As the text is one of some difficulty we must refer to Macknight and other commentators, only remarking, that if εκεινου refers to the same person as αυτου, (of which there may be a reasonable doubt), a slightly modified rendering of one clause would remove the most objectionable part of the sentence, which could be read thus: "*who have been* led captive by him according to his will," viz. the heathen, or those who had before lapsed again into Judaism.

Coloss. i. 15. "The *first-born* of every creature." Πρωτοτοκος πασης κτισεως. The rendering here might lend a handle to the Arian theory, inasmuch as it seems to imply that Christ was *also* a creature; whereas the original means the *first-born,* or first-begotten, of the whole creation; *i. e.* "born or begotten before all creation." In this sense the passage corresponds with the Athanasian creed. Anciently the first-born was entitled to possess his father's estate. See

2 Chron. xxi. 3; Gen. xxvii. 37; Gal. iv. 1; Heb. i. 3; and it is probably to this heirship and lordship that the apostle refers.

XIII. *Instances of confused or ambiguous renderings; and in which no attempt is made to relieve the obscurity of the original, where this might have been possible.*

Acts vii. 45. "Which also our father that came after brought in with Jesus into the possession of the Gentiles." The word *Jesus* here read in the Greek, instead of *Joshua*, though evidently no other person is meant, may at first sight render the text somewhat obscure; and the last words, "*into the possession of the Gentiles*," instead of "into the country possessed by the Gentiles," by a metonymy, makes the passage still less intelligible. The difficulty might have been, therefore, removed by rendering the whole thus: "which tabernacle, when our fathers had received, they also, with the help of Joshua, brought into the country hitherto possessed by the Gentiles."

1 Cor. xv. 31. "I protest, by *your rejoicing* which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily." It is by no means obvious, according to this statement, what St. Paul means. He seems to make a strong asseveration, by the joy which *the Corinthians themselves* felt, of his dying daily; and the connexion between these two things is not apparent. Instead of "your *rejoicing*," Macknight renders "*boasting*." Beza paraphrases thus: "Quotidie morior, ejusque rei testes appello omnes ærumnas quas vere gloriari possum me apud vos sustinuisse." The words in the original, νη την υμετεραν, καυχησιν, are elliptical, and can only be understood by being rendered "the glorying I have on your account;" for "your glorying," is, unless we adopt the reading of the Codex Alexandrinus and other MSS., ημετεραν—"*our* glorying."

2 Cor. xi. 19. "Ye suffer fools gladly, seeing ye yourselves are wise." This is a piece of delicate irony on the part of the apostle, scarcely perceptible in the present mode of rendering, though it is literal enough. But the concise nature of this Greek sentence should be more copiously expressed in English by some such rendering as this: "For ye bear with foolish people pleasantly, when ye esteem yourselves to be wise persons."

XIV. *Defects in the translation from the clashing of words.*

2 Cor. ix. 5. "And make up *beforehand* your bounty, whereof ye had notice *before*." The words "*beforehand*," and "*be-*

fore," coming so near together, jar unpleasantly on the ear, and confuse the meaning. Of this defect, which is one occurring frequently, the translators seem scarcely to have been sensible. Macknight renders with propriety: "and complete beforehand your formerly announced gift."

1 Thess. ii. 2. "But even after that we had suffered before." There is nothing in the Greek to require the use of the word "*after*." Αλλα προπαθοντες, may be rendered, "But having suffered before," or, "although we had suffered before," &c.

Heb. ix. 11. "Christ being *come* an high priest of good things to come." The jingling of the words *come,* and *to come,* is here unpleasant, and might easily have been avoided had the Bishops' Bible been followed,—"A high-priest of good things that should be;" *i. e.* of good things future.

Id. x. 8, 9. "Above when he *said,*" &c. "then *said* he." It would have sounded better to have rendered, "having said," in the above passage—"sacrifice," &c.; "he then declares." The quotations here, and in the two preceding verses, might be made to read more clearly, by supplying the word *Christ* in verse 5, "Wherefore, when Christ cometh unto the world, he saith, Sacrifice and offering," &c. And in verse 9, "Then he spake, Lo I come," &c. The repetition of the same words is avoided in the Greek. In verse 5, λεγει is used; in verse 7, ειπον; in verse 9, ειρηκεν. The English language is capable of no less variety if skilfully sought for and applied.

Id. x. 15, 16. "For *after* that he had said before, This is the covenant that I will make with them *after* those days." The use of the word "*after*" here, in the sense of *according to,* (in the first clause,) produces a strange confusion in this text. This obsolete use of the word *after* occurs, Gal. iv. 23, "after the flesh," and elsewhere; and so we find it used in Shakspere, in King Lear,—

> "Frame the business after your own wisdom."

The earlier translations—Cranmer's Bible and Genevan—had, "for the Holy Ghost beareth us record, *even where he told before.*" But the Bishops' Bible had, "after when he told before." This, however, appears to make no sense of the passage; and the only sense which can be affixed to it is that given above, though obsolete. Macknight has rendered, "according indeed to what was before mentioned." We may understand the preposition μετα to mean, "*in agreement with;*" *i. e.*, what was before stated.

XV. *Defects arising from apparent tautologies, not however found in the original.*

Phil. iv. 8. "Whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just." It is not easy to see the difference between things *honest* and *just*. But the word corresponding to the former of these terms is σεμνα, which means rather things *venerable*—an important difference.

Coloss. iii. 7. "In the which ye also walked sometime, when ye lived in them." By rendering, "in which vices ye also walked when ye lived among such *persons*," this tautology is got rid of.

2 Thes. ii. 2. "Be not soon shaken in mind, or troubled." The original is free from the defect here observable. Μη σαλευθηναι απο του νοος. Beza has rendered the whole sentence: "Ne cito a mente dimovemini;" and the Vulgate is: "Non cito moveamini a vestro sensu." The Bishops' Bible had, very properly: "That ye be not moved from your mind." By mind is here meant, no doubt, purpose, or steadfastness.

Heb. i. 7. "Who maketh his angels spirits," &c. The distinction between angels and spirits, as to office, is not apparent. The translation here follows the Vulgate. But the side-note to the Bishops' Bible is, "He compareth the angels to the winds, which are his messengers." Stuart's rendering is good and just: "Who maketh his angels winds, and his servants lightning;" thus the tautology quite disappears.

2 Pet. i. 8. "Neither barren nor unfruitful." The similarity between the two adjectives in this place does not exist in the Greek. The marginal reading of αργους is "idle," which is also in accordance with all the earlier translations of the Bible; and so Beza, who has *inertes*.

XVI. *Instances of expressions used in our translation stronger than the original warrants.*

2 Tim. iv. 14. "The Lord reward him according to his works." The Alexandrine MS., and another of Stephens, with the Vulgate and Syriac, and several of the principal fathers, read αποδωσει, *i. e.* in the future prophetic sense, which seems more in agreement with the apostolical spirit.

2 Cor. xi. 1. "Would *to God* ye could bear with me." The introduction of the divine name unnecessarily in any case, and here especially, is a bad precedent, for it is not warranted by the sense of οφελον, which might be rendered, "I earnestly wish, or as the Vulgate has it, *utinam*, "O

that!" But in this the present version follows the former ones; and there is too much reason to fear that the divine name was too commonly used formerly, even by pious men, at times when it was unnecessary, and this without a due sense of its impropriety, or of its being, as it truly is in all such cases, a violation of the third commandment.

2 Cor. xiii. 5. "Christ is in you, except ye be *reprobates*." Αδοκιμοι. The sense of this word is "unapproved on trial," or "without proof;" which must be admitted to be a very different one to that of *reprobates*. "Christ is in ye unless, perhaps, ye be without proof of miraculous powers,"—which seems to be the only meaning of the passage that can be safely admitted; but in the strongest sense the passage could bear, it would only mean by αδοκιμοι, counterfeits—base coin; for the injunction in verse 5, "Prove your own selves," is a metaphor, taken from trying metals by some test, or standard, of purity.

Rom. ix. 3. "I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ for my brethren." Parkhurst, Wolfius, Wetstein and others, understand St. Paul's wish in the sense of an expiatory sacrifice, and to be a similar one to that of Moses: Exodus xxxii. 33. The word "accursed" can in this place scarcely be understood to refer beyond the present life; and although the form of expression seems a very strong one, it should not be made to appear stronger than it is, by the introduction of a word which, in our language, and under the present dispensation, is supposed generally to refer to a future state. Upon the whole, therefore, it would have been wiser to have left the word, thus rendered *accursed*, in its original form of ambiguity, as has been done in 1 Cor. xvi. 22.

Id. v. 7. "For scarcely for a *righteous* man will one die: yet peradventure for a *good* man some would even dare to die." Without some kind of alteration in this translation this text seems quite inexplicable. It contains an argument which even looks somewhat overwrought, even if we substitute for the word *good*, beneficent; and it appears to us that the genuine sense of the passage has been retained in the Syriac version only, in this instance, which reads in the first clause, αδίκου, instead of δικαιου, which Grotius adopts as the true reading.

1 Tim. vi. 6. "Godliness with *contentment* is great gain." However true this sentiment may be in itself, it appears to be more than the apostle intended to state; for the Greek word, αυταρκεια, means rather, "a *sufficiency*" than content-

ment. The only other place where it occurs is 1 Cor. ix. 8; and there it has unquestionably this former sense. So also the Vulgate reads it; and many commentators, Diodati, Macknight, and others, follow this, which harmonizes best with the apostle's argument.

XVII. *Instances of the neglect of the Greek article, as a defect in the present translation.*

The following instances are from Bishop Hinds' work, which we have already referred to :—

1 Cor. x. 5. "With *many* of them God was not well pleased." It should be "*the greater number*."

Id. x. 17. "We, being *many*, are one bread *and* one body." The supplementary *and* should be omitted. The sense is more exact and forcible if we say: "We are *collectively* one *bread*—one *body*;" that is, *one* according to the union which is represented under these images.

1 Cor. x. 33. "The profit of *many*,"—"of all besides himself," as in Romans v. 15, 19.

2 Cor. ii. 6. "Inflicted of *many* :" *υπο των πλειονων*—"the majority."

Id. i. 15. "Through the thanksgiving of *many*:" *δια των πλειονων την ευχαριστιαν*—"the *increasing number*." The passage, with a change of punctuation, may be translated thus: "That grace, increasing with the increase in the number of those who give thanks, may abound to the glory of God."

1 Pet. v. 4. "A crown of glory that fadeth not away," "*the* crown of glory," &c.

1 Cor. iv. 5. "And then shall every man have praise of God," "And then shall every man have of God the praise that is his:" *ὁπαινος—εκαστω*.

XVIII. *Defective rendering of the prepositions.*

Rom. xi. 36. "Of Him, and through Him, and *to* Him, are all things." Εις, here rendered "*to*," would be more appropriately translated "*for* him;" *i. e.* evidently for his glory.

Heb. xii. 1. "*With* patience;" rather "*by* patience." The latter is the *means* more than the *assistant*.

1 Tim. iv. 16. "May appear *to all*;" *εν πασι*, *i. e.* in all things. So the Bishops' Bible and the marginal reading.

1 Thess. iv. 16. "*With* a shout," for "*in* a shout," that is, the midst of a shout; *i. e.* while the shout is taking place.

Ephes. vi. 16. "*Above* all, taking the shield of faith;"

more properly "*over* all"—επι πασιν; and not "*more* than all," as the present reading seems to imply. See also Coloss. iii. 14. In each of these passages, Schleusner renders ***besides.***

XIX. *Instances of marginal readings which ought to have been substituted for those in the text of the English version.*

In addition to those which have been already noticed in our list, we may point to the following, which are particularly deserving of notice:—

Matt. xxviii. 19. "*Teach* all nations, baptizing them," &c. The margin of our Bibles has here, "make disciples, or Christians, of all nations." "There is no one, I suppose," says Bishop Hinds, "who is acquainted with Scripture, who would not substitute, 'make disciples,' for 'teach.'" One obvious defect of the present version in this passage as now rendered is, that there is no distinction made between the words of the original, μαθητευσατε and διδασκοντες; though the first refers to the initiatory step to baptism, the second to what follows baptism. A handle is thus afforded to those who suppose that teaching must always necessarily precede baptism. But here the order pointed out in the original is thus overlooked.

Heb. ii. 16. "He took not on Him *the nature* of angels, but he took on Him the seed of Abraham." The ellipsis here intimated in the italics, is much too great to be safely admitted. The margin follows the reading of the Vulgate: "He taketh not hold of angels, but of the seed of Abraham." This, it should be observed, agrees also with the Bishops' Bible, and the previous translations.

Heb. iv. 8. "For if *Jesus* had given them rest," &c. The margin has Joshua; and there seems no reason why, as the writer evidently meant to refer to the Jewish warrior, his name, which signifies the same, should not have been placed in the text.

We have now presented our readers with a list of about two hundred texts needing correction in a greater or less degree. Had space permitted we might easily have multiplied them at least fourfold. We think, if such passages be dispassionately considered, no one will dispute our position, that they do not accurately represent the sense of the original, and that some improvement in their phraseology is needed in the age in which we live. There is one class of mistakes we have not yet adverted to, and this because of their exceeding scarcity. We mean typographical ones. And this is the more worthy of note in our modern Bibles, as it was no unusual thing, at one period, to meet with errors of a very flagrant nature in this department;* and this in the same century in which the present translation issued from the press. D'Israeli, in his "Curiosities of Literature," has a chapter entitled, "The Pearl Bibles, and six thousand errata;" and as what he describes would very probably be acted over again, if the printing of our Bibles were not regulated and guarded by peculiar privileges and peculiar responsibilities, we shall here quote some part of this curious and suggestive chapter :—

> "These errata were, in great part, voluntary ommissions, passages interpolated, and meanings forged for certain purposes; sometimes to sanction the new creed of a half-hatched sect, and sometimes with an intention to destroy all Scripture by a confusion, or an omision of text, &c. They had also a project of printing Bibles as cheaply, and in a form as contracted, as they possibly could, for the common people.
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> This extraordinary attempt on the English Bible began even before Charles the First's dethronement, and probably arose from an unusual demand for Bibles, as the sectarian fanaticism was increasing. Printing of English Bibles was an article of open trade: every one printed at the lowest price, and as fast as their presses could allow. Even those who were dignified as 'His Majesty's printers', were among these manufacturers; for we have an account of a scandalous omission by them of the important negative of the seventh commandment! The printers were summoned before the Court of High Commission, and this *not*, served to bind them in a fine of three thousand pounds! A prior circumstance, indeed, had occurred, which induced the government to be more vigilant on the biblical press. The learned Usher, one day hastening to preach at St. Paul's Cross, entered the shop of one of the stationers, as booksellers were then called, and inquiring for a Bible of the London edition, to his astonishment and horror, he discovered that the verse was omitted in the Bible! This gave occasion of a complaint to the king, of the insufferable negligence and incapacity of the London press; and, says the manuscript

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* In the editions of Cranmer's Bible, of the years 1540 and 1541, there was a very remarkable typographical mistake. In Psalm lxviii. the word Jah was printed *yee* in the former of these, and *yea* in the latter. It is remarkable that this mistake did not appear in the first edition of 1539, nor in the edition of the year 1540 in April, but it appears in the edition of the same year printed in July, and has a comma before *yee;* so that it was not intended, as some writers have stated (see Lewis), to mean, "Praise him in his name Jah," but, "Praise him in his name, *yea*," &c.

writer of this anecdote, first bred that great contest which followed between the University of Cambridge and the London stationers about the printing of Bibles.

Field printed, in 1653, what was called the 'Pearl Bible;' alluding, I suppose, to that diminutive type in printing, for it could not derive its name from its worth. It is a twenty-fours. This 'Pearl Bible,' which may be inspected among the great collection of our English Bibles at the British Museum, is set off by many notable *errata*, of which these are noticed:—

Rom. vi. 13. 'Neither yield ye your members as instruments of *righteousness* unto sin,' for *unrighteousness.*

1 Cor. vi. 9. "Know ye not that the unrighteous shall inherit the kingdom of God,' for *shall not inherit.*

This Field was a great forger; and it is said that he received a present of £1500 from the Independents, to corrupt a text in Acts vi. 3, to sanction the right of the people to appoint their own pastors. The corruption was the easiest possible; it was only to put a *ye* instead of *we;* so that the right, in Field's Bible, emanated from the people, not from the apostles.

In other Bibles by Hills and Field, we may find abundant errata, reducing the text to nonsense or blasphemy, making the Scriptures contemptible to the multitude. It is affirmed that one Bible swarmed with six thousand faults. Sterne, a solid scholar, was the first who summed up three thousand and six hundred faults that were in our printed Bibles of London. Perhaps this is the first time so remarkable an incident in the history of literature has been chronicled."

We have great reason to be thankful, that as long as the present regulations of the State exist, the purity of the typographical text of the authorized version is likely to be maintained, and that it exhibits so remarkable a contrast to what is here described of Bible printing in the seventeenth century. It is the more remarkable, therefore, that in the last press revision of the Bible by Dr. Blayney, in 1767, when the orthography, italics, and other matters connected with the translation of 1611, were largely scrutinized and rectified, there was one erratum, at least, of this kind, which from some cause or other was still permitted to disfigure the sacred pages. At Matt. xxiii. 24, we read, "Ye blind guides, which *strain at* a gnat, and swallow a camel."

It is recorded of the learned Selden, that he used sometimes to amuse himself in the Assembly of Divines, when some of them pulled out their little pocket Bibles with gilt edges, to cite a particular text. "Perhaps," he would say, "it may be so in your Bible; but in my little Greek or Hebrew one which I have in my hand also, the text means very differently." If we had a Selden now among us, many of those who quote certain parts of the English Scriptures with much complacency, would be as much astonished as some of that Assembly were, to be told, that what they were quoting was not Scripture at all, but the words of some erring mortal like themselves; and in the present case they would discover, that a phrase which has passed current for nearly two centuries and a half, and been bandied about from mouth to mouth as a seemingly expressive one, was all the while nothing better than counterfeit coin; for *διυλιζοντες* is incapable of any such meaning as *strain at,* and is one of those ridiculous and unhappy blunders into which printers are too apt to fall, and correctors of proof-sheets are not always sufficiently awake to detect. Thus it seems to have been in this instance, and this, notwithstanding that *all the former versions of the Bible had " strain* OUT." It is a remarkable instance, perhaps, of the force of habit, and of the readiness with which the ear accustoms itself to mistakes of any kind, that this plain and obvious error has been allowed to maintain its place in all the several editions of the text of 1611 that have undergone the revision of learned doctors, and their coadjutors. We should not wonder then, even if there were some persons still who would be sorry to see strain *at* give place to the genuine sense which it has so long usurped; and we shall be warned by such, perhaps, not to *strain at* too much nicety and perfection; and thus, it may be, that we shall be compelled much longer to content ourselves with accepting here, for the words of divine truth itself, what is in reality the offspring of a printer's error, and a reviser's carelessness.*

We are glad, however, to have it in our power to give weight to our own observations by some additional ones from the pen of one of the ablest of our bishops, who, in his volume entitled, " Scripture, and the Authorized Version of Scripture," (a work to which we have already more than once referred), has furnished some very excellent hints as to the defects of the existing translation. In reference to the antiquated words and phrases of this Bible, (of which he has drawn up a glossary at the end of his volume,) in remarking upon the large number of these he says,—

" I might name one hundred such—most of them, which are not altogether obsolete, (for in that case, although one might be at a loss indeed for the meaning, that would be all,) but which have *changed* their meaning, so that they now mean one thing in common use, and another in Scripture; continually leading those who are not aware of this, to suppose that God's word says what it does not say.* Above all, there are not a few mistakes in the translation. What mere human composition could be exempt from such errors? There are mistranslations. Surely our *first* duty in respect of God's word, as its ministers and dispensers, is to clear away, and to be for ever clearing away, these impediments which obstruct the view of the word itself, as seen through this medium by that great majority of persons who do not understand the original, and who cannot, therefore, do it for themselves. Surely this is one of the main purposes for which we are ordained ministers," &c.—p. 93.

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* Dr. Cotton, in his editions of the Bible, has pointed out a remarkable erratum in a Bible issued from the Clarendon Press in 1792, and in another Oxford Bible of 1711; the latter omits *not* in Isa. lvii. 12. The former has, in Luke xxii. 34, Philip printed instead of Peter. See pp. 82 and 107, 2nd edition.

Bishop Hinds has some further observations in regard to the distinction between the authorized version and the original Scriptures, which are very pertinent to the purpose of this article, and we shall therefore cite them:—

"There is, I suspect, some confusion of thought, when we speak thus of the authorized version, from our losing sight of the important distinction between a version authorized by our Church, and one authorized by the unreformed Church. Any translation of Scripture, whether vernacular or not, authorized by the Church of Rome, would, in accordance with the right assumed by that Church, be equivalent to Scripture itself. The same unquestionable authority which it asserts for its deductions from Scripture, and for its dogmas and doctrines, from whatever source derived, it asserts consistently, for that which it pronounces to be the true rendering of Scripture. This is nothing more or less than part of that Church's claim—a very unwarrantable claim to infallibility. We, on the other hand, are united for communion by certain articles of belief, which we believe, if we believe in accordance with the principle of our Church, not because the Church decides, but because we are satisfied of their agreement with Scripture, and the Scripture to which appeal is made is the *inspired* Word of God,—the original writings."—p. 104.

Several other important points connect themselves indispensably with a revision of our Bible, and to these we might have adverted, had not our limits already been exceeded. Due attention will no doubt be paid to them, if ever the work of further improvement be carried out as it ought to be. The valuable little volume, to which reference has just been made, directs attention to several of these. Under the headings of some of the sections we find the following. "Summaries prefixed to Chapters—Divisions of the Texts—Punctuation—Chapters and Verses—Divisions into Paragraphs—Parenthesis Marks." Under each of these will be found some brief, but important and appropriate remarks, suggestive of what is improveable in our present Bibles. In relation to one of these subjects—that upon which great stress has been laid by certain critics,—the necessity of dividing the Scriptures into paragraphs, instead of the present arrangement, it is well observed, that the paragraph sign (¶) not being familiar to ordinary readers, the effect is the same as if the sacred writings were not broken into paragraphs;—that this sign is only used as such in the four Gospels and the Acts, and to distinguish the subscriptions of the Epistles, which are no part of the original Scripture; and that, therefore, they should have been distinguished by some other mark; and that no one can doubt that the distribution of the whole New Testament into actual paragraphs would facilitate the right understanding of it. At the same time the Bishop observes, that "in the editions of the Bible already published with paragraphs, some of the advantage is lost through the rule which has been strictly adhered to, of making the beginning of a new chapter, the beginning of a new paragraph, whether agreeable or not, to the natural pause in the sense."—p. 68.

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* Among those enumerated by the Bishop, the following are some of the most remarkable, which we have not already noticed. "Accept, for recognise; bewray, for betray; assay, for attempt; contrariwise, for on the contrary; lawyer, for one learned in the Mosaic law; lively, for living; nephew, for grandson or lineal descendant; offered to be in one's way, for before; ordain, for arrange; rather, for on the contrary; saints, for Christians generally; trow, for think; wax, for grow; walk, for course of conduct; yea, for nay," &c.

To these excellent suggestions of a modern Bishop of the Church of England, as it respects the present state of our English Bible, and the proofs which are incidentally presented in his volume of its defectiveness in many particulars, from various causes, we might add the authority of many distinguished names in the last century; but none of them appears to us to have more weight than that of Lowth, whom we find stating his views on this subject explicitly in a sermon preached before the Bishop of Durham, while prebendary there, in these forcible words, exactly a hundred years ago (1756):—

> "And here I cannot but mention, what hath often been represented, and I hope will not always be represented in vain,—that nothing would more effectually conduce to this end than the exhibiting of the Holy Scriptures themselves to the people in a

more advantageous and just light, by an accurate revisal of our vulgar translation by public authority. It is now a century and a half since this translation was made; in which time a much greater progress hath been made in the knowledge of the Scriptures than in fifteen centuries preceding. Knowledge of all sorts hath, since this time, been greatly advanced; of which there is scarce any sort that hath not some connexion with the knowledge of Holy Scripture; in particular, and what is more immediately connected with it, the knowledge of the original languages, of the Hebrew especially, and its several remaining dialects; the knowledge of antiquity, of civil history, of natural history, of genuine logic, of sound criticism. Many ancient monuments, both texts and versions, of venerable authority, have been either newly discovered, or more openly communicated to the public, and set forth in the most advantageous and useful manner. And as we enjoy many assistances which the learned of that age wanted, so likewise many impediments which lay in their way are now removed. The rubbish of false science is, in a great measure, cleared away; the obscure subtilty of scholastic theology is dispelled. The great prejudice of authority is, in many instances, happily diminished; the despotic power of antiquity is reduced within its proper limits. With regard to the Old Testament, the Church of Christ is no longer a slave to the synagogue; nor does the Christian interpreter blindly follow those blind guides, the Jewish teachers. The infallible Masora, boasted to have been an edifice raised by wise master builders on the rock of divine authority, proves to have been framed by unskilful hands, and built on the sand. The defects of the Hebrew text itself,—for it cannot be denied that it hath its defects, nor, as it hath been transmitted to us by human means, could it possibly be without defects;—these have been pointed out, and remedies have in part been applied to them, and may be further applied, by an accurate collation of ancient versions, and of various copies. . . . . All this (and more might be added to this) shows evidently how much room there is for improvement; it promises undoubted success to the undertaking, and warrants abundant advantages from it to our own, immediately, and, in consequence, to the whole Christian Church."

About thirty years after delivering these opinions, Lowth, then Bishop of London, exemplified them more fully by his own admirable translation of Isaiah—thus giving the world an opportunity of seeing what might be accomplished for all the prophetic and poetic books of the Bible by the aid of genius and profound scholarship. And although we by no means advocate as necessary an entirely new translation, which this version of Isaiah is, we cannot but believe (and from the specimens we have given we think it will generally be acknowledged) that our present translation of one of the noblest books of the Bible would be greatly improved by the adoption of many of that learned prelate's suggestions and corrections.

In later times a host of distinguished scholars might be mentioned, both within and without the pale of our own Church, who have expressed their opinions on the same subject, in language equally strong and convincing; and, as we have already stated, there are undeniable evidences that it is beginning to be agitated in many quarters, indicative of the depth of feeling which exists on the subject.* The clergy as a body, it is to be feared, are not as much alive to the importance of this work, or we may say, indeed, of any work in which they are required to keep pace with the movements of the national mind, as they should be. The argument for doing nothing because it may be dangerous to meddle with things long established, and may possibly make them worse than they are, is one which has so often been acted upon, that it has generally kept this body from undertaking any measures which might have been for their own good and the good of their Church; and thus placed them rather in the rear than in the advance of great public improvements, causing all religious reforms to be forced upon them, instead of being originated by them. Long ago Fuller observed, that "Church work was slow work," and his adage, we fear, is still too applicable to many greatly-needed changes connected with the true welfare of our religion, but to none, we believe, more than to that of which we have been endeavouring to give so many proofs in this article. In America, the interest felt on this subject is much stronger than in this country. The American Bible Union has been expressly organized to carry out this work. A series of not less than sixteen pamphlets, published under the direction of this society, advocates, in the strongest manner, the necessity and importance of the work of Bible revision. Some of the ablest of our Transatlantic brethren have already girded themselves in earnest to this work, which is proceeding at a pace so rapid, that it may be doubtful if any efforts on this side of the ocean will be able to overtake them. We have already lying on our table a specimen of the new-revised version by American divines, and we have availed ourselves of it to notice one or two of its corrections on the book of Job; but the "Bible Reporter" informs us, that six books of the New Testament are already in course of publication—that the Gospel of St. John and the Epistle to the Ephesians have been *stereotyped*, and will soon be printed, as well as the Gospel of St. Matthew, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. We cannot but commend some of the general rules by which, as we learn from the advertisement prefixed to the specimen before us, the translation is proposed to be conducted. Rule the 7th declares, that the phraseology of the common English version is to be used, so far as it is consistent with fidelity to the original, and a proper regard to the present usage of the English language. And we can only say that this rule seems to us to have been so faithfully adhered to, that the alterations in the pages we have looked over, are very much in accordance with our own views as to the required improvements, inasmuch as they are framed upon the principle of a *revision*, not of a new translation.

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* This matter has found its way even into Convocation, and one of the dignitaries has announced his intention of speedily bringing it forward. We quote the following report from the *Times* of February 2:—"Canon Selwyn gave notice of his intention to propose a petition to the Upper House, requesting his Grace and their Lordships to take into consideration the subject of an address to the Crown, praying that Her Majesty might be pleased to appoint a body of learned men, well skilled in the original languages of the Holy Scriptures, to consider of such amendments of the authorized version as have been already proposed, and to receive suggestions from all persons who may be willing to offer them; to communicate with foreign scholars on difficult passages when it may be deemed advisable; to examine the marginal readings which appear to have been introduced into some editions since the year 1601; to point out such words and phrases as have either changed their meaning or become obsolete in the lapse of time; and to report from time to time the progress of their work and the amendments which they may be prepared to recommend."

Viewing, then, all these circumstances, it will be to us a subject of unfeigned regret, if the English nation and the English Church should still continue as immoveable on this point as they have long been,—as unchangeable, we may observe, as if their authorized version were the word of inspiration itself, and not the mere translation of it from dead languages. A crisis, however, has now arrived when our national Bible must either undergo a kind of resuscitation, in order to put on a new garment of immortality, or be left, as to its externals, subject to that condition of inevitable decay and mortality to which all things earthly are exposed. And if at last, at some mightier call, the mouldering fabric be summoned to fresh life, it is questionable whether this resurrection will not come too late to be pronounced a happy one. In the new world a form may have arisen, which will throw into the shade that which might have been one of surpassing glory and beauty. In other words, America may have so far preceded us in this great work of Bible renovation as to have filled the land with new versions; and thus by superseding our old ones, the work, which might have been a great one for ourselves, will be entirely taken out of our hands. This is a very conceivable circumstance; and it is easy to see what advantages as a nation we shall thus lose. Hitherto the unity of the Protestant part of this community has been so far maintained, that all sects among us have been alike content to use their English Bible, and rely upon it, as a standard of divine truth, to which they might confidently appeal in all cases. But this last remnant of the cord of charity and faith must be utterly broken, if rival Bibles are set up without authority, or introduced into this country from another land, to divide the hearts of the people, and to supply another pregnant source of hostility, even as it regards what has hitherto been for the most part accounted a fountain of truth in common.

It would be quite another thing, however, if the same lawful authority which first sent forth the present version of the Bible, were again to step forward; for, aided and encouraged by the most learned, wise, and pious, from all denominations of orthodox divines, it might, by a timely concession to the wants of the nation, thus remedy the defects of this translation, and make it in all respects what it ought to be made, as far as this can be possible. There would then be no further grounds for cavil or complaint; not at least until our language shall have grown much older than it is, or new defects may have been discovered—circumstances which could not occur for a very long period, if the work were executed as we might reasonably expect it would be, under such auspices. Protestantism would thus be able to hold up its head more boldly against Rome than it can now do, while errors of any kind remain in our Bible, and are acknowledged to be such. The common chain, by which all Christians without the pale of Rome, are in some sense still united, would thus remain unbroken as to its strongest links; and each might be alike content, whatever were their differences of interpretation, to rest with increased confidence in the general and fundamental truths of the divine word. Thus all would be alike, in some measure, stayed by the anchor of faith, hope, and charity, amidst the stormy convulsions of human opinion, from which we can scarcely expect to be wholly set free, until that period shall arrive, when the present ocean of worldly strife and its waves ever roaring, shall be exchanged for the apocalyptic sea of glass, upon which shall stand serenely the triumphant band, who have gotten the victory over the beast and his image, and obtained the harps of God.

Whatever of a visionary nature may be thought by some to attach to these views, we confidently appeal to the evidence already furnished of their general truth, and we are entitled to ask on such grounds, are the demands for a revision of our English Bible to be justly or fairly negatived? Doubtless, objections may be raised against such an undertaking; and what undertaking is there, in which mortal hands may be employed, and in which mortal hearts are concerned, which is not in some respects open to objections? If we wait to advance on this or any other path of improvement till there are no obstacles, we may wait till the river runs by. The same objections which are urged now, might always have been made against meddling with the English revision of the Holy Scriptures after the first revision. As the Church acquiesced in the authority of Queen Elizabeth, and of James, to amend the translation of their respective reigns; so we hold it to be the duty of the Church now, to throw no difficulty in the way of any measure that might be set on foot by a royal commission, or by an Act of Parliament; and we entertain the most sanguine hopes that the results of such a measure would be far more satisfactory to the learned world, and to the people generally, than they could have been in a less enlightened and less liberal age. The great question to be determined is this, are the arguments in favour of such a work of sufficient weight? or rather, we ask, are they not of overwhelming significance? If this then be the case—if we are inevitably drawn to the conclusion that our English version of the Bible is not in such a condition at present, as to reflect a perfect image of God's word, why then, we repeat, should not the mirror be repolished? Or if that be too much to ask, why should not its dust be at least swept away? The work of doing this has been from time to time committed to human hands, which did the work well for their day, and on each occasion there was a considerable advance made upon the skill of the former generation. Why, therefore, should not the next stage be one of much nearer approach towards that perfection, which it should be the highest ambition of man to be ever seeking, and especially so, where the model of God's own word, and its exactness as to the smallest details, are the momentous task at which we have to aim? The time for this work is surely now arrived, when it is advocated by some of the best scholars and the wisest men of this and past ages; and when this advocacy is seconded by the hearty response of awakened multitudes in our own, and in the sister land, who earnestly demand that the treasure of divine truth which is now to be so widely circulated, should be freed as much as it can be from all human alloy. And assuredly if this labour be not accomplished by the authority of our rulers in Church and State, and by the combined energies of all who are best fitted for this undertaking, it will be taken up by inferior hands, and probably in such a manner, as to convert that which might be a source of new affinities for the whole Anglo-Saxon race, into one of new antagonisms and wider discords.

To this summary of our reasons for thus calling attention to this great subject of inquiry, we may add that there can be no period more suitable for so noble a work, than the reign of a Queen, whose honour we trust it will be, to perpetuate all that was most glorious in the reign of Elizabeth, without any of those defects which have tarnished, in some measure, the splendour of her virtues as a great sovereign. The Bible which was revised in her reign, under her sanction, and by the aid of her bishops, still survives as a great monument—the noblest, perhaps, left of her zeal for the purity of God's word. This was emphatically the book of books, in a period prolific of great works; and in form and beauty, as a specimen of printing, it as much surpassed any other volume of that age, as Elizabeth herself did, in many things, the women of her own era. From the preface* of this venerable volume, now only to be found in select libraries, and rarely there in perfect condition, we shall select the following passage as an appropriate winding up of our argument:—

"Divers translations have made many tymes the harder and darker sentences more open and playne; So that of congruence, no offence can justly be taken for this newe labour, nothing prejudicing any other man's judgment, this doyng, nor yet hereby professing this to be so absolute a translation, as that hereafter might folowe no other, that might see that which as yet was not understanded. In this poynt it is convenient to consider the judgment, that John, once bishop of Rochester was in, who thus wrote. It is not unknowne, but that many thinges hath ben more diligently discussed, and more clearly understanded by the wittes of these latter dayes, as well concerning the gospels as other scriptures, or els for that in the large field of scriptures, a man may gather some eares untouched after the harvest men, howe diligent soever they were. For there be yet, saith he, in the gospels very many darke places, whiche without all doubt to the posteritie shal be made muche more open. For why should we dispayre herein, seing the gospell (wryteth he) was delivered to this intent, that it might be utterly understanded of us, yea to the very inche. Wherfore, forasmuche as Christe sheweth no lesse love to his Churche now than hitherto he hath done, the aucethoritie whereof is as yet no whit diminished; and forasmuch as that holy spirite, the perpetuall keper and gardian of the same Church, whose gyftes and graces do flowe as continually, and as abundantly, as from the beginning; who can doubt, but that such thinges as remayne yet unknowen in the gospell, shall be hereafter made open to the latter wittes of our posteritie, to their cleare understanding."

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* Written by Archbishop Parker.

Since this article was written, Mr. Heywood has introduced his motion for an address to the Crown, for the appointment of a Royal Commission in reference to a revision of the authorised version of the Holy Scriptures. But the object of the honourable member being rather to call public attention to this subject than to carry out this motion at present, and the motion having been brought forward at so late a period of the session, no further result followed than a short speech from Sir G. Grey; which may be taken, we suppose, as an exposition of the feelings of the government on this question. His reply may be considered as of some importance, representing, as it does, in few words the common-place objections of those who, while ready enough to acquiesce in the necessity of great political changes, have a lively horror of everything like improvement in matters of religion. Sir George admits that certain errors and inaccuracies exist in the present translation, but conceives that none of these are such as oppress the consciences of the clergy in reading the Scriptures; and that it is sufficient for them that they are always at liberty, both by the pulpit and the press, to point out the true meaning of the text. It is but too apparent from such declarations, that the whole subject is one which has hitherto received but small attention from the leading statesmen of our day. Their arguments virtually imply the following strange contradictions: it is supposed that the revision called for, must be one that would leave few or none of the existing and most striking features of the present version behind it, and yet that the passages requiring alteration are really so few in number, as not to make it worth while to disturb men's minds by the change;—that the clergy, who have authority to read the Scriptures as the infallible word of God, are nevertheless bound to declare it to be but fallible, at least in the present translation—a task which if thus conscientiously carried out, whenever such passages occur, would convert their office every Sabbath from that of teachers into that of critics. Mr. Heywood, in his speech, pointedly refers to the fact of a Scotch preacher founding his celebrated sermon before the first personages in the kingdom, on a text which is improperly translated; "so that there was really no connexion between the subject of this excellent discourse, and the true interpretation of the text on which it was ostensibly based." We need not say how such an exposure must tend to weaken the confidence of the people either in their preachers or their Bibles. But this is probably only an instance of the manner in which the mistakes of the present version are slurred over by some of those, whose duty it is to explain it correctly; or rather, perhaps, it affords a proof that many, even of the highest classes, would prefer to take the present version such as it is, rather than to be critically enlightened from the pulpit, as to the genuine sense of the original.

The pith, however, of Sir George Grey's reply to Mr. Heywood's motion, seems to centre in the remark,—"that the appointment of such a commission as that proposed would have a tendency to unsettle the faith of a great body of the people, and to lessen their respect and reverence for the authorised version of the Scriptures." A double fallacy lies on the surface of this opinion, which will be obvious to all who have gone along with us, in the course of our investigation in the preceding article. It supposes that the faith of the people is implicitly wedded to the existing version in every particular; and that the respect for it is such, that it must be shaken by any attempt of the authorities of this land to improve it. We differ entirely from the view thus taken, and we are sure that we do not misinterpret the faith of the people at large, by saying that it is now no longer a blind faith, as it was in the age preceding the Reformation, but one which seeks to be enlightened, and would consider itself degraded by the supposition, that its faith and knowledge could not keep pace with each other. Its reverence for the Scriptures is not so essentially bound up with the English authorised version, that it must needs retain every portion of this version, or cease to believe the Scriptures to be the word of God. Wherever education has extended itself, in any moderate degree, among the people, they are already fully aware that their faith rests not upon this or that particular version, but upon the truth of the original Scriptures. They are therefore prepared to believe that the English version, good as it may be in some sense, is no such infallible representative of Holy Writ as is here supposed; and even the marginal readings have long ago taught them that there may be room for much distrust or doubt, as to the correctness, exactness, or desirableness of many things in the present reading of the text of the English Bible. Were the present version intended only for the use of the uneducated portion of our community, there might be some force in Sir G. Grey's objections; but considering that this version must be accepted, by the educated as well as the illiterate, as the standard of all religious doctrine and practice—the genuine exponent of God's truth not only to the mind of the poor and untaught and unquestioning reader, but that it demands to be received as the sole legalized instructor, (as to the text,) in all colleges, schools and pulpits, it is evident that apologies for such a version, which are not based upon the simple assurance of its being throughout, as far as it may be, an accurate translation of the divine volume, in all respects, involve an egregious fallacy; for they suppose that the whole people of this country are, and will be, content with what but imperfectly represents this volume. That a large section of the educated and inquiring classes are in the present day fully cognisant of its defects, and anxious for their removal, is so obvious a fact, that whoever is not aware of it must have shut his eyes to one of the most striking symptoms of religious progress in the study and acquirement of Scriptural knowledge, during the age in which we live. This very circumstance it is, that a love of the Bible and of Biblical teaching has been awakened in men's minds in our days, much more than heretofore, which makes them less disposed to accept the present version at so high a rate as formerly, and makes it a subject of greater regret that this version should be one which, instead of uniformly strengthening their faith, would in its existing state be more apt in some instances to weaken it, if they were to rely too implicitly upon the mere letter of the authorised rendering. Amidst doubts of this kind which are thus sometimes raised, and of which infidelity has taken advantage in various instances, it is surely little better than a species of mental hallucination, to talk of the settlement of the faith of the body of the people, in connexion with their reverence for the authorised version. We might just as well have talked, before the Reform Bill was introduced, of the reverence of the people for the English constitution. Undoubtedly this was the subject of as much veneration in the minds of many as our English Bible now is; and yet, nevertheless, we may safely admit that there were none who reverenced it more than those who attempted to sweep away, with the most unsparing hand, deformities which had become incidental to an ancient system of government, and to remedy defects which a more advanced state of our institutions demanded.

There were, however, then, as well as now, persons who decidedly set their faces against all change of our political system, on the avowed plea that such changes were highly hazardous, and that the time for making them was not arrived. Similar arguments are also thus urged against all alterations in our religious polity, and upon grounds equally futile. The *vis inertiæ* may, indeed, sometimes operate as a salutary check to the too fervid wheels of political or religious excitement; but not unfrequently it is also the morbid symptom of the body's weakness and decline—of unwieldy corpulence, aged imbecility, or hopeless decrepitude. If, as it has been alleged by some, of whom better things might have been hoped for,* that the time is not come to move in such matters as the reformation of our Bible version, and this in any shape,† then assuredly we are fallen upon evil times. Can it be that centuries of increasing light and improving knowledge have rendered us, as a nation, less willing to take advantage of this light, by letting it shine forth from the pages of divine truth in our vernacular Bible? Can it be that our religious animosities, our party differences, have grown to such an intense degree of bigotry, since the principles of the Bible have been more generally diffused in our land, from the days of the Reformation, that we cannot now agree, either as scholars or as Christians, in allowing the Bible to reflect a purer light among us—one that might be altogether untinged with the prismatic hue of sectarian prejudices? If this be really the case, truly we may as well shut up the sacred volume altogether, or consign ourselves again to the darkness of the mediæval ages; for what is the value of all the moral influence that this volume has had upon our minds and religious tempers? To assent to the dogmas of those who would thus enlist us on the side of a *laissez faire* system, in religion as in church politics, must be indeed to pronounce a sharper satire upon our ecclesiastical system, and our common Protestantism, than Romanism, with its sibilant tongue, or infidelity with its foul breath, has ever given utterance to. But even were the dangers as great as those imagine who always see lions in the way, wherever a path is marked out by which great ends are to be accomplished, we must not shrink from what we believe to be an imperative duty on the part of every nation to whom the word of God has been transmitted,—to have it among them in their own language with as much purity as is compatible with the work of translation. The interests of divine truth and of sacred wisdom are not to be compromised for any mere temporary advantages. An inestimable treasure is placed in our hands, and we are not to permit it, under any circumstances, to be hid under a bushel or laid up in a napkin. It should be treated by us with all the active care that is due to so excellent a gift. To suffer needless obscurities to remain on the page where there might be clearness of vision; discrepancies where there might be agreement; deformities where there might be beauties; erroneous or vague renderings where there might be correctness and certainty, is to manifest but a very imperfect sense of our obligations and responsibilities in this great matter. It is to suffer the fine gold entrusted to us to be wasted or to become dim, in passing through the mould and crucible of a translation, which is thus imperfect by our own negligence or prejudice, instead of seeking that it may come forth a more worthy representative of the original itself, and thus, a nearer reflex of the image of the Divine Mind.

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* We refer to some letters that have lately appeared in the *Times* by Dr. Cumming, in opposition to the work of Bible revision, and which have been ably answered by several correspondents in that journal.

† We are of opinion that if nothing could be done at present in the way of a revised edition of the Bible by authority, there might be a large addition to the marginal readings, which the ministers of the Church should be authorised to substitute, if they thought proper, in the room of the existing text.

ART. II.—1. *Etudes Littéraires sur les Ecrivains Français de la Réformation.* Par A. SAYOUS. Seconde Edition. 2 vols.

2. *Histoire de la Littérature Française à l'Etranger depuis le commencement du* 17e *siècle.* Par A. SAYOUS. (Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie Française.) 2 vols. Paris et Genêve.

WE have placed together two publications of M. Sayous, because the second is, in a great measure, a continuation of the first; and although the writers who, during the seventeenth century, composed French works on a foreign soil were not exclusively Protestants, yet the majority belonged to the persecuted church. We shall, therefore, avail ourselves of this opportunity for the purpose of examining the principal characteristics of *Huguenot* literature, and we shall endeavour to point out, as briefly as we can, the way in which the greatest religious movement on record, since the introduction of Christianity, modified and new-moulded the intellectual culture of our French neighbours.

Let us, in the first place, endeavour to ascertain what was the relative state of parties when the sound of the gospel trumpet roused large portions of Europe from the sleep of death. We see, on the one hand, a once powerful and admirably organized body, the self-constituted centre of every species of authority, beginning gradually to lose its former position through the weakness, follies, and vices of many of its most eminent members. Ecclesiastical discipline has become a farce; religion, a round of superstitious observances; scholasticism, "an insincere, unreal system, a collection of principles, the data of a prescriptive authority."* On the other hand, we find that the spirit of liberty is agitating in various ways the whole mass of the community. The revival of literature, the discovery of the New World, the invention of printing—a multitude of concurrent causes, open wide and unexplored fields to the researches of human speculation. Was it at all likely that thinking men would remain satisfied with a barren code of philosophy which, after having degenerated into a mere set of mechanical formulæ, regarded Greek with suspicion, and pronounced a *deleatur* against Hebrew? The reaction was three-fold. An intense contempt for the theological dogmatism of the middle ages hurried thousands into scepticism; carrying its intolerant enthusiasm almost to the borders of irreligion, the "Renaissance" movement may be considered merely a literary revolution on behalf of classical antiquity; the Reformers, in fine, rushed to the only post in the field of battle, on the maintaining of which hung the destinies of the world.

We may compare this triple movement to three streams which have sprung from a common source; after following for a short time a parallel course, they at length work each for itself a distinct channel, and proceed in opposite directions. If the "Renaissance," for instance, broke asunder the fetters of Peripatetism, it ended in raising fresh barriers around the human mind. Instead of worshipping the Stagyrite, Cardinal Bembo and his friends prostrated themselves before the statue of Cicero. They no longer pronounced it a heresy to doubt the infallibility of Aristotle, but when Erasmus ventured to ridicule the Tully-maniacs, Scaliger set up a cry of murder and threefold parricide; and after having exhausted the vocabulary of abuse, he concluded his Philippic by calling the doctor of Rotterdam "a thousand times a drunkard." M. Sayous admirably explains the wide difference which separated the religious Reformers of the sixteenth century from the scholars whose names are connected with the revival of classical literature. Calvin, Viret, Farel, Beza, estimated at its just value a sound acquaintance with the masterpieces of Greek and Latin antiquity; but they did not stop at this point, and all the advantages of a highly polished style, all the graces of composition, were to them only means for the accomplishing of far higher purposes. These were weapons, and nothing else. True to its principle, the Reformation was neither a metaphysical crusade nor a literary movement; it appealed to the moral man, to man as a being created for eternity; anxious to define, above all, what is the real end and purpose of life, the Reformers had no leisure to bestow on the artifices of language and the curiosities of verbal criticism. And yet let any one carefully review, even as a mere literary exercise, the "Institutes" of Calvin, the "Ecclesiastical History" of Beza, or the works, in general, of Duplessis-Mornay, and he will find in them a character of severe grandeur and of elegant simplicity, peculiar to those compositions which spring from the deep fountains of inward feeling. The only parallelism to this, supplied by the history of French literature, is the school of thinkers which, during the first half of the seventeenth century, immortalised the name of Port-Royal. Here, too, it was not *scribo ad-scribendum*, but an earnest anxiety for the cause of truth swelling out in strains of deep thought and expression. Pascal, Arnauld, Nicole and Saint Cyran wrote eloquently, because they felt deeply. It has been well observed by M. Vinet, that there is an indissoluble connexion between religious and literary truth, and of this we have a noble illustration in the writings of the first Reformers. Literature and devotion seemed to kindle their lamp at the same altar.

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* Dr. Hampden.

But if the difference was wide between men such as Calvin or Farel, and the mere *littérateur* of the "Renaissance," it was infinitely greater between them and the sceptics or freethinkers who, like Rabelais, Dolet, Bonaventure-Despériers, set themselves to the destruction of the very foundations of the Christian faith. The Reformation has too long been regarded as merely a reaction against the abuse of the principle of authority; its upholders did indeed cast down the throne of Papal tyranny, but it was to erect the throne of God; they rejoiced in their intellectual liberty, but it was only to cast themselves in meek submission at the feet of the Saviour.

After these few preliminary remarks, we shall now proceed to offer some observations on the two works of M. Sayous. The "*Etudes Littéraires*" comprise biographical sketches of Farel, Calvin, Viret, Théodore Beza, Hotman, the Estienne family, La Noue, Duplessis-Mornay, and Agrippa d'Aubigné. As the title of the book sufficiently shows, M. Sayous has not undertaken to examine the theological or the political results of the Reformation; this part of the task has been so often and so satisfactorily performed that little more can be added. But previous to the publication of the "*Etudes Littéraires*" we are not aware of our possessing any account of the French Protestant writers, *as writers*. With the exception of a few brief notices of Calvin and Beza, little of any real value could be found on this important subject. We call it important, because the slightest glance at the literary history of the sixteenth century will demonstrate that every species of composition has been cultivated with the greatest success by Huguenot authors. M. Sayous thus comments on the eloquence of Farel:—

"Farel's eloquence was that of a missionary whom his zeal devours. The secret of his authority consisted in the strength of his conviction, the impetuosity and ingenuousness of his mind, combined with an impassioned style of eloquence. 'His thundering voice made all his hearers quake, and so fervent were his prayers that they bore every soul to heaven in their flight.' Such was his rhetoric; and, assuredly, nothing could tell more powerfully upon the sympathies of the multitude. This style of preaching certainly *did* accomplish great and difficult things, for it brought about a revolution in spite of adversaries who then seemed unconquerable.

"It would be a mistake to ascribe to the Reformation the revival of popular preaching. France, during the middle-ages, had had its Christian orators. Peter the Hermit, who hurried along whole populations to the Crusade, would perhaps have been a Farel, if he had appeared a few centuries later; Saint Bernard was like the forerunner of Bossuet; and at the era of the Reformation, Maillard and Menot, amidst their buffoonery, and notwithstanding that macaronic Latin which, after all, is perhaps falsely attributed to them, realised in a certain degree the free and bold eloquence of the pulpit.

"The most striking feature in the system of preaching adopted by the first apostles of the French Reformation—by Farel, whose style became the only pattern which his followers copied from,—is the dogmatic discussion prevailing almost absolutely under the double form of controversial disputation and direct teaching. The preacher's business is two-fold; he has a doctrine to overthrow, and an opposite doctrine to establish; he destroys, but he must likewise reconstruct. Both these elements are as new in the pulpit as the two tendencies they represent, and which have called them forth: I mean a disgust at the corrupt notions then prevailing, and the longing to exchange them for a strong and wholesome food. The moral obstacles which seemed to start up before the preachers, and against which they had to struggle, were for them real advantages. Such were the authority of traditions, the superstitious terrors of the multitude, the practice of easy devotional forms. The very boldness of the Reformers' attacks pleased their hearers; in the pulling down of old idols there was an earnestness which corresponded to the general yearnings of the age; and on their first awakening, the minds imbibed a passionate taste for the work of criticism to which they were associated. The chief dogma propounded was, besides, well calculated to stir the soul; sinners saw themselves stripped of every merit; everlasting death, or salvation by faith in Christ, such was the terrible alternative enforced by the preacher from the Bible, now open once more after so many centuries."—Vol. I., pp. 37—40.

Although M. Sayous professes not to treat his subject from the theological point of view, it is obvious that he could not avoid, in speaking of the literature of the Reformation, treading upon doctrinal ground. This is more especially noticeable in the chapter on Calvin, which, we are bound to say, is one of the best summaries of the illustrious divine's career we have met with. Our author very forcibly points out that, as a reformer and legislator, Calvin owed his power to the energy of his mind, and to the manner in which he interpreted the two conflicting principles—liberty and authority. Liberty is the *form* propounded by Calvin and by the Reformers; religion, that is to say, legitimate obedience, is the *substance*. The Reformation might have dwindled into a negative protest; it became a positive movement: instead of being a mere outburst of liberalism, it claimed a hearing as the pure exponent of Christianity. Or, rather, this was its first character, and it steadfastly resisted every effort made to draw it away from this safe course. M. Vinet has furnished us with these remarks, and they explain better than anything we could say, the true position assumed by the Protestant Church. There were, during the sixteenth century, two classes of reformers. Some, whilst professing the utmost regard for all the externals of religion (viz., Roman

Catholicism), were busily but stealthily engaged in destroying Christianity. The others determined to follow the opposite course. With them, forms were nothing; nay, they had become more than nothing; for they had accumulated like a mass of corrupt rubbish over the fair superstructure raised by Christ in the gospel; at any cost these excrescences must be cleared away. The war raged quite as fiercely between both classes of reformers, as between the reformers properly so called and the supporters of the hierarchy; it was a struggle for life and death, and when we consider the issue, we may boldly affirm that Protestantism in a certain sense saved Christianity. We go even farther than that; the seventeenth century is indebted to the Reformation for Pascal, Fénelon, Bossuet, and thus Port Royal is connected with Geneva.

Calvin will always be acknowledged as the great leader of French Protestantism; but the remarkable men who either helped him in his work, or continued it after him, deserve also their full share of notice and of commendation. From Calvin, M. Sayous leads us on to Viret, a writer now comparatively little known, yet extremely popular at the time when he lived:—

> "Extensive reading, an acquaintance with antiquity by no means superficial, some imagination, abundance of wit, and an easy command of language to set off all these treasures, we have enumerated qualities enough to secure any author's fame, and yet Viret is now more unknown than a great many writers who, at their first starting, seemed to give very few hopes of literary health. There was, moreover, in Viret the stuff of a keen moralist, besides that impassioned indignation which stamps eloquent satirists. He is not satisfied, as it were, with adopting the Reformer's stand-point; he unconsciously surveys society *en philosophe*, taking the word in its modern acceptation. He does not only judge as a divine and as a reformer; for the purpose of scanning human kind, he, perhaps unawares, oversteps the Reformer's narrower circle. Hence, in spite of a really religious spirit, we find in his writings a character somewhat more worldly and more secular than amongst the other theological authors of the Calvinistic school."—Vol. I., pp. 194, 195.

Viret had taken upon himself the part of a popular educator. The doctrines which Calvin clothed in an abstruse and scientific language before the pupils of the academy or the members of his congregation, Viret wished to render generally accessible by calling to his assistance the charms of a figurative style, rich in images, and appealing less exclusively to the understanding. We see him, accordingly, in his

"*Instruction Chrcstienne,*" first, adopting the form of a dialogue, and dramatising, so to speak, his argumentation, that it may prove more attractive. Then we find him developing a whole system of natural theology, and endeavouring, according to St. Paul's direction, to prove that the "invisible things of God, from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead." Viret's cosmography, his views of nature, are not very correct, as we may suppose; but even in that respect the "*Instruction Chrestienne*" is highly interesting, because it shows to what extent the writers of the sixteenth century were acquainted with the laws which rule the physical creation. Viret dwells especially upon the microcosm, *i.e.* men; and he turns to good account the medical knowledge he had acquired at the then celebrated school of Montpellier. But let us see, by one example, how he manages to draw a moral lesson from the details with which anatomy and physiology supply him:—

> "To the head, the heart, and the bowels of man, correspond the three powers which govern his being; namely, the animal, the vital, and the nutritive or natural virtue; and God, who has placed the heart between the head and the intestines, has thereby sufficiently declared that our affections should have the dominion over both our mind and our senses. For Viret, everything is a symbol, and the least point of comparison that suggests itself to him gives him a sort of apology for lengthened moral and theological digression. Thus, the tongue is well fastened and surrounded by barriers which warn us that it should be kept under restraint; hence a variety of considerations on the use of speech: in the same manner the eyes, which are the organ of sight, are an appropriate text for reflections on books and the reading thereof."—Vol. I., pp. 209, 210.

Viret's method, our readers will see, is by no means a new one; he has adopted, in his "*Instruction Chrestienne,*" a style of composition of which mediæval literature furnished him with more than one model; his merit consists in applying to the elucidation of religious truth his store of secular knowledge. Although far too diffuse, he sometimes becomes really eloquent. The chapter he devotes to the proof of the immortality of the soul is one of the best pieces in the volume; but time will not allow us to quote from it, neither can we even notice the satirical writings which constitute a considerable part of Viret's literary remains. We shall merely say that he is the only one amongst the Reformers who deliberately adopted sarcasm and railing as a means of conveying instruction. In the books of his fellow-labourers we have occasional squibs; Viret banters *ex cathedrâ,* he gives his first pun on the title page, and jokes on without intermission to the end. We doubt whether ridicule has ever done much good in the service of religion; it is a dangerous weapon to use, and it very often wounds those who wield it quite as much as the enemies against whom it is directed.

Let us proceed to the last *clerical* character introduced by M. Sayous in his "*Etudes*"—Theodore Beza. Notwithstanding Calvin's scholarship and acquaintance with all the resources of literature, notwithstanding his eloquence and the beauty of his language, yet it is Beza who has always been considered the "*littérateur*" of the French Reformation. His talents as an historian, his poetic taste, those very *juvenilia* which some writers have found so much fault with, have all contributed to cast into the shade his theological treatises, his sermons, and even, to a certain extent, his critical labours. Nor must we forget that the point of view adopted by M. Sayous is exclusively a literary one, and studying Theodore Beza under this aspect, the "*Histoire Ecclésiastique des Eglises Reformées au Royaume de France,*" was the most salient subject for consideration. The following critique deserves to be quoted:—

> "With what intention did Beza set about writing his history? We could easily guess, even if he had not declared it himself. At the time he began his task, Calvinism was more than ever threatened in France. Life was departing from it. The "*Histoire Ecclésiastique*" was intended to support the zeal of the Protestant and to destroy the spirit of discouragement. We must not esteem it as a literary production but as an auxiliary force, brought to the assistance of the struggling churches. The argument which pervades this long and minute narrative may be summed up in the following words: 'God is on the side of the Reformation.' The disasters as well as the victories of the Protestant party enable the historian to establish his point; for if victories may be considered as rewards, reverses are punishments and warnings. The supporters of the new religion are told, besides, that no difficulty ought to deter them from going on, and from endeavouring to open the eyes of the spiritually blind. . . . One might be inclined to think that Beza had selected the very worst means for the accomplishment of his object, by relating in the fullest manner the sufferings endured by his own party, and the martyrdom of so many thousands of Protestants which swell the historian's bloody catalogue. But it was quite the reverse. Each of the churches found there the legend of its confessors and the glorified record of their woes. The readers felt their courage revive with the remembrance of the times of persecution—those times of heroism, of enthusiasm, and

also of hope, when from the ashes of the stake sprung up fresh confessors of the good cause. And yet, in the selection of such a subject by the writer, there was something more instinctive than premeditated; whilst noting down these deeds of violence he felt the same emotions as his fellow-Calvinists; he was agitated by the same sentiments which we also experience when, after the lapse of so many years, we turn to the tragic narrative ourselves.

"It is impossible to read without emotion the history of the first persecutions which preceded the great armed resistance and a long continued series of furious reprisals. Party passions had not, as yet, mingled themselves with the pious thoughts of the Protestants, with their unwavering trust in God. On one side, their attitude humble, though firm; their touching intrepidity; the manners of those numerous *tiers-état* families, for whom life was a serious concern, and honour an hereditary treasure; the *élite* of the nation, high-minded, calm and inflexible in the confession of its belief:—on the other side, violence, impassioned incredulity, or fanaticism let loose, fierce cries, a mob of executioners, torturers everywhere, with princes to witness them; all this picture, so naturally given in Beza's simple and truthful history, cannot leave us indifferent. We protest with the oppressed against the oppressors; with them we set at defiance the tyrants both of the street and of the Louvre; and whilst under the impression of our natural emotions, we can understand how well persecution has helped on the cause of the French Reformation."—Vol. I., pp. 344—347.

M. Sayous goes on to prove, by a variety of quotations, that Beza is a much more impartial writer than might, at first sight, be supposed. If he blames in the strongest manner Montluc's cruelty, he is quite as severe against the famous Baron des Adrets, whose ferocity can in no wise be justified by the fact that he was fighting on the Protestant side. The chief fault we find with Beza is that, for him, the ecclesiastical element absorbs everything else. Thus, when describing the celebrated Poissy conference, he limits himself almost exclusively to the report of the theological discussions which were carried on between the two parties, and in doing so he too often forgets the language of moderation and of courtesy. He cannot bear the idea of a compromise which would reduce the Reformation to a mere dispute about points of outward morality; dogmatic teaching is for him the main thing. This is, we believe, a right view of the case; but Beza maintains it with the fiercest animosity. Some bibliographers, indeed, have ascribed to him pamphlets in which he oversteps all the doctrines even of lampoon-literature.*

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* For instance, *L'Histoire de la Mappemonde Papistique, par Frangidelphe Escorchemesses, en la cité de Luce Nouvelle, par Briffault Chassediable.* From

The second volume of the "*Etudes Littéraires*" brings us upon secular ground. We have hitherto had to consider the theologians of the Reformation, and our sketches may be said to have been taken from the steps of the pulpit; we must now ask Francis Hotman to introduce us to the study of a lawyer. This illustrious man is well known as the author of one of the most profound, and at the same time most eloquent works of his age—the "*Franco-Gallia,*"—a book which is certainly a masterpiece of political composition. Rousseau's "*Contrat Social,*" La Boétie's "*Contre un,*" Hubert Languet's "*Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos,*" are, no doubt, elegant writings; but in the "*Franco-Gallia*" there is, besides eloquence, a power of argumentation and a display of learning which are very remarkable. Hotman had likewise the merit of entering first* in this part of the literary field, so that he may lay claim, at all events, to the palm of originality. The subject matter of the volume it is difficult to praise, inasmuch as it must be regarded as a sort of appeal to the spirit of rebellion. The purpose of the author is to examine the form of government which was then prevailing in France, to point out its defects, and to show how it could best be modified and improved. It may safely be said that the iniquitous administration of the Valois family was well calculated to rouse the feelings of hatred amongst the nation at large; but Hotman has proceeded further, and mounted a *bonnet rouge* as early as the year 1573.

"No form of government," says M. Sayous, "seems to him wiser or more suitable to the commonwealth than the power of making and of deposing kings—a power which the French nation has reserved for itself, whilst at the same time it delegates its sovereignty. And here the application has the advantage of the theory. In those days an elective monarchy was, for the jurist, a *régime* which would enable him to punish Charles IX. by dethronement. Hotman is at no loss for arguments against hereditary succession; he even introduces the idea that it is more profitable when the nation is ruled by a good king, than by the son of a good king. 'In the same way as the hunters,' continues he with Plutarch, 'prefer not so much a dog sprung from a good breed as a good dog, so those who found states are labouring under a great illusion

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another pasquinade, written in macaronic Latin, and entitled, "*Epistola Magistri Passavantii,*" we extract the following as a specimen: "*Dicebat bonus ille magister noster de Gagneyno, quod omnes hæretici erant pallidi. Valet consequentia. Dominus nuper præsidens est adeo rubeus quod una lagena vini theologici sive vermelli: ergo non est hæreticus.*"

† The "*Contre un; ou, de la Servitude Volentaire,*" was published in 1578; Languet's "*Vindiciæ,*" in 1579; the "*Franco-Gallia,*" in 1573.

when they are more anxious to know what king will be born unto them, than what sort of a man he will prove. (*Qualem habituri sint.*)'

" A little further on, he shows by an antithesis, of which the reader easily guesses the inference, that the government of France for the time being was despotic. It derived its Gallo-French origin from those Germans of whom Tacitus has said, '*Regibus non infinita libera potestas.*' 'Now,' continues Hotman, 'there is no form of government more contrary to tyranny than that. We observe in it none of the characters by which the ancient philosophers recognized despotism, such as the non-consent of the people, foreign soldiers paid to guard the prince, in short all things brought to bear upon the interests, not of the state or of the subjects, but of the ruler alone.' And these three features apply exactly to the state of matters in France during the sixteenth century."—Vol. II., pp. 35—37.

After having swept away hereditary monarchy, Hotman abolishes the power of the parliaments; and when he has laid down the principles of a thoroughly popular government, he does not hesitate to affirm that there are cases in which revolts are just and necessary. Nations have, unquestionably, the right of rebelling against their rulers. This is, as we see, the axiom of 1793, and Hotman was soon made to feel most bitterly the consequences of the dangerous sentiment to which he had given utterance.

" The *éclat* of the "*Franco-Gallia*" had proved to the different parties the power which political writings have over public opinion. The example was contagious. The Calvinists immediately turned to their own account this new engine of war; answers were made from the other camp; but as the discussion expressed the ever-changing interests of the various factions, the tables were turned when the events fluctuated from good to bad fortune; the Protestants, instead of attacking, had to defend themselves, whilst the Catholics assumed the position abandoned by their adversaries. The history of Hotman's political writings exhibits very correctly the phases of this transformation, which is for us a subject more of sorrow than of surprise.

" Out of hatred for the Roman Catholic Charles IX., our publicist had candidly found in the constitutional tradition of France a monarchy elective in its principle, together with the right of the nation to appoint and to dethrone their own kings; he had not foreseen that the men of the League, adopting in their turn what they had till then rejected with feelings of horror, would use his theory as a weapon against Henry of Navarre. When, sixteen years after the publication of the "*Franco-Gallia*," and in consequence of the extinction of the Valois branch, the Bearnese became heir-presumptive to the crown; the League-writers proved that the monarchy was not hereditary, whilst Hotman asserted that it was.

As early as 1585, he had modified his doctrines for the purpose of supporting the hopes of the Calvinists, who wished to see Henry IV. on the throne; and to the Bull, fulminated by Sixtus V. against the first Protestants, he had retorted in his *Brutum Fulmen*, a learned and violent refutation of the pontifical decree.

" After the assassination of Henry III. in 1589, Hotman went further still. He established, *ex professo*, in his book, " *De Jure successionis in Regno Galliæ*," that by traditional right of succession the crown of France ought to be given to the King of Navarre. . . . . The Leaguers were not behind-hand with their answers, and they quoted Hotman's own authority on behalf of their theory. ' The Huguenots cannot complain,' says one of their writers, ' if we mete them by the measure they have employed to mete others. In their " *Franco-Gallia* "—one of the most detestable books ever printed, and which has been composed to set the whole of France on fire—they tell us that we may select a king according to our own taste. Well, let the heretics know that the King of Navarre is not to your liking, and that he had better remain in his Bearn till your ideas are altered. We must scourge them with rods of their own making."*—Vol. II. pp. 53—57.

It is impossible not to be struck with the truth of this quotation. Montaigne and Bayle could find there an appropriate text for sceptical digressions;† *we* mourn at the consequences of Hotman's doctrines, and at the handle it supplied against Protestantism to the Roman Catholic party.

The author of the "*Franco-Gallia*" gave to the Reformation in France a character it never should have had; he transformed it into a political movement, and endeavoured to associate with it the idea of rebellion. He furnished with arguments the Dukes of Rohan and of Soubise, when, under the reign of Louis XIII., they proclaimed a Protestant republic within the realms of their rightful monarch, and he brought down upon the whole of French Protestantism the unflinching resentment of Cardinal Richelieu.

We are obliged to dismiss with a bare mention M. Sayous' valuable chapters on Henry Estienne, La Noue, and Duplessis-Mornay. In the first the reader will find a striking sketch of Rabelais, and a view of the extraordinary influence which that writer enjoyed during the sixteenth century. By his "*Apologie pour Hérodote*" and other similar compositions, Henry Estienne proved himself a thorough Pantagruelist; but, as M. Sayous observes, it is not his talent for satire that helped on the work of the Reformation. We admire his philological acumen, the soundness of his taste, and the sacrifices he made for the cause of true learning; and, on the other hand, we regret his not perceiving the necessity of keeping within proper limits his keen perception of the ridiculous.

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* " *Dorléans; advertissement des Catholiques Anglois*," 1587, quoted by M. Dareste in his " *Essai sur F. Hotman*."—p. 84.

† Montaigne, Essais, liv. 2, chap. 12. Bayle, Dict. Hist., art. HOTMAN.

The portrait of Agrippa d'Aubigné is the last in this collection, but by no means the least remarkable. The grandfather (for so he was) of Madame de Maintenon was a sort of "admirable Crichton," a man who could be turned to any account, and to whom we might almost apply the lines of Juvenal:—

> "Grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes,
> Augur, Schænobates, medicus, magus, omnia novit."

He discussed theology with the far-famed Du Perron, and was quite at home amidst the mazes of diplomacy; he wrote poetry, fired off some clever squibs against the "vicars of Bray" of his times, and left in his "*Histoire Universelle*," at all events, a monument of unwearied industry.

D'Aubigné had a turn for the epigram; he could be severe and cutting when he pleased, and some of his sayings are striking, both as to their point and honesty. After the attempt of Châtel to stab Henry IV., he lectured the king in the following manner:—"Sir, you have as yet renounced God only with your lips, and He has contented himself with piercing them. If ever you should renounce Him with your heart, it is the heart which He will strike." These words may be regarded as prophetic. It is our conviction that if Henry IV. had not been oftentime restrained by Sully and Agrippa d'Aubigné, when on the point of giving himself up to evil insinuations and wicked impulses, the annals of his reign would have been disgraced by greater faults than those which are already recorded.

With the preceding strictures we must dismiss the former of the works named at the beginning of this article. It now remains that we should examine the "*Histoire de la Littérature Française à l'Etranger*," and in doing so we purpose confining our remarks chiefly to individuals and to facts connected with the history of Protestantism.

The first personage whom the author introduces us to, takes us far from the strong, wholesome literature of the French Reformation. François de Sales was a clever writer, full of imagination; his style was brilliant, and his real merits seem altogether to justify the reputation he still enjoys; but his works are, we believe, spoilt by exuberance of fancy; he often carries his fondness for metaphors within the boundaries of conceit, and he indulges too much in what the French call *mignardises*—a species of composition which is not more tolerable as an intellectual diet, than would be to the palate a dinner wholly made up of plum-cakes and sugar-candy. The "*Introduction à la Vie Dévote*" and the "*Traité de l'Amour de Dieu,*" are the two principal productions of a prelate, whose services to the cause of theological literature would have been greater, if he had not given the dangerous example of that sentimentalism which, instead of strengthening us, acts upon the heart as an opiate or an intoxicating beverage.

Passing over the account given by M. Sayous of the "Académie Florimontane," and President Favre, we come to a man who, although born out of France, was long considered, strange to say, as *the* great authority on points connected with French grammar, and whose life was spent in settling the principles of "beau spelling." Poor Vaugelas! what a rolling fire of epigrams he had to submit to for attempting, in spite of his being a foreigner, to rule over the destinies of the "Dictionnaire de l'Académie!"

> "Outre la haute impertinence (exclaimed one),
> Qu'un étranger et Savoyard
> Fasse le procès à Ronsard," etc. etc.

"J'ai parlé le plus qu'il m'a été possible," said Voiture, writing to Madame de Rambouillet, "comme M. de Vaugelas: *sur mon mauvais accent,* ils m'ont laissé passer."

But these, and similar squibs, were only transient ebullitions of disappointed vanity, and Vaugelas is still, to the present day, a grammarian whose dictum has force of law. Even in the nineteenth century, Frenchmen who would speak correctly must "parler Vaugelas."

> "Molière," says M. Sayous, "was perfectly justified when he described, in his lively and comic manner, the devotion for Vaugelas so common amongst the 'pédantes bourgeoises' of his own times; but the name of that sensible man deserves not to suffer for ever from the ridicule which is connected with the '*Femmes Savantes.*' The mind of the worthy *gentilhomme* was perfectly sound; and if Molière had known him he would have found in him an honourable character, and not a victim for his sarcasms. We do not mean to say that Vaugelas has always avoided the perils inherent to his subject; we would not say that his remarks are always just; it sometimes happens that, engrossed as he is by one example, he does not take the precaution to suppose that others can be found of a totally opposite power; his ear and his taste have a leaning

towards certain quarters; and taking unwittingly an undue advantage of his position as an oracle, he yields to those predilections somewhat too quickly; on several occasions he bows before authorities which are only such for his friendship. He deems it a severe trial, for instance, to find fault with an expression of Coeffeteau's, his first model in the art of writing, and of Chapelain, his illustrious friend; but in the last named case, if his indulgence seems sometimes a little exagerated, it is because the sound criticism which constitutes the subject matter of his work is concealed by skilful precautions from the sight of the readers. His plan was not to name the authors whose faults he noticed, 'as if,' says St. Real, 'he had wished, out of respect, to let the public ignore that they were capable of committing any blunders.'

"After having read the '*Remarques sur la Langue Francaise*,' we are not astonished at the success and influence the book has enjoyed. Not only did the substantial merit of the doctrines and ideas it contains insure that success, but still more perhaps the charm of the garb in which the author has clothed his ideas. The discussion is conducted uniformly in a polite tone and with perfect taste; there is no pedantry, nothing smacking of the doctor; so much so that, as Bonhours truly says, we cannot help loving the author."—*Sayous*, Vol. I. pp. 112, 113.

Whilst M. de Vaugelas was thus busily engaged in revising lexicons and in pruning the French language, discussions of a totally different nature had arisen, which threatened to destroy, both in Holland and at Geneva, the very spirit of civil and religious liberty. The nature of our subject will not allow us to attempt here even a mere *exposé* of the long quarrels which the *vexata quæstio* of man's moral liberty gave rise to in the case of Gomar *versus* Arminius. Referring our reader to M. Sayous for ample details on this subject, we need only say that the influence of Descartes, who had settled in Holland in 1649, and the liberal character of his philosophy, gave a new direction to a controversy which had been hitherto conducted exclusively from a theological point of view, levelling, at the same time, a deadly blow at the pedantic forms and stereotyped models from which "teachers having authority" could never, during the ages of scholasticism, be prevailed upon to depart.

The "*Discours de la Méthode*," published by Descartes, at Leyden, in 1637, deserves only accidentally to be classed amongst the productions of the "*Littérature Francaise à l'Etranger*;" but it is a work which contributed, perhaps more than any other in the seventeenth century, to spread abroad the influence both of the French language and literature; and it is on the ground of Cartesianism that was fought, in those eventful times, the great battle of religious and intellectual freedom.

M. Sayous has devoted the whole of his second book to an account of the great Huguenot emigration of 1685, and to a minute appreciation of that most amusing of all critics—Bayle. We know all that can be said against the author of the "*Dictionnaire Philosophique;*" we subscribe most readily to the judgment passed upon him by Warburton, Jaquelot and Formey; but with all that, Bayle is still undoubtedly the model, the chief amongst a class of writers who are generally thought to earn their living by finding flaws where others would have discovered nothing but beauties. If in this sublunary world there is a "chiel taking notes," who has any sense of respect for the father of critical literature, let him turn to Bayle. There was certainly too much of the sceptic about him, and he seems to have delighted in unsettling the convictions of his hearers, under cover of some classical allusion, or by some query thrown into the shape of a footnote; but he had the merit, on the other hand, of possessing a clear judgment; and as he held rather loose by every opinion on subjects both of literature and of philosophy, his impartiality can never be questioned; nay, it is sometimes pushed to a most provoking extent. When on the point of taking up his abode at Rotterdam as a lecturer on metaphysics, he wrote as follows to one of the gentlemen in whose gift the appointment was:—

> "Cartesianism must not be an obstacle to my nomination. I consider that doctrine merely as an ingenious hypothesis which can be of use to explain certain natural effects; but I am so far from being enthusiastically fond of it, that I would not venture the slightest thing for the sake of maintaining that nature is ruled and governed according to the principles of Descartes. The more I study philosophy, the more uncertainty I find in it; a few probabilities, more or less, make up all the difference which exists between the various sects; none of them as yet can boast of having reached the mark, and none ever will, according to all appearances, so great are the depths of God in the works both of nature and of grace. You may therefore tell M. Gaillard that I am a philosopher without any prejudices; I consider Aristotle, Epicurus, Descartes, as inventors of suppositions whom we can either follow or abandon according as we wish to divert our mind in one way rather than the other."*

This was giving, in plain words, a profession not of faith but of indifference; it is in "*Pensées sur les Comètes,*" that

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* "*Nouvelles Lettres de Bayle,*" *Rom.* xi. *p.* 135.

Bayle for the first time reduced his precepts into practice. This book, written apparently for the purpose of quieting the apprehensions of those who connected with the comet of 1680 serious misfortunes and calamities speedily forthcoming, is nothing else but an apology of atheism. Bayle reasons thus: some persons maintain that God, by causing comets to shine in the heavens as signs of his wrath and displeasure, wishes to proclaim the important truth of an overruling Providence ordering all things in the universe; and to prevent the development of atheism, which is the bane of society. This is, as M. Sayous remarks, a specious objection; and Bayle refutes it very skilfully, by showing that God never would employ one evil to destroy another: atheism is no doubt a serious calamity, but the Almighty can find against it a safer antidote than superstition. So far, so good: Bayle, however, is never able to resist the temptation of startling his readers with some strong, thorough-going, out-and-out paradox. Accordingly, he follows up the argument by saying, that supposing so extraordinary a recipe were adopted as a dose of superstition to drive off atheism, the remedy would be worse than the disease, because *a community of atheists is in every respect superior to a community of bigots*. This is the first inference which Bayle draws, and this inference becomes, as it were, the text of a fresh disquisition, which he expands with all the eloquence of a man determined to see how far his readers are prepared to take in paradoxes. A clever writer can make almost anything appear plausible in black and white, even the description of an atheistical community; but, to quote from M. Sayous, "What would Bayle have said, if he had lived long enough to see a faction of atheists undertaking, perhaps on his responsibility, the government of a whole nation?"

The effect produced by the "*Pensées sur les Comètes*," without being immediate, was not the less deep. The work of the new professor of Rotterdam, translated and reprinted in England, Holland, and Germany, spread abroad the germs of free-thinking which had already been taking root even under the latitude of Versailles, within the very palace of Louis XIV. From the hollow formalism and the canting hypocrisy of a court, where vices of every description had grown into rank luxuriance under the cloak of piety, sprang that sceptical literature which, clothed with so much power in the writings of Bayle, reached its full maturity in the pamphlets of Voltaire and Diderot.

Tolerance, the eternal right man has of thinking, deciding, and believing for himself,—such is the great maxim which Bayle enforces in all his works, beginning with the "*Pensées sur les Comètes,*" and ending with the "*Dictionnaire Philosophique.*" It would seem almost common-place for a writer in the nineteenth century, even to state the axiom of liberty of conscience to the exclusion of everything else; but when Bayle wrote, this axiom was far from being acknowledged even by the Protestant Churches. Witness the literary warfare which the celebrated Jurieu carried on with such indefatigable earnestness against the Rotterdam lecturer. Bossuet and other Roman Catholic divines, who were spectators of this feud, could not with very good grace set up their usual cry for the unity of the Church, considering the open schism produced by the quarrels between the Jansenists and the Jesuits; yet they did so; and, what is still more, they succeeded in convincing some people, that because all the severity of the laws passed by an absolute monarch was brought to bear upon any person mad enough to speak out his own mind, therefore it was nothing in France but "Peace! Peace!" La Bruyère was nearer the truth when he said: "*Qu'un homme né Chrétien et Francais est embarrassé pour écrire, les grands sujets lui étant interdits.*"

Bayle's ideas of tolerance were very much akin to religious latitudinarianism; Jurieu's views of church discipline may almost be said to have been inquisitorial. We are not more inclined than M. Sayous to sympathise entirely with either of the two antagonists. His character of the latter is worth reading; we select a few passages from it:—

> "Jurieu was a man of no mean intellect; his extensive learning, his wit, which was wanting neither in power nor in point, would have secured to him a reputation as lasting as his own is now compromised, if he had written nothing but works such as the "*Traité de la Dévotion,*" and especially his "*Histoire des Dogmes,*" the most esteemed of all his publications. But his pride, hurt by the unexpected rivalry of Bayle, embittered him; helped on by spleen, and by a fluency of writing which was proof against fatigue, he overstepped every limit. Once possessed by the mania of disputing, he spent his time in picking quarrels with any one who ventured to come across his way; as if for the purpose of compelling his adversaries to fight, he used to provoke them by the most irritating critiques. His violence with Bossuet is well known. Readers are less aware that in the course of the discussions respecting Quietism, he attempted to play the part of umpire by taking up the cudgels against both parties at the same time. Whilst attacking Arnauld and the Jansenists he made use of the most offensive personal satire. . . . Jurieu's theological controversies are not free from pro-

fane associations and from flights of eccentricity which are worse than shocking . . . we must, however, beware of seeing in him a being naturally disposed to do harm, and whose faults cannot be excused. When he had not lost his temper, he was a courageous man, devoted to the victims of persecution, and who spent all the influence he enjoyed with William of Orange in procuring to the French refugees situations and employment. In his theological disputes, we cannot accuse him of lacking penetration; ever ready with sallies of sterling wit, he was not quite so much of a visionary as Bayle would make us believe; but he never kept within the bounds of moderation, and by his want of tact he always spoiled the best causes which he interfered with."—Vol. II., pp. 334—337.

Amongst the Huguenot refugees who found in Holland peace and liberty, we must not forget the distinguished band of pulpit orators, whom the names of Bourdaloue, Bossuet and Massillon did not succeed in casting into the shade. The sketches which M. Sayous gives of Claude, Superville, and Saurin, are extremely valuable as contributions to the history both of French Protestantism and of French literature; and his chapter on the Basnage family is full of interesting details which were hitherto not generally known. We shall quote the portrait of Saurin:—

"Like Bossuet, Saurin had some of the elevation, the proud boldness of the eagle. On the whole we find between those two model minds striking analogies and great contrasts. The Protestant has all the strong parts which the Catholic prelate boasts of; he is deficient, on the other hand, in gracefulness and calm majesty. His glance is searching and comprehensive; . . . his eye has not the nice penetration, nor his hand the delicacy, which scans all the springs of conscience; but amidst terrors and ruins his imagination recovers all its powers; repose is hateful to it, and it is not acquainted with calm.

"Cardinal Maury has remarked that Saurin is seldom a great writer. I must add, that as a writer he would always be first-rate, were it not for the impatience and exuberance of expression which does not allow him to compress his ideas or to reduce his impetuous and fluent periods to those proportions which produce majesty and the eloquence of expression. He is apt also to overlook careless writing, antiquated words, in short the awkward appearance of what has been called the "*style réfugié;*" according to Maury's observation, he was deficient in that which Paris society would have given him. But these defects do not quench the fire of his vehement eloquence. He lacks not so much elegance and taste as that *onction*, that indescribable quality, which may fail in appealing to the mind, but which enchains the heart, and is like the charm of the pastoral authority. By way of compensation, Saurin, as a writer, is full of touches, hit off with the most admirable skill.

His forcible expressions often take us by surprise; and he attacks and overcomes us before we have anticipated his intentions. No sacred orator has more of those unforeseen expressions, and no one can produce any such without being really a superior writer." Vol. II., pp. 108, 111.

In a survey of the literary men who, during the seventeenth century, wrote in French out of France, it was impossible to forget Leibnitz. M. Sayous has not only examined the style of that illustrious philosopher, and proved that it often bears the comparison with that of the great writers who have immortalized the age of Louis XIV., but he also gives an account of the well-known correspondence which Leibnitz carried on with Bossuet and Pellison on the often-discussed question of a reconciliation between the Protestant and the Catholic churches; and passing on to the *Théodicée* and to the other compositions which have placed the name of Leibnitz so high on the list of modern metaphysicians, he makes us admire in the writer an accurate logician and a deep thinker, as well as an accomplished artist. We must not, at the same time, conceal the fact that if we wish for a guide to true religion there are many safer manuals than the *Théodicée*. To quote once more from M. Sayous:—

> "If piety was a result of the intellect, nothing would be wanting in the *Théodicée*. Leibnitz proves to our mind that God is, that he is just, good, and that he deserves all our love; no doubt, by so doing he opens a way for holiness to penetrate to our hearts, and prepare us for the reception of heaven-born truths; but Leibnitz can do no more. The light which he seeks, and which he thinks he has found, may be sufficient for him; it has not warmth enough to produce piety. 'I began meditating,' says he, 'when I was still very young; I was not fifteen years old when I used to walk for days together in a wood, endeavouring to make a choice between Aristotle and Democritus; since that time I have changed my opinions over and over again with the hope of finding new light, and it was only twelve years ago that I found myself satisfied, and that I discovered the demonstration of subjects which till then had not appeared to me susceptible of proof.' Such are not the heavings, the anxieties of a soul which is seeking to know itself; such is not the joy of a soul which has discovered the truth. We find nothing there of those elements which make up an Augustine or a Pascal."—Vol. II., pp. 204, 205.

We cannot but hope that the extracts we have given from the volumes before us may lead our readers to a careful perusal of the "*Etudes Littéraires*" and of the "*Littérature Française à l'Etranger*." We should have been glad to find space for a more complete notice of the last-named work; but this is impossible; and in our hasty survey we have been compelled to leave absolutely untouched the chapters which M. Sayous has devoted to St. Réal, St. Evremont and Hamilton. Enough, however, has been said, we hope, to make it quite evident that for depth of learning, soundness of taste, and general accuracy, M. Sayous deserves a prominent place on the catalogue of contemporary writers. In concluding this very imperfect paper we recommend to our friends' attention the unusual activity recently manifesting itself amongst French Protestant *littérateurs.* Besides the author of the "*Etudes,*" several distinguished writers have taken the field against the renewed agitation of the Jesuit party. We had occasion lately to examine in the pages of this review an important work of M. Bartholmèss. M. Weiss's "History of the Refugees" is already well known on this side of the Channel; M. Peyrat's "Pastors of the Wilderness" has likewise been translated; re-impressions of standard Calvinist divines are daily advertised in the columns of the newspapers; and whilst those Benedictines of our age, the editors of "*La France Protestanté,*" are raising a monument to the memory of our forefathers, the *Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français* is constantly enriching our religious annals by the publication of new and interesting documents. We hail with unfeigned satisfaction this phasis in the history of the nineteenth century; so true is it, that stirring times always give birth to genius as well as virtue; like the lava which, flowing from the crater of the mountain, fertilizes the soil below.

ART. III.—1. *Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer.* Prepared by the Royal Commissioners for the Revision of the Liturgy in 1689. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed. June 2, 1854.

2. *A Revision of the Rubrics and Liturgy, with a view chiefly to the Abridgment of the Morning Service.* By the Rev. JAMES HILDYARD, B.A., Rector of Ingoldsby, Lincolnshire. Groombridge. 1856.

3. *Scriptural Revision of the Liturgy, a remedy for Anglical Assumption and Papal Aggression: a Letter to the Right Hon. Lord John Russell, M.P.* By a Member of the Middle Temple. Groombridge. 1851.

4. *The Synodicon.* TO ΚΑΘΟΛΙΚΟΝ. *The Catholic.* An occasional periodical. March, 1854.

5. *Observations on a Petition for the Revision of the Liturgy, with the Report of the Discussion it caused in the House of Lords, 26th May,* 1840. By the Rev. JOHN HULL, M.A., Vicar of Poulton-le-Fylde, and WILLIAM WINSTANLEY HULL, M.A., of Lincoln's Inn, late Fellow of Brazenose College, Oxon. Third Edition. Seeley.
6. *Moderate Revision of the Prayer Book on the Orthodox Principles of its Preface.* By the Rev. C. H. DAVIS, M.A., Wadham College, Oxon. Jackson. 1853.
7. *The Convocation's Problem solved: How to carry out the Church Services (Committees' Report), without altering the Prayer Book or its Rubrics.* By the Rev. C. H. DAVIS. Seeley.
8. *Revision of the Liturgy: a Lecture on the Establishment and History of the Book of Common Prayer, delivered at a Meeting of the Church Reform Association, Plymouth.* By J. N. BENNETT, ESQ. Hall, Virtue and Co. 1851.
9. *The Word of God compared with Man's Traditions: a Lecture on Liturgical Revision.* By JOHN DAYMAN, M.A. Rector of Skelton, Cumberland, and formerly Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxon. Houlston and Stoneman. 1854.

WAR makes sad havoc, not only of the lives of men but of the legislative measures of social reformers. The blossoms of parliamentary enactments which promised ripe fruit for the year 1854, were all nipped in the bud by the herald who proclaimed that Europe was no longer at peace. While the troops were landing at Malta, the House of Commons were advising to be printed a copy of alterations in the Book of Common Prayer proposed by the Royal Commissioners of William III. Public opinion was evidently in favour of some modification of the Act of Uniformity of A.D. 1662. "You may take public opinion," it has been said, "to the well of truth, but you cannot make it drink." So the House of Commons may extract an original MS. from the quiet custody of Lambeth Palace, and order it to be printed; but it cannot insure its being read. The glare and glitter of marching regiments create an appetite for cheap war-books, instead of revised prayer-books. When the allied fleet was passing the Dardanelles, the galvanized skeleton of Convocation was engaged in recommending shorter forms of divine service, and additional prayers and thanksgivings suitable to the needs of the present times. But the *gravamina refor-*

manda of the first winter in the Crimea, diverted the nation's attention from the innovations of bishops and the synodical movements of less dignified churchmen. The return of peace has allowed us a fresh breathing time for social and economical improvements. Parliament has already succeeded in passing measures for adapting the statutes of the two Universities to the wants of the age; it has already been asked to sanction a new translation of the Bible; and has been petitioned to allow revisions in the Prayer Book. The public, too, have taken up the matter, independently of the authorities of either Church or State. At Birmingham, for instance, the services at St. Martin's have been re-arranged and adapted to the convenience of an enormous parish; at Liverpool, a controversy has arisen of no ordinary interest in consequence of the establishment of a "Liturgical Revision Society;" and at Manchester, while we are writing, a circular issued by a large number of churchwardens is now in process of signature, inviting the attendance of all the churchwardens of Manchester to discuss the advantage of the weekly offertory throughout that populous city. A rumour, too, has reached us that some members of the episcopal bench have sanctioned a special selection from our offices, wherever a third Sunday service is performed in the same church. Public notice will doubtless be issued throughout their dioceses before this number of our Review reaches the distant parsonages of the land. Hence it becomes easy enough to predict that these modifications of the Act of Uniformity, under the avowed sanction of episcopal authority, will lead to the adoption of some of the recommendations of the Convocation of 1854, and to some parliamentary revision, for good or for evil, of our Book of Common Prayer.

We address ourselves, therefore, to this subject as one which must deeply interest both the advocates of things as they are, and of things as they should be; and we shall attempt to submit such facts and arguments to the notice of our readers, as may assist them in forming wise and judicious conclusions. For while bad men conspire to injure us, good men should combine to protect all that is valuable, and to amend all that is improvable.

First of all, we express our deliberate convictions, that our Book of Common Prayer is capable of various and valuable improvements. We have not been careless of the signs of the times, while the ritual observances of St. Barnabas, Pimlico; St. Paul's, Brighton; St. Saviour's, Leeds; and St. Peter's, Plymouth; have been attracting public execration. While we give our full assent and consent to all its contents, we have been eye-witnesses of the manner in which its antiquated phrases, and its occasional services, may be perverted from their impressive truthfulness. In our January number for this year, we spoke of our Church as a petrifaction of what she was three centuries ago. We alluded to her being galvanized into partial motion, and we deliberately asserted, that "as the Church of England has remained substantially untouched by the hand of improvement for three centuries, that hand must be strongly and vigorously applied, or the decaying edifice will fall." What we have thus stated generally, we now apply to one special department. On page 19 of this volume, we have stated what kind of revision we advocate, and the reasons on which we ground our firmest convictions. We shall devote the remainder of this article to show that this persuasion prevails very extensively throughout the country. We shall adduce voluminous evidence that a desire for Liturgical Revision has within the last few years sprung up in London, Liverpool, Plymouth, Leeds, Birmingham, and other large and populous places. We shall allow the promoters of this movement to speak largely for themselves; and we shall exhibit the different practical plans which they severally propose for accomplishing their objects. At the close, we shall state our own view of the best method of attaining the object on the principles which we shall distinctly and emphatically enunciate.

It is a singular coincidence that the year 1854, already so memorable for the commencement of the Russian war, should be signalised by various attempts to revise the Prayer Book. On the 14th of March, Mr. Heywood moved an address for a copy of the alterations proposed in 1689; and these were ordered to be printed on the 2nd of June. Early in July, a society was formed in London, consisting of clergy and laity, to discuss and promote a modification of the Act of Uniformity; while on the 20th of July, both Houses of Convocation met and received reports of committees proposing very extensive alterations. In March, "the Synodicon," an occasional periodical, treating of ecclesiastical matters, issued its first number. The public press repeated the echo. One journal, advocating external reforms, devoted many columns to Prayer Book revision; while country newspapers admitted letters of great interest, one of which we shall rescue from oblivion by its insertion in our pages. Petitions, too, were presented to Parliament from various localities, and as these are all events which indicate the current of public opinion just as the first trumpet-blast of war was heard, we may fairly presume that the return of peace will add a fresh impetus to those proposals for internal improvement.

First of all, then, we shall treat the events of 1854, and afterwards select such introductory antecedents as may present a brief summary of the history and literature of this interesting question.

Mr. Heywood's statement, in making the motion, will explain its nature. In moving an address for a copy of the alterations in the Book of Common Prayer proposed by the Royal Commissioners for the revision of the Liturgy in 1689, which were intended to be submitted to Convocation, and subsequently considered in Parliament, and the original of which, in the handwriting of the Royal Commissioners, is preserved in the Lambeth library,—

"The hon. member stated that, in the year 1689, in the reign of William and Mary, a commission was appointed for revising the Liturgy, consisting of ten bishops and twenty other eminent divines. The copy of that commission in the Rolls in Chancery-lane clearly showed that it was a public commission. Their orders were to revise the Liturgy, and present their recommendations to Convocation, which was about the same time to assemble. When these eminent individuals had concluded their labours Convocation was unwilling to consider the alterations which they recommended. The consequence was that those alterations remained in the hands of Archbishop Tillotson until his death in 1715, when they passed into the hands of Gibson, Bishop of London, who acted as secretary to the commission. At the death of the Bishop of London in 1727, he believed the document was transferred to the Dean of Arches, with whom it remained until 1748, when it was removed to the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, and now remained in the Lambeth library. When Archbishop Tillotson had possession of the document he was extremely anxious that it should be kept secret and not allowed to be published. He stated those wishes in writing, and a copy was sent with the document from the Arches to Lambeth. That direction of Archbishop Tillotson had been a serious impediment to the publication of the document, the present Archbishop of Canterbury not thinking it right to concede to any private individual a copy. Mr Heywood had, however, had communication with his grace, and his grace said that if the House of Commons and the Crown consented to the publication, his responsibility would be removed. It was on that account that he brought forward this motion, considering, as he did, that these alterations were worthy the consideration of Parliament and the country. There is no great secret about them. They had been copied for the Prayer Book of the Protestant Episcopalian Church in the United States; and having attended the services of that Church, he could assure the house they were very similar to the services of the Church of England. The services of the American Episcopal Church were very much like those of the Church of England; but there were various alterations, of which he believed the first idea may be traced to this commission of 1689. He believed that the object of that commission was to make the Church of England more comprehensive, and so to enlarge it as that some, at least, of the Puritans of that day might be able conscientiously to join it. There were a great number of persons at the present day who thought that it would be a great improvement to shorten the Church services, and to bring them into a more comprehensive form; but the plain statement which he now wished to submit to the house was this—that there was a public document in a private library—that the archbishop considered himself responsible for the custody of that document—but that he felt that his responsibility would be taken away, in case the Crown, on an address from the House of Commons, should ask to have it given up."

The contents of this MS. were no secret: every information respecting this Royal Commission is found in chaps. ix. and x. of Dr. Cardwell's well-known "History of Conferences, and other Proceedings connected with the Revision of the Book of Common Prayer, from the year 1558 to the year 1690." It need only be stated that Tillotson, Burnet, Patrick, Stillingfleet, Beveridge, and Tennison, were commissioners. The amendments which they suggested comprise 598 distinct articles, consisting of alterations, substitutions, additions, notes, queries, and proposals; the transcript of which, from the original MS. in the Lambeth library, occupies 173 leaves, and is accompanied by some illustrative papers, including a copy of the Commission, and a curious diary of the proceedings of the commissioners, written by a member of that body.

As this transcript has been printed by the House of Commons, and has been, for two years, accessible to the public, its contents will be already familiar to the reader.

Dean Comber, in writing to Bishop Patrick, one of the most active and judicious of the commissioners, commences his letter as follows:—

"York, Oct. 19th, 1689.

"I heartily rejoice that you are in this new commission, wherein, I hope, both your true affection to the Church, and charity to Dissenters who are capable of being obliged, will appear."

Cardwell, p. 413.

The following significant fact, respecting the appointment of lay-commissioners, is recorded by Bishop Burnet:—

"Previously to the appointment of the commission it had been moved in the House of Lords, 'that a number of persons, both of the clergy and laity, should be empowered to prepare such a reformation of things relating to the Church as might be offered to the king and parliament, in order to the healing of divisions and the correcting what might be amiss or defective in our constitution.' He tells us that he warmly opposed the motion, through giving the clergy credit for desiring to promote such a design, and wishing to leave it entirely in their hands. The motion was rejected. 'But I was convinced soon after,' he adds, 'that I had taken the wrong measures, and that the method proposed was the only one like to prove effectual.'"—*History of his own Times*, vol. iii. p. 11, 8vo. edition. London: 1818.

May it not be added, in the emphatic words of the late Dr. Arnold of Rugby, "Unless we profit, as Burnet did, by his experience, we are likely to meet with a repetition of the same disappointment now."

The well-known object of the commissioners was to devise, if possible, some means of comprehending a large portion of the Nonconformists of those days. "They had before them," says Burnet, in his '*History of his own Times*,' "all the exceptions that the Puritans before the war, or the Nonconformists since the Restoration, had made to any part of the Church Service;" yet the whole effort was abortive, and the document has become chiefly significant to us of the utter impossibility of pleasing all parties by suggesting obvious improvements.

The very first alteration is one which would be fiercely contended at the present moment. The word, "priests" struck out, and altered with a mark of doubt thus, "presbyters, Q." The second alteration on the title page, "PRIESTS," struck out and altered, without any mark of doubt, "*presbyters.*" We are strongly in favour of this alteration; we would strike out "priest" from the Rubrics, and Litany, and occasional services, and would substitute minister, or pastor, or presbyter; thus returning to the Reformation times and the Prayer-Book of Elizabeth, 1568. The word "altar," has been long ago removed; let the correlative expression, priest, be also struck out. The erroneous doctrines which have lately been grafted upon our Church, by means of this and similar expressions, have created the greatest excitement in various localities. At Brighton public meetings have been held to protest against the abuse of the office of priesthood. At Birmingham a public lecture has been read openly advocating the absolving power of the priesthood of the English Church; while St. Saviour's, Leeds, has long been noted for carrying out, to its utmost extent, the sacerdotal and sacramental systems. This Parliamentary blue book evidently laid hold at once of the public mind; as we find that immediately after its issue, the following paper on "priesthood" was read before the Plymouth Church Reform Association, and the following significant letter appeared in the columns of a widely circulated Leeds journal:—

"On Priesthood.

"The word "priest" has become historically one of the most important ever used in connexion with man's religious worship. It deserves a careful examination, through the importance of the idea which it was intended under both dispensations to convey. We can only hint at its meaning in Heathen and Jewish times, and pass at once to its introduction into the Christian system. It was clearly intended to convey to the mind something more than either 'minister' or 'presbyter.' Milton's pointed sarcasm, 'New presbyter is but old priest writ large,' was well meant, but is scarcely correct; for the word 'priest' essentially represents the idea of sacrifice, which 'presbyter' does not. Jewish and heathen priests slew material victims, which were supposed to be acceptable sacrifices to the Deity. The Christian's High Priest offered up a visible and tangible victim—Himself—the only real sacrifice ever offered up for the sins of men. The marvel of the gospel is, that the victim offered up himself, and then rose to be his own High Priest, who ever lives to present himself before His Father for us. His priesthood did not pass on to any child of Adam. Yet very early in the history of the Church, we find the ministry spoken of as a 'priesthood.' The word is used to imply the offering either of some material or spiritual sacrifice by one man for many; and to convey the impression that such men are the divinely appointed channels of some spiritual grace, which cannot be otherwise obtained by Christians in general. Thus, the priest is supposed to present to the Almighty some visible oblation on behalf of himself and of others, or else, to offer the invisible but acceptable sacrifice of prayer and praise. In the former sense, that of presenting any material offering, no Christian can be a priest; the attempt to do so is a mockery and an imposture. In the latter sense, that of offering up spiritual sacrifices of prayer and praise, all Christians are priests equally. Every believer has the same privilege of access unto the Father of us all, through the one Mediator, by the one Holy Spirit. There is now, there always has been, there ever shall be, ONE HIGH PRIEST—Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. There never was but one victim and one altar, and there can be no others. From the moment in which these words pealed through the vault of heaven, 'It is finished,' priests and altars were not only prohibited, but impossible. They were the old garment which could not be patched, the old bottles which could not hold the sparkling wine of the new kingdom. They were rotten, worn out, and done with for ever. The blow as of an angel's sword, which rent in twain the veil of the Temple, annihilated for ever holy places and holy things. Simple as these assertions are, they lie at the foundation of all that we are going to say, and must be repeated thus earnestly in condescension to the needs of our weaker brethren.

"Again, the existence of priests seems to require that of temples in which to minister. And what is the New Testament idea on this point? The word 'temple' and the phrase 'the house of God,' is never used in the Christian economy of a material building. Believers in Christ—redeemed souls and bodies, are now the house of God, the temples of the Holy Spirit. Wood and stone, however beauteously compacted by architectural taste, are not now the special dwelling-places of the Most High. His holy temple is now in the souls, and spirits, and bodies of the devout worshippers. Places and things cannot be holy. This epithet can be strictly applied to Christians alone—instinct with life from heaven.

"Are these assertions correct? If so, they condemn the modern use of many words and phrases, the tendency of which to interpret religious words in a non-natural sense, must be sternly rebuked. It is not a sufficient apology to say 'these expressions are very common—they are known to be figurative—no one is misled by them.' The multitude are misled, and especially those whose feelings of reverence are easily misplaced. It may be replied 'the thoughtless and the foolish only can be deceived'—but, alas! how many does this description include? Surely the experience of the last twenty years has shown us that the religious follies of our age are countless and endless; if we desire power to dispel them let us think clearly, speak scripturally, and leave the issue with God and each man's conscience.

"To treat our subject fully we require to glance at the witness of the New Testament, and at the early centuries of the Church's history.

"In the records of the new covenant there is no indication of the apostles being sacrificing priests. The deacons, the bishops, the evangelists, the teachers whom they ordained, were no more priests than the rest of the faithful worshippers; for the apostles could not convey gifts or powers which they did not themselves possess.

"In process of time Jewish words and ideas were introduced into the language of celebrated teachers and writers. One single example shall be the eloquent but mistaken Chrysostom. He adopts and enforces the supposed sacrificing power of the priestly office; he finds a material oblation in the elements used at the Lord's Supper, and treats the Eucharist of rejoicing believers as a sacrifice full of awe, terror, and dismay. We purposely omit all quotations here. The third book of his treatise on priesthood will furnish the proof of our assertion, that he alters the very tone and framework of Christian worship as it exists in St. Paul's epistles. The very title of his work shows its Judaising tendency. *Hierosune* can only be used of the high priesthood of the Redeemer, and of the common priesthood of the redeemed. The able minister of the new covenant, whatever his order in that ministry, which is spiritual service, never was and never can be a priest. The adoption of the ideas of Chrysostom on the continent of Europe has entirely altered the original portraiture of Christianity; and the live-long efforts of our reformers were directed towards throwing down these cherished idols of a mistaken church. We are not now arguing the point, we are simply stating that Chrysostom was wrong and Ridley right; we are only saying over again, what a hundred wiser and older men have said, fuller and better, before we were born. And the reason for our repetition is this:—We think we see lingering traces of this erroneous idea still lurking amidst the rubrics of our Prayer Book. We know the whole case so well that we are not personally aggrieved, but we also know poor weak human nature so well that we wish every suspected word put into quarantine. Our venerated mother has never taught us to lisp the word 'altar,' let her also put out of her children's reach the word 'priest;' we are better out of harm's way; the word 'minister' is sufficient for the majority; the word 'presbyter' will satisfy the scholar without misleading the multitude.

"Another reason for removing the word is this; the remnants of ancient error in our rubrics, and occasional services are fastened on by some and hailed as the foundation for erroneous theories to be yet further developed. The slight blemish is petted and fondled till it is nursed into a striking beauty. A few years ago the present writer thought better of the age in which his lot is cast: he would have let these things alone, that they might die away the forgotten amidst the advancing dawn of spiritual brightness; but the scenes which his own eyes have witnessed, and the sentiments which his own ears have heard, have led him to conclude that these weeds ought to be rooted up, and may be removed without more than ordinary labour. A few verbal omissions are all that is desired; these may be made without limiting any man's right to teach what he conscientiously believes to be truth, and in accordance with the Church's statements. If after these omissions any minister assume the existence of a Christian priesthood, let it be clearly seen that he acts upon his own private judgment, and that while permitted to hold his own views, he is in no way sanctioned by the formularies of the Anglican community."

We add here the Leeds letter:—

"*To the Editors of the Leeds Mercury.*

"GENTLEMEN,—Having noticed in your paper of Saturday last a paragraph referring to the revision of the Prayer Book, allow me to offer you a few remarks on that important subject.

"The paragraph stated, that, during the May meetings, a society was formed for promoting the revision of the Liturgy. As I was present at the two days' conference which led to that result, I claim your indulgence while I explain the principles which the promoters of the society laid before the meetings.

"You and I, gentlemen, have lived long enough in the world to acknowledge the truth of this maxim of Walter Savage Landor's—'Our century seems to have been split asunder: one-half rolling forward, the other half-backward; inquiry closed by icebergs, credulity carried to the torrid zone.' Now, I ask you, gentlemen, whether this pithy sentence does not describe the religious state of Leeds and its neighbourhood? I will not say whether I refer to St. Peter's and St. Saviour's; to your Mechanics' Institutes as they invade Bradford, or to the table-turning and spirit-rapping so partial to the atmosphere of Wortley. But I will apply the sentiment at once to the subject in hand.

"It is notorious to both friend and foe of our National Establishment that she partakes, like all mortal things, of both good and evil. Holding forth, as she does, the Word of God to the nation, she is worthy of all honour; but retaining, as she does, some remnants of antiquated superstition, she needs the steady hand of the wise and skilful reformer. The Prayer Book is far from perfect, especially in its occasional services. This utterance has been sounded from parsonage and mansion, from the Chamber of Peers to the Chamber of Commons, over and over again. These imperfections have been, and are now, the sources of unseemly strife and unholy contention. I think, gentlemen, both you and I know the root of the evil; and I attended the conference with an earnest wish to discover whether others knew where to find it. The first words which I heard from the chair soon convinced me that I was among men of the right sort. The first blow which was struck was levelled bravely against the doctrine of priesthood. We were reminded of the error of the Ordination Service, which assumes the power of conveying grace for forgiving and retaining sins. It was distinctly asserted that all Christians are alike kings and priests before God in Christ, and that human priesthood, in the ordinary sense of the word, is not only prohibited, but impossible. The Rubrics, the Ordination Service, and that for the Visitation of the Sick, were said to contain expressions which foster this erroneous idea; and hence it was argued, 'erase the expressions—give no countenance to the lurking error—the fallacy has been revived at Leeds, at Plymouth, at Brighton and elsewhere. It is time for a radical reform here: good men of all sects and parties will encourage and aid us. The tattered rags of the old superstition are now not only unsightly but pernicious, for, alas! there are some who treat them as reverently as they would the hem of the Redeemer's garment.'

"Now, I am sure, gentlemen, you will admit that this was beginning at the right end. You can readily imagine the enormous evil which arises when the chief minister of a populous manufacturing parish is a resolute advocate for his own priesthood. Then you have practical proof that our nineteenth century is 'split asunder;' one-half rolling forward in all Christian effort, and religious and moral improvement, and one-half rolling backward towards the Babylonian scarlet, which it mistakes for a robe of righteousness. Here is the anomaly of our established system. If you have a good and earnest man, honouring God and preaching Christ, at the head of a parish or a diocese, then the gospel flourishes, and souls are taught the one way of salvation; but if your bishop or your pastor is full of priestly pretensions, then you have forms and ceremonies, and chants and altars, with all the postures and impostures of Anglo-Catholic divines. Thus the Church may be likened to a beautiful Etruscan vase with two handles, of exquisite workmanship. On one handle is written 'The Word of God,' on the other, 'The word of the priest;' and each party pulls with all its might in its own direction. Thus, Yorkshire is blessed with an archbishop distinguished for his Christian liberality and his courteous kindness; and it has an archdeacon whose name was once dear to Yorkshire hearts, although it is now sullied by the taint of sacerdotal pretension. A name of European and American renown is now tarnishing its paternal lustre, by upholding sacrificing priests, material temples, holy altars, and episcopal grace. And while the Prayer Book remains as it is, such teaching may be privately disapproved, but can scarcely be legally condemned. The inference from these facts is clear. Erase the erroneous phrases, and let the erroneous teaching find its main support cut away. Purify the rubrics, and the occasional services of the Church *at least*, and erase all objectionable inscriptions on the guide-posts which may lead towards Rome.

"The sound, the healthy portion of the community require this. I plead on behalf of the tender consciences within and honest consciences without. When attending the May meetings, I read over a door at Exeter Hall, 'Church and Chapel Union.' Revise the Prayer Book, and it will prove a better Church and Chapel Union than any other scheme of the wise men of this generation. Help us, gentlemen, in this struggle—it is a Dissenter's question as well as a Churchman's. We Churchman are hereby making our confession and proclaiming our repentance. The word of God does dwell richly among us notwithstanding those blots and scars. Help us to get rid of all those notions of priesthood which imply that one man confers grace upon another through any official act or benediction. As the society grappled nobly with the first difficulty, so may it proceed to contend with others.

"But enough for the present. I hope you will permit me to knock at your door again as soon as I have another letter for you.

"Yours every truly,

"June 13th, 1854. "A CHURCHMAN."

While these sentiments were circulating through the provinces, the Committee of Convocation was preparing its list of *gravamina et reformanda*. The Bishop of London doubtless expressed the desire of his episcopal brethren, that while the services were re-arranged each of them should, separately, remain "entire and unaltered;" but we can scarcely expect that this moderate reform will satisfy the desires of an earnest and spiritually-minded laity.

The proposals of both Houses of Convocation at their meeting, July 28th, 1854, have been fully discussed throughout every parsonage and archdeaconry of England: we repeat them here for the purpose of contrasting them with the views of some active Liturgical revisers, who met in London exactly at the same time. The Convocation documents are these. In the Upper House, the Bishop of London rose to present the report of a select committee appointed to consider whether the great increase and present condition of the population does not make some, and if so what, adaptations of the Church's rules needful to meet their spiritual necessities. That report was as follows:—

"The committee appointed by the Convocation of the province of Canterbury to consider and report 'whether the great increase and present condition of the population do not make some, and if so what, adaptations of the Church's rules needful to enable her to meet their spiritual necessities, report—That they have held frequent meetings for the consideration of the subject referred to them, and that they have agreed upon the following conclusions:—

"That some modification of the Church's rules is needful to enable her adequately to minister to the spiritual necessities of the people of this land; and that these modifications may most properly be considered with reference—

"1. To her services, and

"2. To the ministerial agency which she now employs.

"As to the first of these, we think it of the utmost importance, in the present state of the Church, that the services, as now ordered in the Book of Common Prayer, should be preserved entire and unaltered; but we are of opinion that the length of the morning service on Sundays and holydays, especially when the Holy Communion is administered to a large body of communicants, renders it desirable to allow of its being divided into different services, and used at various hours. We therefore think it would be expedient that, at the request of the incumbent, or, in his absence, of the licensed curate of any parish or district, the bishop of the diocese should be empowered to authorise, so long as he shall deem fit, a division of the present morning service; so that either the order for the administration of the Holy Communion, or the order for daily morning prayer, may be used as a separate service: provided that the whole morning service, including the Litany, when appointed to be read, be used either in one or two services in the course of the morning; a sermon being preached at either or both services.

"As to the order for evening prayer on Sunday, we see no need of suggesting any alteration, except when it is used in the same church both on the afternoon and evening of the same day. In this case, we think it would be expedient, 1st, that a new table of proper lessons should be authorised, which might be substituted in the evening prayer for those already read in the afternoon service; or, 2dly, that at the discretion of the parish priest, with the consent of the bishop, a substitution should be allowed, either in the afternoon or evening, of one of the occasional services hereafter mentioned, provided that the order for evening prayer be always used either in the afternoon or evening.

"We should suggest that in the present state of our population the Church would be better able to minister to their wants if some well-considered relaxations of the absolute strictness of her services, as prescribed by the Act of Uniformity, were admitted by authority; and we would enumerate the following as some which might be usefully adopted:—

"First, we would suggest that a shorter order for daily prayer might be compiled from the Book of Common Prayer, with a prescribed lesson or lessons of Holy Scripture, which might be used instead of the present order for daily morning and evening prayer, on other days than Sundays and holydays, in parishes where the incumbent shall have satisfied the bishop of the diocese that it might be advantageously adopted.

"Secondly, we would suggest that various occasional services might be formed from the Book of Common Prayer for use in the Church with the permission of the bishop, on week days, and in addition to the prescribed services on Sundays.

"We would specify the following as examples of such services:—

"I. The Litany, with a scripture lesson, psalmody, holy baptism, churching of women, sermon, or catechising, or with any of them.

"II. A short selection of collects, with the Lord's Prayer and psalmody, to precede or follow a sermon or catechising.

"III. A service. with sermon or lecture, preparatory to the administration of the Holy Communion.

"IV. A thanksgiving service, containing the 'Venite,' 'Te Deum,' psalmody, collects, the Lord's Prayer, a scripture lesson, and the general thanksgiving, with or without a sermon.

"V. Services for the deprecation or removal of God's judgments: one formed of collects, the Lord's Prayer, penitential psalms, and a scripture lesson; another, consisting of the Litany, with penitential psalms, and a scripture lesson: either of such services with or without a sermon,

"VI. A service for imploring the blessing of God on Church missions; with or without a sermon.

"VII. A service for children.

"Further, we think it would be expedient that the bishop should be empowered to authorise the use of the order for the administration of the Holy Communion as a separate service, on any day of the week; and that he should be authorised to allow, on special occasions, the substitution of other chapters of the Old and New Testament respectively, for the first and second lessons appointed for the day. For one special occasion, viz., Ash Wednesday, we would recommend the appointment of proper lessons. Besides the adoption of these occasional services, framed from the Book of Common Prayer, we think it desirable that a collection of psalms and hymns, to be used in churches, should be put forth by authority.

"Further, we think it desirable that a form should be authorised, 'for admitting converts from the Church of Rome, and such others as shall renounce their errors, and for restoring such as have relapsed;' and we are of opinion that the form prepared by the Upper House of Convocation in 1714 would, with a few alterations, be proper for this purpose.

"Our attention has been invited to certain portions of our existing services, and to certain orders in our canons, which are thought to interfere with that enlarged action of the Church, the means of promoting which we were appointed to consider.

"As to the first of these, the only one on which we would now remark, respects the third exhortation, following the prayer for the Church militant, in the order of the administration of the Holy Communion. Concerning this exhortation it was suggested to us that, being read, as it now is, after the withdrawal of all save those who have resolved at that time to communicate, and who must be supposed to have already examined themselves, and after such examination to be now drawing near 'to eat of that bread and to drink of that cup,' the strong expressions it contains, as to the danger of an unworthy receiving, are unreasonable, and are found in practice to disturb the minds of some of those who remain to communicate. These objections would, in our judgment, be in a great degree removed if this address were read, as the exhortations which precede it are ordered to be read, at the conclusion of the sermon, to the whole congregation, rather than after the prayer for the Church militant. Having regard to the place of this exhortation, after the two which immediately precede it, and which are distinctly ordered to be read at the close of the sermon, and to its tenor as applicable to the whole congregation, consisting of those who have or have not yet resolved to remain and communicate, rather than to those who have already begun to take part in the communion office, there does not appear to be so distinct a settlement of the place in the service at which this exhortation must be read as to prove that it may not be read immediately after the sermon, and before, instead of after, the prayer for the Church militant, when the Holy Communion is administered.

"An order in the canons bearing on our services, which was brought under our notice as containing rules which tend to cramp the Church's expansive power, by interposing hindrances to the more general use of her offices, was the prohibition, contained in the 29th canon, of parents standing as sponsors for their own children. As to this, whilst we thankfully recognise the great benefits which arise from engaging other fit persons, where they may be had, to undertake the charitable office of sponsors, we are of opinion that the main reasons which appear to us to have induced the Church of England to prohibit parents acting as sponsors for their own children no longer exist; and having regard to the difficulty now often found, especially by the poor, in obtaining fit sponsors for their children, we think that a relaxation of this prohibition is desirable."

The Dean of Ely also presented the accompanying:—

"REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF 'GRAVAMINA' OF THE LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION.

"This committee having had their attention especially directed to certain representations contained in a schedule of 'gravamina' presented to the Lower House of Convocation, wherein it is stated, on the authority of a recent official report on religious worship in England and Wales:

"'That more than five millions of persons are absent from public worship of Almighty God on the Lord's day;'

"And wherein it is prayed that

"'Measures may be devised by this synod for a remedy of the evil aforesaid,'

"They have taken the same into their consideration; and without entering into the question of the accuracy of the statement above referred to, but fully admitting and deeply deploring the fact that large masses of our population are strangers to the sacred ordinances of religion,

"They report as follows:—

"I. That, in order to reach effectually these masses of the population, it may be necessary to call to our aid the agency of a more multiplied and varied ministry than has hitherto been brought to bear upon them; and that it is a subject deserving the most careful deliberation whether this additional ministry should consist of deacons specially ordained for this duty, or of other agents acting under a license from the bishop, and either giving themselves wholly to this work, for the love of Christ, or devoting to it a portion of their time, without forsaking their usual secular avocations.

"II. That since the character and condition of this population is such as, in some degree, requires to be dealt with in the same manner as that which is adopted by our missionaries in distant or foreign lands, it might be desirable that stations should be appointed in populous towns, parishes and districts, at which sermons, with or without any other service, should from time to time be delivered.

"That it might conduce to the religious awakening of many, if, at certain seasons, special preachers were to be appointed in each diocese by the bishop to visit the large towns or destitute districts, and hold such services as have been already mentioned.

"And it might also be productive of much benefit if, in our cities, sermons, with or without preceding service and psalmody, were preached at suitable hours in the naves or other commodious parts of the cathedrals.

"But they are impressed with a sense of the necessity that all such subsidiary agency should be employed in complete harmony with the diocesan and parochial system.

"III. That inasmuch as the population of England and Wales has become doubled in the last half century, and scarcely any increase has been made in the number of our bishops for three hundred years, it deserves attentive consideration whether, for the due performance of the work of the Church, especially in our large towns and extensive dioceses, it be not very desirable to add to the episcopate, whether by the creation of new sees, or by the appointment of bishops suffragan under the authority of the existing statute law.

"IV. That it might conduce to the end proposed, as well as tend to render the existing services in our churches more available to the different classes of worshippers who attend them, were a division of the offices on Sunday morning to be sanctioned, by which the order for morning prayer, the Litany, the Communion Office, or any two of them might form a distinct service; provided that the whole three offices be read in the course of the forenoon, except it be in churches where, from peculiar circumstances, there is now no morning service.

"V. It might also be desirable that in churches in which there may be two evening services, the clergyman, with the approval of the bishop, should be at liberty to substitute for one of them a different form, consisting of the Litany, with a lesson or lessons from scripture, psalmody, and a sermon.

"VI. That it might further tend to the object in view if a shorter form of daily morning and evening prayer were compiled from the Prayer Book, which might be used on all days, except on Sundays and holydays; and if a short service were also compiled from the Prayer Book for the use of schools, and a series of short services for such purposes as the following, viz.:—

"For the deprecation of God's judgments;

"For thanksgiving;

"For a blessing on the missionary work of the Church;

"For the reunion of the divided portions of Christ's body;

"And for other similar objects.

"VII. That with the view of extending the influence of Christian example in the community, and of training the younger members of the Church, after confirmation, in habits of piety and order, it might be advisable that measures should be taken for bringing them together from time to time, for mutual religious instruction and improvement, under the direction of the parochial minister.

"VIII. That in order to make the existing amount of church accommodation available for the largest possible numbers of the people, it is desirable that, in addition to the multiplication of services in the way above proposed, the exclusive allotment of sittings in our churches should be limited as much as possible; that all such sittings, where practicable, should be made free for at least one service in the day; and that the whole should be made to possess the same character as regards appearance and convenience.

"IX. The committee indulge the hope that by such measures, under the blessing of Divine Providence, the operations of the Church might be so extended as not only to carry the ministrations of the Gospel to multitudes who at present have no access to the means of grace which she has provided, but also win back and secure the sympathies and hearts of others who are not now in communion with her; an object well deserving the Christian solicitude and earnest prayers of all the members of our Church.

"X. And lastly, the committee recommend that a 'representation,' embodying this report, he humbly presented to his grace and their lordships of the Upper House of Convocation, with a view to their taking it into their consideration.

"GEORGE PEACOCK, Prolocutor."

It occasioned no small degree of surprise at the time, that sedate bishops, and venerable archdeacons, and learned canons should sanction such recommendations; for every statesman felt sure that if such proposals were ever laid on the table of the House of Commons, the Act of Uniformity would be torn to shreds and scattered once and for ever to the winds of heaven. It was well known, "in well-informed circles," that a gathering of earnest Churchmen was to take place in London simultaneously with the meeting of Convocation. Various delegates attended from Bath, Carlisle, Plymouth, Leeds, Gloucestershire, Dorsetshire, Oxfordshire, Surrey and Yorkshire, to meet London friends for mutual deliberation. They soon issued a "memorandum," from which we extract a few clauses:—

"It was stated that societies for Liturgical revision had existed for some years in various parts of the kingdom, as, for instance, at Bath, Plymouth, and Carlisle. At the meetings of these societies, a desire had been expressed for a central society in London, as essential to permanence and efficiency. The secretary for the meeting had corresponded with various members of these provincial societies, and with many other friends of Liturgical revision, who had concurred in the propriety of a meeting in London during the month of May, and had promised, if possible, to attend. In the course of this correspondence, a large number of letters had been received, amounting to about 100, from members of parliament and influential clergy and laity in almost every part of the kingdom, approving of the object for which the meeting had been called. The circular convening the meeting was signed by thirty-seven requisitionists. Among these were the names of eighteen beneficed clergy, some of whom had made repeated efforts during former years to call public attention to the subject. The same may be said of the lay-requisitionists.

"The principles and plans of the proposed society were then explained to the meeting.

"The promoters desired not to introduce any *new views* of the subject, but to embody the principles which had been often expressed and published since the Reformation, but chiefly during the last twenty years.

"They desired *omissions* and *alterations* in the *Occasional* Services and *Catechism*, rather than additions or arbitrary changes.

"It is important to bear in mind that the revision of the *Occasional* Services and *Catechism* is chiefly desired, and that very slight alterations of the service for Morning and Evening Prayer are intended.

"The first omission proposed, was that of the word 'priest,' and the restoration of the word pastor, minister, or presbyter, as used at the Reformation.—*See the Prayer-Book of Queen Elizabeth*, 1578.

"Reasons were given why the word 'priest' was now exceedingly objectionable, and reference was made to the fact, that its use was regarded as sanctioning sentiments and practices of the Romanizing clergy in our Church, which were held to be decidedly unscriptural.

"The second omission proposed, was that of the clause in the Ordination Service, which is supposed by the same party among the clergy to confer upon the candidate priest the power of forgiving and retaining sins.

"Other omissions proposed were, the absolution in the service for the Visitation of the Sick, the well-known objectionable clauses in the Baptismal Services, the Apocryphal Lessons, and the condemning clauses of the Athanasian Creed.

"The almost universally-desired change in the Burial Service was alluded to, as well as some alterations in the Catechism.

"The PRINCIPLE of all these proposals is to avoid those *positive* assertions which have distressed many consciences; the erasure of the remnants of Romish error which had long lain dormant, but which have lately been awakened into new and dangerous activity; and to encourage the comprehension of all evangelical Christians, in accordance with the attempt made under the Commission issued by William and Mary, A.D. 1689.

"As to PRACTICAL PLANS.—It was stated that should the proposed society be formed, it was desirable to aim at carrying out its object by some definite plan. The opinion of various revisionists had been requested; and, on the whole, it seemed best at present to recommend, as a preliminary step, a Royal Commission of inquiry similar to those issued for the universities and the cathedral establishments: such a commission to be composed of equal numbers of clergy and laity, and to confine its attention to collecting the opinions of Liturgical revisionists, *in writing*, classifying the recommendations so made, and reporting to the crown and the country."

A correspondence ensued on the basis of the above-mentioned "memorandum," from which we have been permitted to make these selections:—

From a Gloucestershire incumbent:—

"You are perhaps aware that a meeting was held in London last spring at which the gentlemen you name were present; and at which it was unanimously determined that the very next step to take, was to form a London Committee, who could act as a centre of communication for efforts now made in different parts of the country; but which, for want of such a centre, are isolated. Unless such a committee can be found, I fear the proposed meeting will end, like the one of last year, by doing nothing."

A Wiltshire rector writes:—

"Probably at the approaching meeting some of the difficulties in the way of a revision may be shown to be less in reality than in idea; and thus some of us be enabled to see our way more clearly in joining the present movement."

From a colonel in the army:—

"I heartily agree as to the necessity for effecting a revision of those passages in the Book of Common Prayer of which the Tractarian party in the Church take advantage to introduce the errors and idolatry of the Romish apostacy."

From a gentleman resident at Bath:—

"It is my earnest wish, long cherished, that your intended meeting if not *immediately*, may, with the divine blessing, *ultimately* lead to the revision which every enlightened and unprejudiced Churchman must desire and pray for."

From a clergyman at Bristol:—

"If I could be persuaded that there was the least hope of success in obtaining such a revision of our Prayer Book as would satisfy the consciences of some of our clergy and laity, I would thankfully join in the efforts you are contemplating."

From a clergyman in his 80th year:—

"I hold the Liturgy in very high estimation, and am often grieved at heart when I consider how large a crop of tares is therein mixed with the wheat, and lament that the tares should not be weeded out. I think at least I ought to avow my belief that a pure Christianity will not flourish in this country without a general revision and reformation of our Church Establishment."

From an incumbent in Cumberland:—

"I have no objection whatever to reform of patronage, prelacy, &c., but a *great* and *decided objection* to their being in any way so mixed up with our cause of revision, as to risk its rejection. A Church teaching error for truth must, in my judgment, first, with the help of God, be set in order, and we may look for all other blessings to attend our exertions. Certainly our prospects brighten, and the cause of God's Holy Word must in the end prevail: but, with the nation, we may be taking the field for a long struggle."

From an incumbent in Norfolk:—

"Of the importance, expediency and necessity of Liturgical reform I have no doubt at all. In order to insure success in our attempts, I think we must be careful not to aim at too much at once. If we could only succeed in establishing our principles, I should be satisfied in the existing state of the Church, *i.e.*, let us labour to get rid of everything which pronounces upon the effect of rites and ceremonies, whose efficacy experience proves to be at least doubtful. If we could only be relieved from pronunciation upon the efficacy of baptism, the state of the dead, &c., weak consciences would be at least relieved from much painful feeling. God has sent us two good archbishops, and I trust he will pour out His Spirit on the body of the clergy, destroying bigotry and prejudice, and causing truth to prevail."

From a gentleman at Bath:—

"You are at liberty to mention my name to any one that may be thought right. The two questions to which my own mind turns as of the greatest importance are, Liturgical revision and the present vicious system of patronage."

From a solicitor to a clergyman:—

"The more I consider Church reform, the more thoroughly persuaded I grow that it must make progress, and not only be a large question but bear the appearance of being so too. That the time has come for forming a Metropolitan association, I feel quite sure; and as soon as the association can be formed, many opulent Christians are ready to help with names and money. Now a few words on the object. Would you confine it to Liturgical revision? Many, indeed most, of the friends whom I have had the pleasure of communicating with, feel the revision of the Prayer Book to be the great matter."

From a nobleman, a member of a local Church Reform Society:—

"As my opinion in favour of revision of the Liturgy, and a reform of our Established Church have been for some time published, I need not say that it is from no reluctance to appear publicly a Church reformer, that I have decided upon thus withholding my name, but simply because I think the time very unfavourable for attracting to the subject the amount of popular attention which will be indispensable towards bringing about any practical results. I shall be glad to hear of a movement, if you could make it an efficient one for the revision of the Liturgy, and the reform of the Established Church."

From an Essex rector:—

"I wish that we may do some good at our meeting. We should endeavour to divest our minds of prejudice and of excessive love for antiquated, though not perhaps scriptural, notions. I have considered some of the subjects which probably will be discussed, for twelve or thirteen years, and have determined, by God's grace, to try the statements of our Prayer Book by the Bible; conceiving it to be very possible, that as 'humanum est errare,' there may not be that perfection of doctrine that some may suppose."

A clergyman near Macclesfield sends the following petition. It was duly laid by Sir George Grey before Her Majesty, and acknowledged by him to the first of twelve or thirteen names. Parliament alone can cope with it, he thinks, "as it does now with Oxford University."

" *To the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty.*

"THE HUMBLE PETITION OF THE UNDER-SIGNED CLERGY AND LAYMEN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND SHEWETH,

"That forasmuch as the efforts which have been hitherto made, to stay the spread of doctrines and practices too much akin to the errors of the Church of Rome, have proved ineffectual—and as, in a matter of such essential importance, such measures ought to be had recourse to, as may appear calculated, by God's blessing, to prevent the continuance of so great an evil; we would, with all humility, approach your Majesty as the supreme head of our Church, and express the strong conviction of our minds, that a main source of the evil will remain, unless there be a wise, temperate, and, at the same time, faithful, revision of our Liturgy, especially of our Occasional Services.

"We humbly remind your Majesty, that the revision of our Liturgy is by no means without precedent; and that, although there may be difficulties in accomplishing this work, yet, if undertaken by continual prayer, in dependence on the Great Head of the Church, those difficulties would doubtless be overcome.

"We would, moreover, beg to state, that the circumstances under which many of the formularies of our Church were compiled, were such as would make it probable that some of the old leaven would remain; and that the long enjoyment of the blessed privilege of an open Bible in our land would lead to the detection of errors, the purging away of which is needed for the glory of God, the setting forth of His truth in its simplicity, the quieting of many consciences, the increase of evangelical ministers, and the augmented attachment of your Majesty's subjects to the Established Church.

"For these considerations,—impressed with a strong sense of duty to God, and to our fellow-creatures,—we earnestly beseech your Majesty to issue a Royal Commission for the purpose of effecting this object, so devoutly to be desired.

"And your faithful subjects will ever pray," &c.

From a Welsh rector :—

"One thing ought to be done at once, and to this I think all will agree, that a clergyman should not be compelled to read the Burial Service at the grave of any one who has not died a *bonâ fide* member of the Church."

From a Dorsetshire incumbent :—

"I trust I may hereafter take a bolder part in the endeavour to accomplish that end whereon my heart is perfectly at one with your coadjutors and your own. God prosper your labours, and those of your fellow workmen, in this right endeavour."

A rector near Shrewsbury writes :—

"It sorely crosses my grain to deny myself the pleasure of meeting you, and others like-minded, at the proposed conference. With reference to the formation of a society, I trust it will not be a vague society, of which there are too many in the present day. By all means let the society seek for speedy practical results. There is a great difficulty in the present state of the Church in seeing one's way to the extent to which new arrangements and modifications should be carried; still more, to the authority which should be invoked in order to give effect to any scheme however desirable. This may induce the mere formation of a society which shall talk and write and lecture about revision, without making any impression upon the public with regard to what the society would really be at."

From an episcopal clergyman resident in Scotland :—

"Referring to the use of the word 'priest,' as now used in the Book of Common Prayer; I think you may deem it sufficiently important, to give publicity to the fact, that on the revision of the Prayer Book under Queen Elizabeth, in the year 1572, the term decided upon by Convocation, by which ministers of the Church of England, now denominated 'priests,' were ever after to be named, was either 'pastors' or 'ministers;' and as a copy of the Prayer Book of that period, lying open by my side, under date, A.D. 1578, shows, in no single instance does the term 'priest' occur in this connexion.

"Some of your readers may be glad to be reminded that this revision of the Book of Common Prayer under Elizabeth, was about four years after her accession to the throne; while yet the Reformation spirit, and the mind and aim of the reformers, *prevailed*.

"A popular History of England, published under the direction of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge—referring to this act of the Queen, states :—

"'Acts were obtained to restore the form and ceremonies of the worship which had prevailed in Edward's reign, and to effect other changes till, in due time, the Church of England was built after the fashion which she still retains in all essential points, connected both with her internal constitution and her external forms.'

"In the copy of the Prayer Book so revised already alluded to, wherever the term 'priest' is *now* used, the word minister, or pastor, is invaribly employed, but in no case priest. This is surely ground for action.

"Thus, at the head of the prayer declaratory of absolution to such as, with true penitent hearts, confess and forsake their sins, the Rubric directs simply, 'The *absolution to be pronounced* by the minister alone,' not a word about a priest, nor as to his or the people's posture, as now appears at the head of the same passage in our books of Common Prayer. In the suffrage of the Litany, where now prayer is offered for the ordained ministers of the Church, under the designation, 'bishops, *priests*, and deacons;' the book of Queen Elizabeth, conformable to, and in the spirit of, the changes introduced at the Reformation, reads, 'That it may please Thee to illuminate all bishops, pastors, and ministers of the Church,' &c.

"There is great importance in this discovery, for two reasons:—

"1st. Inasmuch as the most forward of some of the Tractarian school are urging the restoration of Church *order* to what it was at the revision of the Prayer Book by Elizabeth; and thus by their own demand, therefore, this *most* important of all questions in dispute between us, would be disposed of in favour of those who deny everything of the nature of a sacrificing priest, in relation to that ministry which serves under the gospel.

"2ndly. As suggesting the inquiry when, where, and under what marked circumstances, indicative of the aim and spirit of the man or men who made them, were those alterations introduced which have made the Book of Common Prayer as it now is, materially different, in so essential a point, throughout its pages, from the book as it came forth revised by Convocation, A.D. 1572."

From a lay member of the Metropolitan Church Reform Association:—

"I have for some time been of opinion, that a revision undertaken in a right spirit, and by a rightly selected body, would, if efficiently carried out, in harmony with the altered times, prove a national advantage and blessing. . . . . The little experience I have had in the matter, leads me to think that such a work as the one contemplated requires the organization of a well qualified central committee in London, meeting frequently and regularly. In regard to your object, the consideration of it, and a spirit of prudent but conscientious counsel and action, I beg to offer my best wishes; and if, when your plans are matured and decided, they be such as I can concur in, I shall be happy to contribute towards preliminary expenses."

Whether wisdom is always to be found in the midst of a multitude of counsellors must be judged by the results. The skeleton synod of the Jerusalem Chamber was soon dissolved; and within a few days of its decease, its rival in the Strand tried its hand at Liturgical improvement. Those results they thus pithily expressed.

"1. The Rubric: the word priest to be changed.
"2. The Ordination Service: words abused to the purposes of sacerdotal assumption to be altered.
"3. The Visitation of the Sick: the absolution to be omitted or qualified.
"4. The Baptismal Offices: words asserting the spiritual regeneration of each recipient to be altered.
"5. The Catechism to be revised.
"6. The Burial Service: general language to be employed in expressing hope for the departed.
"7. The Athanasian Creed: the damnatory clauses to be omitted.
"8. The Apocryphal Lessons to be replaced by Scripture.

The reasons they assign for their proposals, and the practical methods for accomplishing them, are exhibited in the following remarks:—

"1. THE RUBRIC.

"The mediation and advocacy of ONE HIGH PRIEST, and Him only, are distinctly avowed throughout the Book of Common Prayer, by the form of sound words with which its Collects almost invariably conclude. The participation by *all Christians alike* in the 'Royal priesthood,' ascribed to them by the apostle Peter (1 Pet. ii. 9), and John (Rev. i. 6), is recognised no less plainly in the most solemn service of our Church, by that collect which presents 'ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice.' It is farther implied by that *equal share* which is assigned to the congregation in the most sacred of our daily prayers and thanksgivings, namely, in the Lord's Prayer, and in the Psalms and Scripture hymns. But, of late years, advantage has been taken of an ambiguity in the word *priest* (originally the same as *presbyter*) to encourage among us the persuasion that *some special grace is communicated to the laity through the mediation, and solely by the hands, of clergy.* It has been assumed that the Church of England recognises in such persons a *priestly* power of *forgiving and retaining sins*, and of *imparting to sacramental elements an efficacy* which the teaching of Scripture and the facts of Apostolic history alike repudiate. One remedy for such pernicious and antiscriptural views of sacerdotal character is, the *omission of the word* 'priest,' and restoration of the words 'pastor,' 'minister,' or 'presbyter,' as employed by our Reformers in the sixteenth century. (See the Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth, 1559). It is well worthy of remark that the word 'altar,' as correlative of 'priest,' was long ago removed from our Prayer Book. Until the reign of Charles II., the Absolution in our daily services was pronounced by the 'minister,' but was then restricted to 'the priest alone,' at which time also, in the Litany, the words 'bishops, pastors, and ministers of the Church' were altered to 'bishops, priests, and deacons.' In this also a return to the 'old paths' is advisable."

"2. THE ORDINATION SERVICE.

"The 'Form and Manner of Ordering of Priests,' as it now stands, contains the following words to be pronounced by the ordaining bishop :—'*Receive the Holy Ghost* for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. *Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.*' Experience, both of the past and the present, shows that very dangerous assumptions, of the nature before stated, are grounded on the words of this form, which is itself comparatively a modern innovation, unknown in Christian churches for several hundred years after the apostolic age. It is desired that such alterations may be made as shall replace this too authoritative style by humble supplication for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon candidates for the Christian ministry; while care is taken in the revised form to maintain the Divine commission of 'pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.'" (Eph. iv. 11).

"3. THE VISITATION OF THE SICK.

"The objections already made to the language of our Ordination Service, as affording colourable pretext for *priestly* assumption, apply to certain portions of this service also. After the 'Articles of Faith' rehearsed, come four Rubrics, in the three first of which the word '*minister*' is employed, but in the fourth the word '*priest;*' and then follows the phrase, '*I absolve thee;*' substituting English words for the Romish '*Absolvo te,*' and implying the existence of an authority, to the due exercise of which it is obviously requisite that the possessor be inspired. (John xx. 22, 23). The erasure of this and similar phrases from the Liturgy is desired, in order that our formularies may more jealously maintain the prerogative of THAT ONLY ONE, who 'hath power to forgive sins.'"

"4. THE BAPTISMAL OFFICES.

"The literature of Liturgical revision abounds with discussions respecting our baptismal phraseology. In proposing to remove *all positive assertions of spiritual regeneration being conveyed to each individual by the outward rite of baptism*, it is not the mere private judgment of a few that is expressed, but the opinions of eminent clergy both in present and former days, and the wishes of multitudes of the spiritually-minded laity. By avoiding such appearance of presumptuous intrusion into things which man has not seen, immediate relief would be afforded to many tender consciences, and able and pious men would no longer be excluded from the ministry of the Church of England, only because they dare not certify that union between the sign and the thing signified in baptism, which Scripture proves to be neither inseparable (Acts viii. 12—23), nor invariable (Acts x. 44—48)."

"5. THE CATECHISM.

"The question '*How the poor of this country shall be educated*' is felt to be daily growing in importance, and the influence of the Church of England, in carrying out any system likely to be adopted by the Legislature, cannot be overlooked. These of themselves are cogent reasons why the Catechism should at once be examined, and its language purified from all that may be found justly offensive to pious members of the Church universal, who might then be brought to concur in sanctioning its use *for all schools*, as fairly representing the harmony of Protestant confessions of the Faith. It is only necessary here to suggest that those words in the second answer of the catechumen, '*wherein I was made*,' might properly be exchanged for '*wherein I was called to be*.' The principle involved in this slight alteration is important, and is commended to the serious consideration of all who desire for themselves and their children to remember the emphatic warning of our Divine Master, 'MANY ARE CALLED, BUT FEW ARE CHOSEN.' (Matt. xx. 16, and xxii. 14)."

"6. THE BURIAL SERVICE.

"The American Episcopal Church has set that of England a wholesome example, in amending this form, and substituting *generalized* language for that expression of *assured hope* respecting *each individual*, which cannot be appropriate so long as in the visible Church 'the wheat' and 'the tares' are suffered to 'grow together,' that is, '*unto the harvest*.' (Matt. xiii. 30). It is known to most well-informed churchmen that a memorial relative to this service was in the year 1851 presented to the Episcopal Bench, signed by 4000 clergymen; and the following was the answer to it from the present Primate :—"

"'To the Rev. W. F. Witts.

"'LAMBETH, *Feb.* 3, 1852.

"'Rev. Sir,—I have recently had the opportunity which I expected of communicating to a large assembly of bishops the memorial respecting the Burial Service, which you transmitted to me signed by 4000 clergy.

"'The bishops generally sympathise with the memoralists in the difficulties to which they sometimes find themselves exposed with reference to the terms of that service.

"'But I am sorry to report, further, that the obstacles in the way of remedying those difficulties appear to them, as at present advised, to be insuperable.

"'I remain, Rev. Sir,
"'Your faithful servant,
"'J. B. CANTUAR."

"7. THE ATHANASIAN CREED.

"The following candid admissions are from a work of the late Bishop Tomline, now long in use as a text-book for students of theology in the Church of England: 'Great objection has been made to the clauses of this Creed which denounces eternal damnation against those who do not believe the Catholic Faith as here stated; and it certainly is to be lamented that assertions of so peremptory a nature, unexplained and unqualified, should have been used in any human composition.' (Elem. of Theol., vol. ii. p. 220). Again, 'Since the gospel nowhere informs us what degree of error will exclude from eternal happiness, I am ready to acknowledge, that in my judgment, *notwithstanding the authority of former times*, our Church would have acted more wisely, and more consistently with its general principles of mildness and toleration, if it had not adopted the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed.' (*Ibid.* p. 222). The American Church has discontinued the use of this Creed altogether. Without going thus far, it appears desirable to have the clauses in question removed, as ill becoming the lips of fallible men, and painfully at variance with the feelings which ought to pervade an assembly of Christian worshippers."

"8. THE APOCRYPHAL LESSONS.

"St. Paul has declared that 'all Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.' (2 Tim. iii. 17). Therefore the Apocrypha, which is *not* inspired Scripture, *cannot* be required for 'instruction of life' or 'example of manners,' and the retention of Apocryphal First Lessons in the place of canonical Scripture tends to confuse the value of the two in the minds of the unlearned, investing uninspired writings with undue authority. Those who, in Charles II.'s reign, restored the History of Bel and the Dragon to a place in our Calendar, seem strangely to have overlooked the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, where it complains that 'the godly and decent order of the ancient Fathers hath been altered, broken, and neglected *by planting in uncertain stories and legends.*' There is a general and increasing desire that the Apocrypha should be discarded altogether from the Liturgy, as it has been from our Bibles."

"A careful examination of the changes here specified will illustrate the chief aim of this society; which is, TO BRING THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER INTO CLOSER CONFORMITY WITH THE WRITTEN WORD OF GOD AND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE REFORMATION, by excluding all those expressions which have been assumed to countenance ROMANIZING doctrine or practice. It is believed this object will be greatly advanced by the combination of numbers, and the abandonment of desultory for systematic action. All, therefore, who are friendly to the cause of Protestantism in our Church—all who would gladly see the *letter* of our formularies, which have been altered for the worse more than once since the Reformation, brought again into harmony with the *spirit* of that glorious epoch—are invited to co-operate in this work, and to aid the society with their contributions, their influence, and above all, their prayers.

"As the Book of Common Prayer in its present form is 'part and parcel' of the law of the land, and change in a single Rubric affects the Act of Uniformity, not the slightest alteration can *legally* be made in it (though more than one *illegal* change is to be found in its pages) without the concurrence of both Houses of Parliament, and the sanction of the Crown. With a view, therefore, to obtaining such a revision of our Liturgy as shall meet the wants of the age, the members of this society propose to collect, digest, and circulate, as widely as their means will allow, information connected with the subject of Liturgical reform: in the hope of awakening the public mind to a more adequate sense of dangers, present and imminent, which encompass the Protestant Church of our fathers; and of comprehending within that Church many earnest Christians, who are now conscientiously deterred from her communion. They will attempt this by means of tracts and occasional papers; by deputing trustworthy representatives of their principles to address public or other meetings, wherever these shall be called for; by preparing petitions to Parliament for general signature; and by such other constitutional methods as occasion shall furnish or suggest.

"With the Divine blessing upon these endeavours, and on the discussions and inquiries which they may be expected to produce, it is hoped that Parliament may, at no very distant period, be induced to address the Crown for the appointment of a royal commission, in which laity may be combined with clergy; so that what is for the good of all classes may be settled by the wisdom of all, and a proper basis laid for sound Liturgical reform. Without such reform the members of this society are convinced that no ecclesiastical changes, however well intended, can possibly reach to the root of existing evils, whether of *priestcraft* or *formalism*, or can render the Church of England what her martyred reformers undoubtedly intended her to be: A FAITHFUL WITNESS TO THE TRUTH OF GOD AS IT IS IN CHRIST JESUS, AND A DILIGENT KEEPER OF HIS HOLY WORD IN ITS INTEGRITY AND UNDIVIDED AUTHORITY."

The following petition has been circulated throughout the country, adopted in various towns, and presented to Parliament:—

"*Form of petition drawn up by the 'Liturgical Revision Society.'*

"TO THE HONOURABLE THE COMMONS OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED.

"The humble petition of the undersigned showeth:—

"1. That your petitioners hold it to be of the utmost importance that the Articles of Faith and the Liturgy of the National Church should, both in letter and spirit, be in harmony with each other, and with the written Word of God, and, at the same time, as comprehensive in their terms of communion as the principles of Christianity will admit.

"2. That, according to the returns of the late census, the Nonconformists of England and Wales have increased to such an extent, as at length to outnumber the members of the Church of England; a fact which your petitioners believe is to be attributed, in great measure, to the presence of exceptionable expressions in certain of the liturgical offices.

"3. That it was the intention of the leading reformers, under King Edward VI. and Queen Elizabeth, to bring the Prayer Book into closer conformity with Scripture, and to make farther concessions to the scruples of conscientious Protestants, which intention has never yet been carried into effect.

"4. That while the Articles of the Church of England have remained unaltered since the reign of Queen Elizabeth, changes have more than once been made in the Liturgy; and that at the restoration of King Charles II. the imposition by law of the Book of Common Prayer now in use, ejected from their benefices nearly 2000 of the most pious and able ministers then teaching the people.

"5. That the document entitled 'Alterations in the Book of Common Prayer,' prepared by the Royal Commissioners for the Revision of the Liturgy in 1589,' ordered by your honourable house to be printed June 2, 1854, is proof how far eminent prelates and divines, at the period of the glorious Revolution, had proceeded in their task, with the avowed view of removing needless forms and obsolete or otherwise objectionable phrases, and of comprehending orthodox Nonconformists within the Church of England, which laudable attempt was frustrated by the Lower House of Convocation, representing a clergy at that time notoriously disaffected to the government and to the Protestant succession.

"6. That your petitioners are greatly encouraged by your honourable house having authorised the publication of so important a document, and humbly pray that Parliament would be pleased to take further steps, either by address to the Queen's most excellent Majesty, for appointment of a Royal commission, after the precedent of king Edward VI., or by a committee of your honourable house, for carrying out the known principles and designs of the most enlightened reformers, in a farther revision of the Book of Common Prayer, by which your petitioners are assured that tender consciences may be relieved, erroneous teaching be prevented, present difficulties be removed, many sincere Christians be enabled to teach and worship in the Established Church, and, above all, the language of the Liturgy be more plainly conformed to the only unerring standard of religious truth—the Holy Scriptures.

"And your petitioners will ever pray."

While the metropolis is necessarily the head-quarters of every movement, both political and ecclesiastical, the spirit which is concentrated there spreads rapidly throughout the provinces. While Convocation was discussing a new "cast" of our services, Archdeacon Wilberforce, in Yorkshire, was charging in direct violation of our formularies. The appeals of Messrs. Brock and Taylor were extensively read, and anti-archdeacon meetings were held in various localities. Hull became the centre of various gatherings, and especially of one for prosecuting the archdeacon in the Ecclesiastical Court. Far-seeing observers, however, were desirous of probing a little deeper; and in the vicinity of Leeds, vigorous measures were entered into, not for lopping off a single archdeacon, but for rooting out the remnants of an injurious system. The men of Yorkshire are remarkable for the earnestness with which they persevere in what they take up; and they consequently put forth the following recommendations under the very shadow of that noble Minster which,

"Ut rosa flos est florum,
Sic est ista domus domorum."

"YORKSHIRE RECOMMENDATIONS.

"*First omission.—The word priest from the Rubric.*

"The retention of this word in the Prayer Book is believed by the clergy and laity here present to give countenance to views of sacerdotal character, which they hold to be decidedly pernicious and anti-scriptural. It has been extensively used of late years to encourage the persuasion that some special grace is communicated to the laity through a mediating PRIESTHOOD. Hooker's definition of the word—'a priest is a clergyman which offereth sacrifice unto God'* has been freely adopted by some officiating clergy of the English Church, and erroneously applied to themselves as divinely appointed mediators between the soul and its Saviour. It has been assumed that our National Church recognises in such persons a PRIESTLY power of forgiving and retaining sins, and that when they consecrate the elements of bread and wine at what they call 'altars' within material temples, these sacred symbols become inherently more holy than they were before.

"The prevalence of this use of the word 'priest,' renders it necessary to discontinue it, before this erroneous idea of priesthood becomes more widely diffused among the ignorant and the deluded.

"Every candid observer of the religious events of our day will have noticed instances of the error to which we allude. The doctrines taught and the ceremonies practised at St. Barnabas, Pimlico; St. Saviour's, Leeds; St. Paul's, Brighton; and St.

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* "Ecclesiastical Polity," book V., chap. lxxviii., sec. 2.

Peter's, Plymouth; as well as at other places, have been brought prominently before the notice of the public; and in each case an appeal has been made to the bishop of the diocese. In the published works of two archdeacons, similar doctrines have been openly developed even to the very verge of Romish heresy. These writings have been submitted to their respective diocesans, without as yet any practical effect.

"The inferences which the advisers of revision have been reluctantly compelled to draw from these facts, are as follows:—

"I. The authorities of the Church seem unable to deal summarily with cases of this kind, because there are expressions in the Rubric and Occasional Services, which may be quoted in favour of these objectionable doctrines and practices.

"II. The revival of these superstitious observances and Romish imitations may be traced to certain forms of expression retained in our Prayer Book, touching the commission and authority of the priesthood.

"The remedy proposed is the omission of the word 'priest' altogether, and the restoration of the words 'pastor,' 'minister,' and 'presbyter,' as used by the Reformers in the sixteenth century. (See the Prayer Book of Queen Elizabeth, 1578.) Thus the word 'presbyter' may be substituted for it in the Ordination Service; the word 'minister,' in those offices with which the people are more familiar, being better understood by ordinary worshippers. It is worthy of remark that the word 'altar,' as correlative of priest, was long ago removed from our Prayer Book; the time has surely arrived for the erasure here recommended.

"The Yorkshire promoters of Liturgical revision would be very urgent in this matter. They feel it to be the only possible way of relieving their own consciences from participating in the guilt of this erroneous teaching. They feel that the Romanizing clergy have lately given a prominence to this latent error which formerly it did not possess. And when their doctrines are brought before some of our wisest and holiest ecclesiastical rulers, they acknowledge their unscriptural character, but are compelled to admit that while our Prayer Book remains as it is, they have no authority to restrain and repress them.

"There is also another important reason why this omission should be speedily made. Many excellent and able men, from the times of Baxter to the present, have been kept out of the ministry of our Church, by those very expressions which it is so essential to remove. Without the sacrifice of one particle of truth, by simply giving up a word with its concomitant error, a large admission within the Church's fold may reasonably be looked for from those who now minister and worship among Dissenting communities. If the principle here contended for were once conceded, every wise man must perceive that our clergy and our flocks would be rapidly augmented by a union with the best and most estimable of those whom erroneous ideas of priesthood necessarily compel to remain aliens from our spiritual commonwealth. Church extension of this kind among the spiritual stones of the living temple is far more desirable than the erection of buildings in which the priestly system may be insidiously introduced and fatally propagated:—

" *Second omission.—From the Ordination Service.*

" The omission of all or a portion of the following clause is imperatively required.

" ' Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.'

" The removal of this passage, or the change of the form of it, from an authoritative declaration, into one of humble supplication for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, is desired, because the experience of the present and the past, has clearly shown that a very dangerous delusion is fostered by the use of a form, unsuitable for the purpose to which it is constantly applied.

" While desiring the omission or modification of this clause, we are far from undervaluing the Christian ministry. On the contrary, we uphold its essential sacredness, and desire that the revised form of ordination shall be so expressed as to maintain the Divine commission of 'pastors and teachers, for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ.'

" *Third omission.—From the Visitation of the Sick.*

" A clause or two in this service is liable to similar censure. Four Rubrics follow the 'Articles of Faith:' in the first three the word 'minister' is used; in the fourth the word 'priest;' and then follows the phrase 'I absolve thee,' implying the existence of an authority which is not really possessed. Consistently with our foregoing remarks, we desire to see this phrase erased. Thus it will clearly be seen that our formularies acknowledge but *One* only who 'hath power on earth to forgive sins.'

" It may be mentioned, that at the Savoy Conference immediately preceding the Act of Uniformity, the Absolution in the Daily Services was ordered to be pronounced by 'the priest alone' instead of by 'the minister:' and in the subsequent petition in the Litany, the words 'bishops, priests, and deacons,' were substituted for 'bishops, pastors, and ministers of the Church.'

" The promoters of this society recommend a return to the expressions of the older Prayer Book in these particulars.

" *Fourth omission.—From the Baptismal Service.*

" The advocates of Liturgical Revision feel the necessity for the greatest discretion and wisdom in seeking any omissions in this service. They desire not to enforce their own private judgment, but to express shortly and pointedly what has often been expressed in every variety of form by some of the most eminent Churchmen of the present and of former days. The literature of Liturgical revision is almost entirely conversant with discussions respecting this service. The ablest divines of the last fifty years have been in favour of some omissions from the Baptismal Service. Clergy and laity have united in petitioning the Crown, the House of Lords, and the bishops, over and over again. We believe that we represent correctly the wishes of thousands of our spiritually-minded laity, by stating our conviction that all positive assertions respecting the absolute connexion of divine grace with the outward rite of baptism ought to be removed. The nation at large we believe to be prepared for so desirable a change. We embody the urgent solicitations of multitudes that the Baptismal Services shall in future neither affirm nor deny the invariable and inseparable union between the two parts of the Baptismal Sacrament. We simply desire that its statements shall be more general and less positive. The two phrases which this principle requires to be erased are these:—

"1. 'Seeing now, dearly beloved brethren, that this child is regenerate;' and,

"2. 'It hath pleased Thee to regenerate this infant with Thy Holy Spirit.'

"Such erasures would relieve many oppressed consciences, and attract towards our fold many able and godly men, who exercise their ministry at present in dissenting communities because they dare not use phrases which are not scriptural. Such omissions would strengthen the bonds of union between the National Church and the people at large; it would not invalidate 'the one baptism for the remission of sins;' while it would free many good men from the charge of subterfuge and evasion, and conduce to our union with those men of God who are estranged from us by objections whose validity we fully admit.

"*Fifth omission.—The Athanasian Creed.*

"Very obvious reasons recommend the omission of the Rubric concerning this creed. It may stand in our Prayer Book without being compulsorily read in our public services; but if it must be occasionally read, let its condemning clauses be struck out. This, at least, the position of the Church as national and comprehensive, renders essential to its well-being. Divines have frequently maintained that these clauses are not a part of the creed—then there need be less hesitation in abandoning them. It is only necessary to add a few words from Archbishop Tillotson in a letter to Bishop Burnet:—

"'Lambeth House, Oct. 23, 1694.

"'The account given of Athanasius's Creed seems to me nowise satisfactory. I wish we were well rid of it. I pray God to preserve your lordship to do more such services to the Church.

"'I am, my lord, your's most affectionately,

"'JO. CANT.'

" *Sixth omission.—From the Burial Service.*

" This service admits of one judicious omission. The phrase: 'as our hope is this our brother doth.' Cases have lately occurred in which the officiating clergy could not conscientiously express this hope, and some have consequently declined to use the service, notwithstanding the heavy pecuniary penalties to which they might be subject.

" A memorial relative to this service was presented, in the year 1851, to the archbishops and bishops, signed by 4000 clergymen."

The well-known answer, received from the Archbishop of Canterbury in reply to Mr. Witts, should stimulate revisionists to make some effort to remove the obstacles which appeared to the bishops insuperable. As the prelates to whom the memorial was communicated sympathize with those who presented it, there is ground for hope that, if the popular feeling were suitably expressed, they would, in the House of Lords, support such measures of relief as the necessities of the case demand. In special cases the clergy do take the liberty of making omissions in the Burial Service; all that is required is a permission to do legally what is now done without the sanction of legal enactment.

" *Seventh omission.—The Apocryphal Lessons.*

" The reading of the Apocryphal instead of the Old Testament is a grievance which requires a speedy remedy. It has been frequently and solemnly protested against, and many clergy have assumed to themseves the liberty of reading Scriptural lessons instead of the Apocrypha. It seems desirable that steps should be taken towards the discontinuance of reading the Apocrypha. For this purpose a short bill might be introduced into Parliament, allowing any officiating minister a liberty which all ought to exercise, and many have already taken, although as yet unsanctioned by the law of the land.

" *Eighth alteration.—The Catechism.*

" The importance attached to instruction in the Catechism in our parochial schools suggests the propriety of some revision of that formulary. It is unnecessary to do more than to suggest that the words in the second answer, 'wherein I was made,' may be exchanged for 'wherein I was called to be.' The principle involved in this slight alteration is important. We commend its consideration to all who are desirous that our authorised formularies should be purified from all suspicion of erroneous doctrines.

" The advisers of these changes may be acquitted, it is hoped, of the charge of presumption, because they are only repeating what has been frequently proposed by some of the most enlightened and attached Churchmen during nearly 200 years. They do not forget the failure of previous attempts from the year A.D. 1689 to the present; but they feel that the events of these days are peculiarly calculated to unite all who long for the revision of the Liturgy in one central and effective society."

The Yorkshire revisionists felt urged to these proceedings by the circulation throughout the East Riding of this address:—

"TO THE VENERABLE ARCHDEACON WILBERFORCE.

"WE, the undersigned, clergymen in the archdeaconry of the East Riding of the county and diocese of York, being deeply impressed with the duty which devolves upon us at the present important crisis, in matters affecting the Church, desire to make known our sentiments in the following resolutions:—

"1. That the doctrine of baptismal regeneration is plainly affirmed in the formularies of our Church, and that they are not to be understood in any other than a natural sense.

"2 That remission of original sin to all infants in and by the grace of baptism, is a truth of practical importance, involving the belief or rejection of an article of the Creed—"one baptism for the remission of sins."

"3. That in the present abeyance of the Church's powers of legislation, the claim to give judgment in cases of final appeal has been recently shown to be practically equivalent to the exercise of 'authority in controversies of faith;' but this authority is affirmed by our articles to belong to the Church, and ought to be confined to the spiritual power."

Here follow the signatures to the number of fifty-six who sign the whole, and seven who do so with the omission of the third resolution.

In consequence of this declaration, so numerously signed, the Yorkshire revisionists kept their eye fixed upon the London and the provincial press. An influential London journal, usually advocating Church reform, inserted the following "leader," on the 13th of June, 1854. This declaration consequently elicited the accompanying letters from the untiring factories of Yorkshire.

"Again, we have been asked our reason for refusing to join in a demand for a revision of the Liturgy. To this we urge the same reasons that we have brought against the mixing up of doctrine and reform of the Church. The revision of the Liturgy may be a most desirable thing, but it is not a thing for a public association to attempt, or a journal to advocate. Neither an association nor a journal could carry any weight on such a subject. A revision of the Liturgy will be a bone of contention between the High and Low parties in the Church, and neither are likely to give in their adhesion to any scheme emanating from an unauthorised channel. The revision of the Liturgy is a spiritual matter, and therefore a fit subject for discussion and decision only by the general council of the Church. No other authority *will be* or *can be* recognised by the Church. Suppose her Majesty's Privy Council were to take the matter in hand, would its judgment be received with veneration by the Church? Most decidedly not. Whichever way it might decide, and whatever might be its decision, it would be repudiated as unauthorised, and not binding upon the members of the Church. We, for our part, should most decidedly refuse acquiescence to any such decision. We deny the authority of the State on all matters of faith, ceremony, and doctrine. These are the concerns of the Church in council assembled—the Lord being her guide—not the affairs of a body of men, many of whom are not only not members of the Church, but absolute disbelievers in Christianity itself.

"Such are our reasons for refusing to advocate Liturgical reform—not that we do not consider it necessary, but that we recognise no competent authority for the task. It is all very well to publish the views of correspondents on the subject. That does good, and may tend to facilitate the consideration of the question when taken in hand by the only power which a true Churchman can recognise."

LETTER I.—WHAT IS WANTED AND WHY?

"In your leading article of last Tuesday you give your reasons for refusing to join in a demand for a revision of the Liturgy. Now, while I admit the necessity for 'reform' in the temporalities of the Church, I think the need is still greater as to its formularies and occasional services. You say 'the revision of the Liturgy is a spiritual matter, and therefore a fit subject for discussion and decision only by the general council of the Church. No other authority *will be* or *can be* recognised by the Church.' Here I must join issue with you. Revision of the Liturgy is a layman's question as well as a clergyman's. A general council of the Church is a fallacy, If it means a general council of the clergy—then we must repeat the truism for the thousandth time--the clergy are not the Church. The only general council to which all must ultimately appeal is the legislature of our country. The Prayer Book is part of an Act of Parliament, and the slightest change in a single rubric implies the modification of the Act of Uniformity. Let the good common sense of educated Englishmen entertain the question of Liturgical revision. Earnest and Christian men will soon find out *what they want, and why they want it, and how they are to do it.* I, for one, strongly recommend an influential society for this purpose. The late discussion in Parliament will do good: it will direct men's minds to the intentions of the commissioners of former days, and enable us to profit by the experience of the past, and to look with confidence to the future. We want certain omissions of words and phrases which oppress tender consciences within and repel honest consciences without. All traces of the priestly system should be removed, as an antiquated remnant of darker times, and the general principle of comprehending all 'good men and true,' should be steadily kept in view. Whatever propositions are approved by 'the council of the Church,' be it convocation or diocesan synods, or any other lay or clerical body, after all, the whole subject must be re-opened and sifted by the Parliament of England, before it can become the law of the land.

"Every man's liberty of conscience should be respected—no man should be compelled to use the revised Liturgy against his consent; but, at his decease, its use should be compulsory on his successor. Every man should be fully at liberty to speak and write against the 'new-fangled change:' but such faith have I in the sterling sense of Christian Englishmen and of our educated clergy, that I have no fears of the result. The nation knows what we want, and so does the orthodox Dissenter, and we should soon be helped out by the best and the noblest spirits of our day.

"I hear, sir, that a society for this purpose is now in process of formation. With your permission I will send you information about our local proceedings which may be worth notice.

"Believe me yours,

"Eboracus.

"June 16th, 1854."

"Letter II.—The right time is the present.

"The proposers of all beneficial changes have always been met by the objection, 'Your object is good, but this is not the time to bring it forward.' I need not remind you how often this is said with reference to political and social reforms; and we naturally expect to hear it with respect to those higher and holier questions which concern the welfare of the Christian Church. The inspired penman has enshrined a pregnant truth in words of sacred wisdom, 'To every thing there is a season, and a time to every purpose under heaven.' And he displays most of heaven-taught prudence who discovers the right time for discharging a duty and advocating an improvement. Liturgical reform, sir, is often treated as other reforms. It is first approved by the admission, 'we all long for it as much as you do;' but it is immediately frozen to death by the chilling caution, 'but this is not the time for it—we have too much controversy, and too little confidence; wait awhile till our discussions are settled, and then bring it forward.' This 'wait-awhile,' sir, has killed many an innocent, and has strangled to death many an unfledged improvement.

"Now, sir, I am prepared to assert that *the present is the right time for Liturgical reform.* I assure you, sir, that your readers acknowledge its necessity. I beg the question that it is most desirable to get rid of rubrics which everybody breaks when he pleases, and to erase some remnants of the olden time which everybody allows are not suited to our ideas of a pure and unadulterated gospel. The majority of both clergy and laity will soon be ready to give up the word 'priest,' and to remove all positive assertions about the efficacy of baptism. He must be a singular specimen of fossil divinity who will defend the uncatholic clauses of that modern creed, the pseudo Athanasian.

"Assuming, then, that nine-tenths of those who use the Prayer Book wish it altered, why should it not be done? Because, we are told, this is not the time: we have so many disputes now that we must wait till dispute is wearied out, and the theological sea is as calm as a lovely lake on a summer's evening. Wisdom replies at once, then you may wait till the Greek Calends. Every age has had its religious controversies, and every age will have them; and the attempt to wait till the Church is at unity within itself, is simply saying, you must wait till the end of all things.

"But, sir, I contend that the present is exactly the time for trying once more the comprehensive scheme of the revision of 1689. It was not fairly tried at that period. The commissioners, although *all* clergy, laboured hard and effected much: it was not their fault if their plan was not carried out. The revision was submitted to that turbulent body, Convocation; and it met with no mercy at their hands. Let us profit by this experience. Let us see what the strength of the National Church must be in working hand in hand *with an intelligent laity.* Voluntary societies, on the comprehensive principle, have sprung up and flourished nobly within the last fifty years. We have just been celebrating the Bible Jubilee—and was that a failure? Then we have had city missions and ragged schools all over England on the comprehensive scheme; and it has often done my heart good to sit in committee with Churchmen, and Independents, Wesleyans, and Friends. We have our Evangelical Alliance and our Protestant Alliance. But the best of all 'alliances' will be that promoted by Liturgical revision. The existence of these societies, and their flourishing condition, proves that the time has come. The pear is ripe—who will pluck it? I am thoroughly persuaded, sir, that such a plan would meet with a warm and hearty encouragement from many earnest-minded Nonconformists. They are generous enough to wish well to our Zion, and to long for its complete purification.

"Again, sir, it is said, 'the time is not come—the slightest change will cause a dissension—it would really break up the Church of England.' This seems to me, sir, an idle fear. I would not advocate any change which should control any man's conscience. Every holder of office should be allowed to use the present services during his life, while all should be at liberty to hold their own opinions, and to propagate their own sentiments, subject to the correction of improved ecclesiastical courts.

"The time, sir, is favourable to increased religious liberty. The clergy require this Christian freedom as well as other subjects of her Majesty. A liberty to use other lessons than those of the Apocrypha, ought to be granted at once; liberty, also, to omit the Athanasian Creed; and some degree of liberty respecting the burial of the dead, while the present laws are enforced. The petition of four thousand clergy ought not to be disregarded. While the law remains the same, the service is a burden to many a conscience; either alter the law or amend the service. If the clergy consent to work in harness, rather rusty sometimes, and 'out of gear,' let them not be compelled to work in chains. No discussion need follow such moderate and essential alterations as these. Every man should still be left to continue the present services if he pleases, during his own life, while his successor would be required to adopt the new. Here is full provision for liberty of conscience—here is ample scope and verge enough to prevent discussion. But, still, if some prefer secession, let them depart, and let us trust the Almighty to raise up in their places men of life, and zeal, and activity, who have no hankerings after priesthood and no longings for harsh and uncharitable anathemas.

"Another reason for asserting the present to be the right time to make the attempt is this. Our Church is extending widely and rapidly through our Colonial empire. In these distant regions it will naturally take the complexion of its episcopate, and reflect it more correctly than it does at home. When the rude savage and the imaginative oriental become candidates for the ministry, sentiments of priestly dignity and of spiritual power will be nursed within them in all their native carnality. And when this is encouraged and fostered by bishops and tutors who can find the elements of it in the Prayer-Book, the grain of mustard seed will grow, and will too often spring up, as the deadly upas-tree, withering and blighting all the essential doctrines of the gospel. It is confidently asserted that the chief spiritual rulers of Newfoundland, Tasmania, and Toronto, are deeply imbued with these erroneous principles, and other colonial bishops, of similar views, might be alluded to. Year after year, as they multiply clergy, do they propagate error mingled with the truth. The time then has come to weed out the acknowledged error before the truth becomes overgrown with the poppy and the darnel. Whatever is done, let it be done *now*, before our Colonial church spreads so rapidly as to become a majestic engine for evil as well as for good.

"So also with our training colleges for schoolmasters at home. These multiply rapidly in the present day. The outcry for education is long and loud; and the schoolmaster who is trained within these popular institutions, partly at the national expense, becomes an easy recipient of the false as well as the true. His untrained ignorance is taught to believe every word of the Prayer-Book as precious as every word of the Bible. He readily takes such expressions in their literal sense. In every explanation of the Baptismal Service and of the Catechism, he hears much of sacramental grace, and he necessarily connects the grace given with the outward act performed. Such lectures are constantly repeated—such views are constantly instilled. In almost every church training school in England, either the principal or his deputy enforces upon his scholars one exclusive meaning of the Prayer-Book; till, as constant dropping wears away the stone, they believe it to be as verbally inspired as the English version of the Bible itself.

"It is time, sir, that these dangers were seen and corrected: it is time that the Prayer-Book was made verbally consistent with Holy Scripture throughout. Happily its blemishes are few, but they are important. Let them be removed, and many sources of fatal error will be dried up, and many channels opened through which the rivers of the water of eternal life will flow into the National Church. It is because I love the Prayer Book that I wish to see it purified. I argue that the time is come for the attempt, and will specify one means of accomplishing the object, with your permission, in my third letter.

"Believe me, sir, with thanks for your forbearance,

"Yours, ever truly,

"July, 1854. "EBORACUS."

LETTER III.—THE ORDINATION SERVICE—IS IT THE TIME TO REVISE IT?

"My last letter attempted a reply to the objection—this is not the time to revise or reform our services. We hinted that this objection always had existed, and always would do so in the minds of the timid and the hopeless. But having come to the conclusion that *now is the time* to make a trial, I will trouble you with a few reasons in detail.

"I request your readers' attention to our ORDINATION SERVICE. It is very little known. Scarcely one in a thousand of our own laity ever saw it: not one in ten thousand of our population at large know anything about it. This very ignorance is one great cause of its remaining as it is. If its contents were known to our peers and commoners, they would see how fully it sanctions the conduct of the Tractarian party; and they would either resolve to stand by it at all hazards, or purge it at once from all its dross and superstition. It has many excellences—much solemn and suitable exhortation; but it is vitiated by the idea, that the candidate, when kneeling before the bishop, receives grace from him to forgive and retain sins.

"Rumours, sir, of a Yorkshire Society for promoting the revision of the Prayer-Book, have reached me, among the multiform products of our stirring country. The minds of earnest Churchmen have been stirred up to devise some means of arresting the Popery *within* the Church. It is seen to flourish luxuriantly in our East Riding, as well as at Leeds and in some parishes in the West. To lop the branches is not enough, the root must be plucked up with a vigorous wrench. The root is imbedded deeply in the Ordination Service; and while that service remains as it is, its advocates bid defiance to societies for Protestant defence and for Evangelical alliance. I hail the formation of the new society just struggling into existence, as the infant Hercules which will strike the giant's blow, and rally the hosts of the Lord against the mighty ones of Amalek and Moab. *The present*, we contend, is the time for effort, for zeal, and for success.

"The objectionable passage to which I could call the attention of the supporters of this important society is as follows:—

"The bishop, while laying his hands on the head of the deacon whom he is ordaining a presbyter, says, 'Receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained.'

"I will not offer you, sir, any comment of my own; but I will quote an opinion about this clause from a celebrated writer of former days.

"Many of your readers are doubtless familiar with the origin and progress of the Bangorian controversy. More than one hundred years have elapsed since the bishop of that distant see preached his well-known sermon before King George I., and the Lower House of Convocation drew up their report upon its dangerous positions and doctrines. That report sealed their own death warrant; and if ever their successors are to revive again under the fostering glance of Queen Victoria, the revision of the Liturgy must sooner or later come under their notice.

"Among the pamphleteers who attacked the courageous bishop was the well-known William Law, who defends the Ordination Service on the very ground now adopted by the two rebellious archdeacons, and the disturbers of ecclesiastical peace at Oxford and at Exeter. Let us hear the selected champion, and then ask ourselves how opinions have changed during about a century and a-half.

"'Agreeable to the sense of Scripture and antiquity, our Church uses this form of ordination,—"Receive the Holy Ghost," &c. From this form it is plain; first, that our Church holds that the reception of the Holy Ghost is necessary to constitute a person a Christian priest; secondly, that the Holy Ghost is conferred through human hands; thirdly, it is by the hands of a bishop that the Holy Ghost is conferred.'

"Law's inference is plain and logical. This service does foster this doctrine, and the wise men from Oxford see that it does, and act upon the persuasion. Many conscientious Dissenters are of the same opinion, while they take the opposite course. They do not believe this form agreeable to the sense of Scripture and of antiquity, and they are debarred from entrance to our ministry in consequence of this stumbling-block at the threshold.

"And what has been the current of opinion, sir, from A.D. 1717 to the present moment? We hesitate not to reply, a gradual abandonment of these priestly pretensions; and, since 1804, a positive and earnest denial of them. We fix on that date as the origin of the Bible Society. For the last fifty years the clergy have uttered their voice against priestly delusion in every corner of the land. No sooner has a young man been 'ordained priest,' than he sets to work to live down priestcraft, and to deny episcopal grace. The

existence and the flourishing condition of so many societies for schools and missions, tracts, and Bibles; the united meetings of so many clergy and dissenting teachers on the common level of reverend brethren; the shaking of hands on Exeter Hall platform, between my reverend friend the Baptist and my reverend friend the Bishop, is a virtual denial of all the exclusive claims of the Ordination Service. Public opinion, whether right or wrong, has written its own comment upon it; and now we require but the last step. It has been already thrown into the dust-hole; let us now throw it into the fire: for there are some antiquarian spirits who have been rescuing it from its place of concealment, and brushing off the dust, and pleading for it as a document of 'primitive antiquity.' It is too modern for me, sir, I must go back to the musty parchments of Timothy, and Paul, and Peter.

"Yours, ever truly,
"EBORACUS."

"July, 1854."

The spark which was lighted in Yorkshire was soon transmitted to Liverpool. Dr. Baylee, of Birkenhead, soon put forth tracts attacking those fundamental principles of revision which we have just recorded, and he was immediately answered by able rejoinders from the pen of the incumbent of St. Jude's. The Doctor's "Solemn Thoughts," are fairly treated by Mr. Lowe's "Serious Questions;" and it is worthy of remark, that a committee of lay Churchmen at Liverpool, unite to issue the productions in favour of revision. The short pamphlet entitled, "The case as it is between the Rev. J. Baylee, D.D., and the Liturgical Revision Society," will repay perusal. It is a plainly written defence of the circular of the society from which we have so largely quoted. Our own opinion of this society is, that it has been singularly deficient through not issuing a pamphlet, and publishing it as a bold declaration of its own objects, aims, and intentions. We hear that its general committee contains some able and eminent clergy and laity; but they have been negligent of the important trust they have taken in hand. A well digested pamphlet, published by the society, as its Magna Charta, was imperatively necessary. It has hitherto failed to discharge this duty to the public, and has consequently lost the influence for good which it might have acquired. The executive committee deserve the severest censure for this neglect: for, had they availed themselves of their opportunities at first, they might have become a powerful instrument for good: but as narrow-minded counsels prevailed, and expediency gained the victory over principle, they must leave to other hands the important work which they have hitherto failed to accomplish.

In turning to the literature of the subject, we find Mr. Davis, of Nailsworth, Gloucestershire, advocating "Moderate Revision of the Prayer-Book on the Orthodox principles of its Preface." But his moderation is clumsy tameness compared with the fervent earnestness which we have just submitted to our readers. He has accumulated every possible opinion of previous writers in what he terms a conciliatory spirit, till his handful of wheat is lost in a bushel of chaff. It is a compilation worth perusal, but contains no connected chain of argument, no *lucidus ordo*, no definite proof of earnestness of purpose or of practical wisdom. Like all moderate things it may be twisted any way, according to the taste of the individual using them. Very different are the excellent observations on a petition for the revision of the Liturgy by the Messrs. Hull. The discussion it caused in the House of Lords on May 26th, 1840, is reported and commented upon. Mr. Winstanley Hull is a veteran Church reformer. In 1828, he published "An Inquiry concerning the Means and Expedience of proposing and making any Changes in the Canons, Articles and Liturgy." He has also signalised himself by advising the disuse of the Athanasian Creed; and the pamphlet which he published in 1831 almost exhausts the subject. He has also published a detailed account of the Conference which took place in the Jerusalem Chamber in A.D. 1688, and of eleven articles of advice sent round to the clergy by Archbishop Sancroft, as recorded by Dr. D'Oyly, in the life of that prelate. Mr. Hull's works are of the utmost value to all who study the history of revision; and we feel sure that his account of the debate on the petition to the Lords in 1840, will prove highly suggestive. Extracts from the petition itself, and the letter by which it was accompanied, are here given:—

"Your petitioners are persuaded, that, from lapse of time and change of circumstances, our Book of Common Prayer is not now as serviceable to the nation as it might be rendered; and that all necessary alterations might now be made in its rubrics and offices, so as to give fuller effect to the Catholic and Apostolic doctrine of our Church.

"That, in order to show the sort of changes they contemplate, your petitioners humbly crave leave to submit to your Majesty, that a minister should not be required to read in church or to subscribe the damnatory clauses of the Athanasian Creed. That the Apocrypha Lessons should be discontinued, and a new selection and arrangement of the Sunday Lessons be made. That the Absolution in the Visitation of the Sick should be the same as that in the Communion Service. That the forms of ordering and consecrating priests and bishops should be in the clear tone of a prayer for the Holy Ghost. That the plural number should be permitted in Confirmation, and in giving the bread and wine at the Lord's Supper. That the minister should not express any personal hope or opinion about the individuals he may be called upon to bury; and, generally, that the rubrics should be rendered clear and distinct, and some discretion, subject to the control of the bishops, should be given to the officiating minister to shorten the services when occasion may require.

"That, by the Act of Uniformity, and the 36th canon, our clergy are bound to observe all and every thing contained and prescribed in and by the Book of Common Prayer, and to subscribe an engagement to use the same and none other; while the common usage, for many years past, and the acquiescence of our bishops in that usage, and the present state of our Church, render a strict adherence to the rubrics inexpedient, and almost impracticable; and we therefore pray,

"That your Majesty will graciously be pleased to consider what measures should be adopted to meet the exigency of the present time and occasion, and to make, in the Book of Common Prayer, and the statutes and ordinances relating thereto, such alterations as the wisdom of your Majesty may consider safest and best for strengthening and extending the influence of our Church, without anywise departing from the substance of its present confessions of faith."

"It would not be difficult to effect the most material changes in contemplation, by a specific Act of Parliament, which should leave all present clergymen at liberty to use the Common Prayer as it now stands, and give them the power to use the altered book whenever they preferred it; and a specific Act of this kind would rest upon a principle already admitted, as we now have certain prayers, of which either may be read, at the choice of the minister. This plan would also render it impossible to carry the changes beyond a definite extent; or, to touch our main point, the supremacy of the Bible. Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation.

"It may be remarked, that several subjects of the greatest importance are left untouched by the petitions. It is difficult to detail all the changes that should be made, but easy to repeat the broad principle. The National Church should contain as many as possible; and for that good end, it will perhaps be found a most desirable plan to restore our formularies, as nearly as modern manners will permit, to the models of the first five centuries. Some society may perhaps be established to consider these matters; it might bring together those who love the Church too well to believe it should remain in its present state, and might superintend the publication of some magazine for obtaining and circulating useful information about the Church and its formularies, and the laws and canons relating to them, and the observance of the rubrics."

On May 26th, 1840, the Archbishop of Dublin presented a petition to the House of Lords, praying that—

"Your lordships will take into consideration the means whereby the letter of the Articles and the Liturgy of our Prayer-Book may be brought into greater consistency with the practice and the acknowledged system of the Established Church."

The petition was signed by thirty clergy and thirty laity of the Church.

The "Mirror of Parliament" contains his grace's speech at full length, as well as those of the various bishops who spoke for and against alterations in the Liturgy.

One passage, from the speech of the late Bishop of Lincoln, is worthy of especial notice. After mentioning that the Rev. Prebendary Wodehouse wished his case to be particularly brought before the House, he is reported to have said—

"It is now about twelve years since Mr. Wodehouse first communicated to me the difficulties which he felt with respect to certain passages of the Athanasian Creed, and certain passages in the Liturgy. He explained to me his views of those passages; and I stated to him, that if a candidate for ordination were to inform me that he entertained those views, I should not feel that they constituted any obstacle to his admission into orders. I believe that a similar opinion was given him by other prelates whom he consulted. Six years ago I expressed in print the opinion, that in case a considerable portion of the members of the Church, lay and clerical, should agree in calling for certain alterations in the Articles and Liturgy, it would then be necessary to assemble the Convocation, and to submit the proposed alterations for its consideration."

The late Archbishop of Canterbury said—

"I shall be most willing to join in any reasonable or practicable plan that can be proposed by the most reverend Prelate, or by any other competent person who may take the matter into his hands."

The Bishop of Norwich said—

"Now how stands the question of subscription? . . . If it were to be understood in the literal, most strict, and most stringent sense, it would create difficulties which must weigh heavily upon scrupulous and tender consciences. . . . . The Church has a sort of elasticity, which allows and graduates the differences that exist. . . . . All that the petitioners require is this—that what is consented to and allowed privately may be the avowed and acknowledged sentiments of the Church at large. This petition contains nothing new; there is nothing which did not find a place in the scheme of 1689, which was sanctioned by the Crown."

Reference was also made to Archbishop Sancroft's scheme of comprehension, which is thus fully explained by Mr. Hull.

"In July, A.D. 1688, Archbishop Sancroft sent round to his clergy eleven articles of advice, and was induced, says Dr. D'Oyly in his

'Life,' (p. 330), to set on foot a certain scheme of comprehension in which his purpose seems to have been to make such alterations in the Liturgy and in the discipline of the Church, in points not deemed of essential and primary importance, as might prove the means, through corresponding concessions on the part of the more moderate Dissenters, of admitting them within the pale. Dr. Wake, when Bishop of Lincoln some years afterwards, made the following statement:—The scheme was laid out, and the several parts of it were committed, not only with the approbation, but by the direction of that great prelate, to such of our divines as were thought most worthy to be entrusted with it. His Grace took one part himself: another was committed to a pious and revered person, Dr. Patrick, then a dean, and afterwards a bishop of our Church. The reviewing both of the daily service of our Liturgy and the Communion, was referred to a select number of excellent persons, two of whom are at this time, said Dr. Wake, upon our bench (Dr. Sharp, the Archbishop of York, and Dr. J. Thorn, Bishop of Ely), and, I am sure, will bear witness to the truth of my relation. The design was, in short, this; to improve, and, if possible, amend our discipline; to review and enlarge our Liturgy, by correcting some things by adding others; and if it should be thought advisable by authority, when this matter should be legally considered, first in Convocation, then in Parliament, by omitting some few ceremonies which are allowed to be indifferent in their usage, so as not to make them of necessity binding on those who had conscientious scruples respecting them, till they should be able to overcome either their weaknesses or their prejudices respecting them, and be willing to comply."

"Such," writes Dr. D'Oyly, "is the only account we possess of the scheme of comprehension projected by Archbishop Sancroft. That it originated, on his part, from the purest and best of motives, and that his sole object was to give stability to the Church, and to extend the influence of sound religion, can admit of no question."

Another layman, Mr. J. N. Bennett of Plymouth, has delivered a very elaborate lecture on revision of the Liturgy, to the Plymouth association of churchmen seeking reform and improvement. It contains a valuable synopsis of the history of the changes successively adopted from the Reformation to the present time. We have now no space for quotations, but commend the whole lecture to the reader's perusal. As the Plymouth society has been in action for some years, in consequence of the unseemly strife so violently raging in the diocese of Exeter, we select a clause or two from petitions to both Houses of Parliament presented in 1852:—

"Compiled in an age when toleration was wholly unknown and uniformity of worship was enforced by penal laws on a population chiefly Roman Catholic, the Book of Common Prayer was, on principles of policy, professedly designed to bear as near a resemblance to the rituals of the Church of Rome as should not be actually inconsistent with the simplicity of Christian worship.

"The services appointed for Morning and Evening Prayer adequately secure the benefit of this condition; but in the construction of some of the occasional offices of worship the spirit of conciliation evinced by the compilers, in consenting to the adoption of forms of words, susceptible in their primary sense of a Papistical interpretation, supplied an abiding pretext for Romish teaching in the Church to all succeeding times, so long as those offices should remain unaltered.

"The reformers claimed for the Book of Common Prayer no higher authority than that of a human composition. They held, and in the prefaces with which they introduced it declared, that the 'Forms of Worship' and 'Ceremonies' which it prescribed, 'being in their nature things indifferent and alterable,' might be 'changed for sufficient cause', or otherwise 'be put away as from time to time they should be perceived to be abused.'

"Wherefore your petitioners humbly pray that your honorable House will be pleased to take into consideration the spiritual condition of the Church of England; and after due inquiry to present an address to the Crown, for the appointment of a Royal Commission, to report on a renewed revision of the Book of Common Prayer, and the removal therefrom of all remaining pretext for Romish doctrine and practice; or that your honorable House will be pleased to devise such other measures of relief, as the occasion demands."

The remedy proposed in their petition seems far preferable to that which the same association put forth on another occasion, viz.:—

"A CHURCH LEGISLATURE.—The Liturgy of the Church of England in its Protestant form was, it is believed, first proposed by a royal commission appointed by the Crown, and subsequently adopted by Parliament without reference to the Houses of Convocation; and its two earliest revisions certainly took place under the same authority and according to the same order. Many have proposed to follow the same course now, and it is not doubted that the cause of Protestant Christianity would be well served by its adoption; but it is to be remembered that on the two last occasions when the question was dealt with, namely, under Charles II. and William III, it was considered expedient to consult the Houses of Convocation on the settlement of this great religious question. If precedent be followed, it may therefore be urged that the latter precedents are the better authority; and it would be vain to hope for an improved Book of Common Prayer at the hands of Convocation as at present constituted. The main obstacle in settling the question of a revision of the Liturgy by means of a royal commission, however, is found in the necessarily arbitrary nature of that proceeding towards the dissentient party in the Church; who claim the Prayer-Book as their own, and themselves to be, on its principles, the only consistent churchmen. To give that party its fair representation in a royal commission, would be only to repeat the farce of the Savoy and the later conferences. Yet justice demands a hearing for this party. Let that hearing be granted—not before a commission open to the charge of bias and partiality—but before the Church at large. Let a church parliament be held to determine the question—one house—composed of, first, all the bishops, and secondly, of other members in the proportion of two-thirds laymen to one-third clergy, elected for dioceses or other appointed districts. Let the electors be first all male communicants of twelvemonths' standing, and secondly, (only until the establishment of a revised Liturgy), all persons who, formally recognizing the principle of a church establishment and the lawfulness of a form of prayer, shall avow themselves ready and willing to become communicants upon the legal settlement of liturgical offices on a basis as comprehensive as that occupied by the thirty-nine articles of faith. To this body let the settlement of the Prayer Book be committed for presentation to Parliament as their first work. Its decision would, because it must, carry with it the acquiescence of all parties. A church parliament so constituted might be expected to be free from the vices of clericalism,—the bane of ecclesiastical synods; whilst in constitution it would be in harmony with the analogy of Scripture and with British law. To such a body, periodically elected, the immediate reformation of the whole ecclesiastical system might be safely confided, as well as the care of its supreme interests for all future time.

Cumberland has furnished its quota to the literature of revision, as well as to the work of petitioning the legislature. The papal aggression called forth from a member of the Inner Temple a letter to Lord John Russell, in which "Scriptural Revision of the Liturgy" is proposed as a panacea for all our evils. The pamphlet, though anonymous, is ascribed to Mr. Fisher, of Wood Hall, who writes with vigour and decision, and displays much legal research. His neighbour, the rector of Skelton, has printed a lecture at Plymouth, in which he shows more dissatisfaction with the Prayer Book than will be thought becoming in a beneficed clergyman. The intelligent reader of the extracts which we now make from his lecture, will probably decide that he ventures upon the very verge of propriety in continuing to use services which he so highly disapproves. His preface is an index to his general principles:—

"It is in no unkindly spirit, but under a serious sense of responsibility to our common master, that he ventures to call on that portion of the English clergy whose teaching is commonly termed Evangelical, to consider well their position in the sight of God and man, and to ask themselves whether they be not habitually contradicting in the pulpit what they declare at the font; and whether they can consistently denounce the principle of affixing a non-natural sense to our articles, while they are using our formularies in a sense alike non-natural. For the question is not what Cranmer, or any of our reformers, just emerging from popish darkness, more familiar with, and probably more influenced by, human authorities than by the pure word of God, intended by the phraseology they borrowed from Romish liturgies; but what language we are bound to use in our solemn addresses to the Most High:—it is not what regeneration, or new birth, *means with them*, but what, *in the language of the Church of Christ to all time, it ought to mean.* There is hardly a writer of any eminence on moral and social questions, who does not deplore the mischievous impressions resulting from a wide-spread abuse of terms, nor a practical politician who does not know the unfair advantage taken of question-begging names. Many professed members of the English Church believe that the divine seed may perish—the sheep of Christ's flock be finally lost,—and when the writer of these pages was ordained, at an age when deference to human authorities of high repute seemed more excusable, and the prejudices of early teaching were clinging round him, such was his own persuasion, or he could not honestly have assented to the Liturgy as scriptural. The experience of five-and-twenty years in the ministry, and a longer and, as he believes, more accurate acquaintance with scripture promises, have opened his eyes to the unscriptural language of certain of our formularies; and what he has thus discovered he holds himself bound to make known for the guidance or warning of others, at whatever personal risk or inconvenience. He cannot consent to shelter himself under the fallacies, however popular on this subject, that two contradictory propositions taken together will make up one truth, or that the assertion of a falsehood to God is to be excused by the good we are doing otherwise to man. For his own conclusions, he only desires that what is false in them may be detected and exposed, but the truths which they contain be fairly received and acted upon. Let every lay-churchman remember that he participates in the sin which he is countenancing, if he does *not* heartily believe *that every water-sprinkled child is new-born of God's Holy Spirit*, for this is what his clergyman asserts, unless *regenerated* does *not* mean *born again!* And let the words of Hooker (Note on Discourse of Justification) speak their solemn warning in the ears of all alike: '*Error convicted, and afterwards maintained*, IS MORE THAN ERROR: *for although opinion be the same it was, in which respect I still call it error*, YET THEY ARE NOT NOW THE SAME THEY WERE, *when they are taught what the truth is, and plainly taught.*'"

His remarks on the Catechism are introduced by the observation that it is "radically defective:"—

"Let us pass on to the Catechism, the next of our forms in actual, as it is in natural, order to the Baptismal. Many an English Episcopalian, who reverences the Book of Common Prayer as a sort of palladium, is apt to imagine that it had one excellence at least in common with the old heathen impersonation of wisdom, namely, that it sprang in full dimensions at once, and armed at all points against heresy and schism, from the heads of our idolized Reformers. I must remind or inform all such, that the latter part of our Catechism, respecting the sacraments, made no part of the original book, but was added in the reign of James I., after the celebrated conference at Hampton Court. Now to dwell upon the profound learning and wisdom of our Reformers, .and the danger of touching what they have left us, is a style of terrorism found to work potently with many timid spirits. Those who employ it, to be consistent, should join with us in removing this afterthought or appendix of the Scottish prince, who delighted to hear himself compared to Solomon, and those advisers of his who were not afraid so to flatter him: they should help us to restore the Catechism to that shape in which a better order of theologians bequeathed it to them. But as we are so perpetually taunted with presumption for maintaining that what the men of past generations established may still require amendment; and because our false impressions in childhood are often the sources of serious error and perplexity to our maturer age, I shall take leave to look a little more closely into the Catechism of the Church of England. As a whole, it is radically defective."

The Burial Service is subject to his severest censure :—

"The last of our occasional services on which it is my purpose to animadvert is our office for the Burial of the Dead. On this we possess some very striking evidences of the general feeling. The memorial of about a fourth part of our clergy to the primate has been noticed. It is not to be supposed that all the memoralists took the same ground of objection. Probably a large number intended to express discontent with the law rather than the Liturgy; and these might be satisfied if relieved from their present obligation to read it over notorious dissenters from our Church. Yet the painful occurrences which gave rise to that memorial were of a moral rather than ecclesiastical character. The fact itself speaks volumes; but whether in favour or derision of that *assent and consent* required from Anglican ministers, I will leave you to pronounce. Still more significant of the prevalent feeling, though less directly proclaimed, is the answer which we have all of us heard so often and so eagerly resorted to by apologists against objectors. 'Oh!' say they, 'the *sure and certain hope* expressed is *general* only, not *particular*.' The answer, even were it valid, could not much help their cause, for the service goes on to individualize that hope of *each* brother or sister so buried. But the answer itself is shallow and unsound, a mere subterfuge; for we are said to commit each individual 'body to the ground in sure and certain hope,' &c.; and the fair and plain construction of those words a child may see. One other censure has been passed upon our Burial Service, of still greater significance: it is, the solemn and synodical Act of the American Episcopal Church—a Church, be it remembered, under no such liability as ours, to be called on to inter those who have openly seceded from her communion—a Church precluded by no civil enactments from exercising discipline over her own members. Our transatlantic sister has remodelled her Burial Service after this manner: 'Forasmuch as it hath pleased Almighty God in his wise providence to take out of this world the soul of our deceased *brother*, we therefore commit *his* body to the ground, earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust; looking for the general resurrection at the last day, and the life of the world to come, through our Lord Jesus Christ, at whose second coming in glorious majesty to judge the world, the earth and the sea shall give up their dead, and the corruptible bodies of those who sleep in Him shall be changed and made like unto his own glorious body,' &c. The thanksgiving is altered thus: 'We give thee hearty thanks for the good examples of all those thy servants, who, having finished their course in faith, do now rest from their labours,' &c. The paragraph expressing our hope of the person deceased *is omitted altogether*. Now this deliberate judgment of a Church confessedly desirous to model itself as nearly as might be upon our own, and whose earliest bishops sought and obtained consecration from ours, deserves to be maturely weighed by us at the present crisis. On one point it is peculiarly instructive. We are often, and truly, told that a hypothetical principle runs through all our formularies, that they must be so construed if we would rightly understand them. We are also assured, that such a principle is enough to justify all the language we find employed there. But the American Episcopal Church has in this instance evidently renounced such assurance. *She has preferred to abandon the language, and in so doing she obviously questions the soundness of the principle.* That she did not carry out that more cautious, sober-minded view which her amended Burial Service indicates, that she left other similar assertions to stand unqualified as she received them from the mother country, is perhaps the reason why she, too, has not escaped the poison of Tractarian leaven infecting her, but mourns over a prelate apostatizing to Rome: and thus she furnishes us at once with an example and a warning. But as for the principle, which in its integrity, at least, she has virtually given up; let me ask why the *Church* of England should be debarred from that improvement which the *Law* of England is undergoing,—why legal fictions are by common consent to be abolished as the clumsy contrivance of barbarous times, while ecclesiastical assumptions and suppositions, equally *prepostrous* and much more pernicious, are to be perpetuated as wise expedients?"

His remedy is, first of all, a Royal Commission; "conferences have done nothing for us, convocations oftener harm than good, but a Royal Commission originated all the soundest parts of our Church system at first; and where it has since failed to carry on its work, it has been prevented or defeated by one of the other two. Such a commission now would practically assert that supremacy of the Queen which some appear so ready to deny and others to elude—but which virtually embodies all that remains to us *of the popular assent to Church appointments;* a distinguishing feature of primitive Christianity."

At Birmingham the clergy have been acting as well as writing. The energy and zeal of the venerable Riland are familiar with all good men and true. Mr. Marsden, in his lecture at St. Peter's, has published his opinion thus:—"I should be thankful to see a Royal Commission once more issued for the revision of the Prayer-Book;" while Mr. Miller, of St. Martin's, has for some years adapted his services to the convenience and profit of his congregation. In a letter to his parishioners, he thus reviews the success and failure of his laudable attempt to vary the form of worship when three services take place in the same church every Sunday:—

"I proceed to the plan itself. In the address in which it was presented to you in January, the anticipated advantages were stated to be *four*:—

"1. *The shortening of the present Morning Service.*

"This, it is believed, will be a great comfort to invalids, aged persons, and children. The evil of our present length of service to children can hardly be exaggerated, as Sunday-school teachers well know.

"2. *The securing an additional service and sermon* in a parish where the church accommodation is so utterly inadequate for the population.

"It is hoped that this will also be a great accommodation in family arrangements, as facilitating the attendance of SERVANTS.

"3. *The bringing* ALL *our services as far as possible within the reach of all classes.*

"It is hoped that servants—many of the working classes—wives who have the little Sunday dinner to attend to later in the morning—and who are now shut out from the 'Te Deum,' 'The Litany,' and 'The Communion Office'—will find their privileges greatly increased, and enjoy, in our incomparable Liturgy, much of which they have been *practically* deprived.

"4. *The facilitating the attendance of servants and of the working and poorer classes at the Lord's Supper, by an* AFTERNOON *administration of it monthly.*

"It is to be feared that the sadly scanty attendance of these classes at the Holy Communion is to be traced, in some measure, to the circumstance that the Communion is never administered in the afternoon. Such is the opinion of many experienced parish clergy.

"All of these have been realised except *the second*. The early service has proved an entire failure, and will be discontinued. After a trial of six months, it is clear that it does not fall in with the habits of *any class* of the parishioners.

"On the *third* advantage, I would only reiterate what was then stated, and press upon those who may be disposed to object to an arrangement which breaks in, in some measure, upon that to which they have been accustomed, to consider the case of others also—particularly their own domestic servants and those of our working classes who attend in *the evening only*. Let *them* enjoy, in turn, those portions of our Liturgy which, before the change, were enjoyed only by *morning worshippers*.

"As regards the administration of the Lord's Supper, the plan now put forth will afford a still further opportunity—specially to the classes above mentioned—inasmuch as it involves a monthly *evening communion*. Against this, theoretic objections are taken by some, and apprehensions and prejudices felt by others. But surely, with nothing, either in Holy Scripture or in the laws of our Church against it, no light objection should weigh against the great importance of giving *all* classes an opportunity of coming to the Lord's table.

"The great objection made to the plan now to be superseded was the *want of uniformity*. This I strongly felt. The present plan removes this, to some extent, so far as the Morning Service is concerned, which, it will be observed, is uniform, except on the first Sunday in the month. But entire uniformity cannot be carried throughout, without sacrificing much that is *essential* to the plan. Certain services *must be given in the day*, and certain rubrics observed as to their order. And until the attempt is practically made, few are aware of the difficulty of securing the advantages proposed, and at the same time avoiding direct collision with the rubrics.

"I soon found that the former plan was seriously objectionable, as depriving the morning congregation, on alternate Sundays, of the PSALMS and LESSONS. This is now remedied; and I believe that you will all concur in the desirableness of letting our eleven o'clock service contain, *uniformly*, the *Morning Prayer*.

"By substituting the 'COMMUNION SERVICE' for the 'LITANY' on the occasion of the Service to children, we avoid having a Service without a portion of scripture in it; and, at the same time, get a Service better adapted for the children, and containing in it the *Ten Commandments*.

On CHRISTMAS DAY, THE EPIPHANY, ASH WEDNESDAY, GOOD FRIDAY, EASTER DAY, ASCENSION DAY, WHIT SUNDAY, and TRINITY SUNDAY, the following plan will not be adopted, but the ordinary usage followed, *i.e.*, *Morning Prayer*, *Litany*, and *Communion*, *with Sermon* in the *Morning;* and *Evening Prayer* at the other services.

"On EASTER DAY and WHIT SUNDAY there will always be an *early*, as well as a *late*, administration of the LORD's SUPPER. There will also be, as heretofore, HOLY COMMUNION on CHRISTMAS DAY, GOOD FRIDAY, on ASCENSION DAY, and TRINITY SUNDAY —even should the last named Sunday fall on the fifth Sunday of the month.

"It would add to the completeness of the present plan—and more fully carry out the Church's appointment—were the SACRAMENT OF BAPTISM included in it, as to be administered on, at least, one Sunday in the month, during Divine service. Gladly would I include it. But in such a parish it is, at present, impracticable. Of this, I am persuaded, I could at once assure any one who could, with me, consider its practical working. Such a parish is an anomaly in our Church's system; and we are not fairly chargeable with disobeying her laws when unable to follow her instructions to the letter, in anomalous cases, never contemplated when her rubrics were framed.

"It is hardly necessary to point out that the following scheme can be adopted only where *three* services are celebrated in the day.

"I have no right to anticipate that this precise scheme will so far approve itself to others as to be adopted by any. And it may be objected that should the result of our experiment encourage others to form similar schemes, even our present measure of uniformity will be broken up, and each diocese, or town, or parish, have its own peculiar arrangement. The answer is obvious. We are all confined by the laws of our Church, within strict limits, in this matter. We must not only use the same book, but *the same portions on the same Sunday.* Morning Prayer—the Litany—the Communion Service—Evening Prayer—*must* be given. Is not this sufficient uniformity? The characters of our parishes differ widely; our people's habits differ; the locality of the parish church is more or less convenient. Is not any little breach of uniformity compensated by practically showing and practically employing an elasticity in our Prayer Book, which has hitherto been in abeyance? Let us distinguish between the great vital truths of that Prayer Book—the foundations of our 'most holy faith'—and the practical working of our means and machinery. The former are immutable, for they are the truths of God and of his imperishable Word. No changes in our social habits or condition can alter or modify these. But the other —our means, our machinery, the time and arrangement of our services—we may adapt (and will it not be our wisdom to adapt them?) to the wants and convenience of our day. One of our great wants in the Church of England has been (I would humbly submit) more of this elasticity. Our system admits of more than we have been careful to realise and to employ.

"But I forbear, though on tempting ground; adding only, that if the Church of England appears (and is sometimes thus taunted) to be *behind the age*, the fault is in no small measure with ourselves, her people and her ministers. May her Divine head fill us and all her people with more of his own spirit of love and meekness, of self-devotedness, of wisdom and zeal and energy! May God bless to us our privileges within her communion, and make her, to his own glory in Christ Jesus, a joy and a praise in this land, in our colonies, and throughout the earth!

"Your faithful and affectionate pastor,
"JOHN C. MILLER.

"St. Martin's Rectory,
"Birmingham, June 25th, 1852."

FIRST SUNDAY.	SECOND SUNDAY.	THIRD SUNDAY.	FOURTH SUNDAY.	FIFTH SUNDAY
1. Morning Prayer, *omitting Litany.* Communion Service, Sermon, Lord's Supper.	1. Early Communion *No Sermon.*	1. Morning Prayer, Litany, Sermon.	1. Morning Prayer, Litany, Sermon.	1. Morning Prayer, Litany, Sermon.
2. Evening Prayer, Sermon.	2. Morning Prayer, Litany, Sermon.	2. Communion Service, Sermon, Lord's Supper.	2. Evening Prayer, Sermon.	2. Litany, Communion Service *without Lord's Supper.* Sermon.
3. Litany, Communion Service, Sermon.	3. Communion Service, Sermon to Young, or Catechising.	3. Evening Prayer, Sermon.	3. Communion Service, Sermon, Lord's Supper.	3. Evening Prayer, Sermon.
	4. Evening Prayer, Sermon.			

This movement, thus extending over the kingdom, is not the hasty growth of yesterday. It has been gradually acquiring strength for a quarter of a century; for, in 1831, nine clergymen signed a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, urging the necessity of some change in the language of the Burial Service, and desiring to be spared the use of the condemning clauses of the Athanasian Creed; and the Rev. Prebendary Wodehouse, of Norwich, submitted a petition, stating his objections to certain parts of the Liturgy, to all the bishops: two only objected to the sentiments which it contained.

In 1832, he requested the opinion of a large number of the temporal peers, and was favoured with ninety-one answers.

In 1833, he presented a petition to the House of Lords, requesting a public sanction to the latitude so generally assumed in subscribing to the Thirty-Nine Articles, and Liturgy, if no alterations could be conceded. The same year, the late Bishop of Llandaff (Dr. Copleston) expressed the following opinion in his charge to his clergy:—

"Lapse of time has rendered some phrases obsolete, or strange, or improper; condemnation of heretical opinions may have been expressed in stronger terms than is necessary or convenient; the selection of lessons might certainly be improved, and better adapted to the customary times of attendance on public worship. Above all, it would seem productive of many advantages if the limits of that discretion already given to the officiating minister in certain parts of the service, were extended. I object only to the interference of canonical advice and authority, whenever it might be thought expedient to check too great a latitude."—p. 27.

In 1835, Earl Fortescue presented a petition to the House of Lords praying for a revision of the Rubric. Lord Brougham then observed: "I hold the power of Parliament to be paramount in every matter: that over everything in the country, spiritual and temporal, the jurisdiction of Parliament extends."

In drawing our article to a close, we have the single duty to perform of indicating the practical course which we recommend. We would act upon the maxim of Burke, "a true patriot and a true politician, always considers how he shall make the most of the existing materials of his country. A disposition to preserve, and an ability to improve, taken together, would be my standard of a statesman." Remembering, too, the truism just quoted from Lord Brougham, we would appeal to Parliament. We would urge the propriety of a Royal Commission of inquiry. We have the precedents of the commissions for inquiring into the state of the two Universities, and of the Corporation of London. If appointed at the close of one session of Parliament, it should present its report at the commencement of the next. It should be composed of about a dozen members, one half being laymen. Its offices should be open to all who chose to send written or printed observations and recommendations. Its chief task would be that of classifying these—as approved, disapproved, worthy of consideration, frivolous, and injurious. Its report would be eagerly read and amply illustrated by the conflicting judgments of speakers in "the House," and of writers out of it. Convocation, if it could only repair its rusty machinery, might be allowed to pass opinions on the report. We should have no fears as to the result. A wise spirit of comprehension would prevail, while the main evangelical and foundation truths of our faith would be graven deeply upon "the written mountain" of the nation's impregnable rampart. An Ashley and a Villiers may still add to their ancestral fame another trophy won in the cause of divine truth and spiritual freedom. In speaking for ourselves we would attempt a revision in no rash or innovative spirit. We would revise backwards from the Savoy conference to the times of Cranmer and Edward VI. We recognise, with our great Reformers, the value of adhering to the Catholic creeds, and of promoting Christian unity in worship and in action. Loving the Church of England with an affection with which we love nothing else, we would strive to make her the one "Evangelical Alliance" of the empire. We desire that she should supersede all self-constituted unions between Churchmen and Dissenters. While none appreciate more highly the privileges which we enjoy in calling her by the endearing name of "mother," none are less disposed than ourselves to sacrifice her essential truths to please either the many or the few. We would scorn to conciliate through the mere pressure of numbers—we would do right, because right ought always to be done, whether numbers clamour for it, or whether the mob execrate it. Whenever a few remnants of a mistaken antiquity shall be removed, and her services adapted, in length and convenience, to the altered habits of our times; we believe that our Church would secure the allegiance of many, and win the respect of all. Instead of the anathema of an uncatholic creed we would employ moral attraction and religious persuasion. We would present such a spectacle of sacred truth, becoming order, and simple sobriety, as may win men to hear the Church from a persuasion that her guidance is the safest. We would exhibit such unclouded light within our venerable sanctuary, as would induce those who would come to Christ to dwell within her courts for very privilege.

ART IV.—1. *Hypatia ; or, New Foes with an Old Face.* By CHARLES KINGSLEY. 2 vols. London: 1853.

2. *Lectures on Alexandria and her Schools.* By CHARLES KINGSLEY. 8vo. Macmillan. Cambridge: 1854.

3. *Hours with the Mystics.* By R. A. VAUGHAN, B.A. 2 vols. London: 1856.

4. *Histoire Critique de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie.* Par E. VACHEROT. III. tom. Paris: 1846—1847.

5. *Histoire de l'Ecole d'Alexandrie.* Par JULES SIMON. II. tom. Paris: 1845.

THE history of philosophy has its defect exactly where other history has its value; the one is true so far as it conveys the idea of succession, the other so far as it conveys the idea of unity. In reading the one we rightly gain a notion of the past as something which can never come again. We look upon it as a panorama which vanishes away in dimness of distance, and on which the present is only shadowed forth in indistinct analogy. In reading the other, we must feel the thoughts of the past to be also thoughts of the present: we must banish almost altogether the consciousness of the lapse of time, and see in philosophy, from the days of Zerdusht until now, only the possible development of a single human mind. In the one we must see a drama, developing and complicating, heightening in interest and widening in influence, with every succeeding age, until in these days it seems to be ripening towards its consummation. But in the history of human thought we must behold an ever-present ocean, whose surface-waves may change with each changing wind, but whose depths of calm beneath are changeless as they are fathomless—are constant as they are true. The philosophers of the past are not like its warriors: they are not units standing individually forth isolated and peculiar, they are all representative of some part of humanity, they have all expressed something which lingers still in the minds and souls of men. They can be looked upon as belonging to the past, only so far as their age had its reflex in them, only so far as their thought moulded itself in the forms with which their age supplied them. And thus the history of their lives and sayings is no mere chronicle of old fancies and worn-out dogmatisms; it is the record of what co-exists with intelligence, of what perpetually recurs in the world of our actual thinkings. Herein philosophy differs not only from all other histories, but from all other sciences: physics and mathematics have made a progress almost too great for calculation, while since metaphysics first arose in Greece, hardly a single step has been advanced towards the solution of its problems—hardly a single unit added to our knowledge of its truths. We know little, if any, more than Plato knew, and thus his writings have a constant value to us, which the merely adventitious circumstances of their Grecian form cannot depreciate or change.

It is only so far as we look at past philosophers thus—that is, as representations of still possible phases of the mind, that their history can be of much use to us. The history of human action has always some great lessons for us, whether we read it as politicans, or as men; but, if the history of human thought is to result merely in telling us that men have erred, and are erring—if it is merely to indulge our curiosity with an account of the strange speculations of innumerable visionaries, who have spent their days in fruitless quest for the unknown and unknowable: if this is all, it would be utterly unworthy of the care which it claims, and the unwearying attention which it necessitates. But when we look upon it as a whole—as having a direct psychological purpose, in that it shows the results for good or evil, for truth or error, of almost every possible process of thought, as picturing the geography of the various fields of intellectual knowledge, and unfolding to us the real nature of our intellectual instruments: in this point of view it becomes the very basis of psychology, the most important of all our auxiliaries in the search after truth. We should look, then, even upon the shipwrecks of the great souls who have gone before us, as our own possibilities; the same goal is to be reached, the same track must be followed, the systems which seem now mere waifs on a tossing surge, should only help us to make further headway against the current, until we too break, as they did, on some new rock, or anchor in some new sea. We should find in the countless theories of eastern and western and northern philosophy, not so many wild extravagances of thinking, even so many semi-phases, semi-distortions of the truths of life; but rather we should view them as so many deeds which the soul has done, so many phenomena which the mind has exhibited already, and which are possible to it still. We shall thus gain a truer insight into the deep mysteries of the knowledge alike of the world and of the soul—we shall feel a truer consciousness of all that is great and holy—a truer sympathy with all earnest though erring thinkers; and, above all, we shall glean from these phenomena of other men's thought our only certain acquaintance with the nature of the mind in general, or of our own minds in particular. The past will merge into the present, for in the world of thought, the sense of time exists not, but, the moment we rise into it, we find ourselves at once in the congress of all the great thinkers of the earth—we stand at once on common ground with the philosophers of all time, so far as it is possible for us to know them. Plato's world, Malebranche's world, Kant's world, is ours, so far as our thoughts have kinship with theirs, so far as we are capable of appreciation or of sympathy. When we read the history of their minds we are in reality reading the history of our own either actual or possible development; if we find them erring, we must take the warning to ourselves, if we find them catching glimpses of the truth, we must play the part of true eclectics and keep what they offer us as our own.

But we may learn yet more from studying the past of philosophy: the result may be not only scientific but practical, not only personal to us in our moments of self-reflection, but furnishing us with a mirror for human nature in general. It is useful to us, both as theologians and as churchmen, and this, as we have been striving to indicate, because it tells us not so much what is true actually as what is true psychologically. Error has its phases as well as truth; and most of the infidelities, and scepticisms, and perversions, both among learned and unlearned, which meet us so constantly in life as well as in literature, can only be dealt with effectually by the assistance which the history of error gives us. This resistance is twofold: it enables us to ascertain first, *wherein* men err; and, secondly, *why* they err. The latter is the most important aid which we can have, though at the same time the most neglected. For it is seldom of much avail to look at systems of heresy and unbelief simply as such, without reference to the causes which produce them, or the mental phenomena which they embody. And if it is our great duty to deal with the erring souls who wander in the dark wilderness of unbelief, we must remember that it will not do for us to ignore the earnestness of their doctrine, or to treat their reasons, shallow though they be, as utterly inconclusive and illogical. Herein lies the error of modern controversy; herein lies the cause of the scanty effects which the Church has wrought upon the world of unbelief. The mental processes which lead men far astray are always more or less analogous to those which lead to truth, and if we would grapple fairly with them we must find their causes in the mind itself—we must read the volume of philosophy that we may see their origin and their remedy.

We purpose drawing attention to one great class of philosophical theories, which represent a large portion of human thought, and has consequently found continual philosophic expression from the dawn of history until now. We speak of that class of thoughts which is usually summed up under the name of Platonism, and which has in the Platonic writings its most formal and complete development. No one with any pretensions to theological learning, and certainly no one who hopes to deal successfully with either heresy or infidelity, can afford to neglect the study of its history or to despise the importance of its teachings. More or less it comes home to us all, and if some have evolved from it the wildest dreams of fantastic mysticism, we cannot forget that others have been led by its guidance into the noblest truths of Christian philosophy. The fact that it has produced at least half the errors in the theology of our own days, as well as of the past, is the very reason why we should give it the more earnest and careful attention. The fact that it has borne fruit in almost every theological writer, of the early

Church as of our own, should be quite a sufficient apology for any pains which we may spend in investigating it. It comes from what is always a possible part of the soul, and in examining even its strangest extravagances we are examining the soul itself; we are analysing mental phases which, in their various modifications, meet us continually in our daily life, and with which it is well that we should have the power to deal aright.

But we cannot now treat of Platonism as a whole, that is to say we cannot follow out its endless ramifications—Christian and anti-Christian, mystic and social, pantheistic and trinitarian: we must be content for the present to sketch briefly one cluster only of its developments—that of the school of Alexandria. Two reasons mainly determine our choice; the first is that the Alexandrian school of thinkers has reproduced itself more than any other in these days; the second, is that attention has been so ably drawn to it by Mr. Kingsley in his "Hypatia," and also in his Edinburgh Lectures. And even after eliminating so much, we must make another subdivision: there were three distinct classes of Alexandrian philosophers—Rabbinical, Christian, and Hellenic. The title of Neo-platonists applies equally to all, but it is more usually restricted to the latter—the school of Plotinus and Porphyry—with which our chief business will lie. For although it would be as interesting as it would be profitable to ascertain what Christian philosophy owes to the school of Philo, or how Neo-platonic hermeneutics have influenced Christian thought since the days of Clement and Origen; yet it will fall more decidedly within the purpose which we have in view to look at Alexandrian metaphysics in their purest form, not as theology but as philosophy.

What, then, is Neo-platonism, in the past and in the present? In other words, what shape did Neo-platonic thought assume at Alexandria, and how much truth, subjective or objective, underlies it? It will not be sufficient to give the usual flimsy and flippant answer—to treat the inquiry as though it were a wild chase of unrealities, an unmanly sympathy with unmanly dreamers. Indeed we can hardly understand how men who profess a world-wide sympathy with truth, who can see the glory of Plato, and even feel his thoughts in themselves, can dare to look upon this school alone with scorn—to neglect the philosophers of Alexandria alone, as almost beyond the limits of humanity. We can partly see why, during the reign of Catholicism, their determined opposition to the Christian faith should expose them to neglect and calumny: we can partly see how the "shallow insight of a sneerer like Gibbon" could discover in them a mere chaos of futile speculations: we can partly see how such historians as Brucker should echo the Church's anathemas, or how the stern common-sense of Tiedemann should fail to grasp the subtlety of their mysterious dialectic: we can see, too, how men of the world, in the deep abysses of their self-conceit, and the arrogance of their self-sufficiency, should seize this system above all others as a bye word of contempt and contumely. But we cannot understand how it is possible for those who reverence truth, for those who appreciate intellect, to repeat and perpetuate, as they do, the old calumnies against this glorious search for truth. Only one thing is certain, that most of those who revile Neo-platonism derive their knowledge of it from very secondary sources; or if they have studied Proclus and Plotinus for themselves, they have read their works as mere concatenations of sentences, not as embodiments of thought.

For what is Neo-platonism? Is it some abnormal mode of thinking which gasped a brief life at Alexandria, and expired? Is it some fungus-like excrescence upon the edifice of philosophy which we can notice or not, as we please? Is it something wholly objective to ourselves, which has no link that binds it to our own loftiest conceptions of God, our deepest aspirations after heaven? Does it not rather give us full proof of what we have laid down—that human thought has been one great whole from its first birth till now? For, go where we will, Neo-platonism still meets us everywhere. The thoughts which the Alexandrians sought to express had been echoed long before, and they have sounded far and wide through the mighty host of thinkers ever since. Not as though there had been one great succession of plagiarists, taking up one from another an unkindled torch of truth: not as though a tide of billowy mysticisms had rolled straight from India to Egypt, and from Egypt westward to Gaul and Germany. The influence of Neo-platonism has been sometimes conscious, sometimes not so, but always thoroughly independent. Century after century, and country after country, it has seemed to come spontaneously to life, now in one form now in another, until the great book of philosophy is more than half filled with its tracings. Three thousand years have not dimmed its brightness or dried up its fountains, for even in these later days it is springing up again with all its ancient power in Germany, and England, and America. Surely that is no theme for silent sneering, or open scoffing, which has drawn to itself so vast an army from all creeds, and countries, and times. Surely it is a slight on our common humanity and our common reason, to scorn the earnest thinkings of the greatest thinkers, alike of the Church and of the world. Surely we may at least expect a hearing for theories, and thoughts, and longings which have played so vast a part in the history both of philosophy and theology. For we cannot but remember that while paganism was as yet in its infancy, the primitive faith of the world's morning-time had shaped itself to some such forms as these. The Bhagavad-Gita and the Vedas are full of foreshadowings of Neo-platonic theories, and so too is all the pure philosophy of Persia and Arabia. But we do not claim a hearing for them merely because of their antiquity—there is a far higher reason in the fact of their consecration, in the fact that they appear continually in the pages of Holy Writ. But all this was their anticipation. What shall we say of the continual stream of light which has followed their actual enunciation? What shall we say of their continual presence in the hearts and souls of men from the third century until now? Does not this tell us that there is something in them which men cannot shake off, which seems inherent in their nature, and which calls for our closest scrutiny? For there is no fact more indisputable or more remarkable in the history of thought, than this which we insist upon and reiterate—that Neo-platonic thought has never died away. While yet its first notes were ringing in the lecture-halls of Rome, the Christian fathers caught up the echo, and blended it with the spirit's teaching in themselves. As a system they fought against it unflinchingly, but they knew that its noble thoughts were separable from its pagan form, and they scrupled not to take truth where they found it, even from the hands of God's enemies. Augustine's *De "Civitate Dei,"* and Athanasius's "*Contra Gentiles,*" would be mere blanks without it: its presence alone has given them their fame and their glory. In the east and in the west alike it flashed forth continually in homilies, and prayers, and controversies. Now and then it came forth with all its old vitality, in the new robes of Christian phraseology which such men as Dionysius Areopagita threw around it. And when the schools and temples of the East crumbled into irrecoverable decay, it clung like ivy round the churches of the west, so that every theologian henceforth formed his thought beneath its shadow. Bernard, Aquinas, Hugo of St. Victor, bear abundant traces of its spell; and when the sunlight of their age was dim, the same wondrous fascination sprang to new birth in Eckart and Tauler, in Ruysbroeck and Gerson. We say nothing of those who followed its mysticism without its philosophy, of Molinos, Madame Guyon, and Fenelon; we pass over altogether the school of Gale, and More, and Cudworth; but we cannot thus omit Descartes, and Malebranche, and Spinoza, with whom the thoughts of Plotinus rose again in all their grand simplicity. We say nothing of poets without number who have since uttered and are still uttering the same deep mysteries. We pass over Swedenborg and Emerson, and Parker, but we cannot forget that the greatest thinkers of our time, such men as Fichte, and Hegel, and Schelling, are reproducing in one form or another the chief thoughts of the despised Alexandrians. Surely it is the very height of arrogance to cast away with utter ridicule those who have thus lived in the greatest intellects of our own days and of the past. Surely they are at least worth calm and careful examination, whose fruits at this long interval of time are seen in every new poet, in every new philosopher. It is at our peril to leave them any longer forgotten, for we know not how far the infidelity which is touching the heart of our Christianity may be all built on their misunderstanding.

Once more, then, we revert to the question, What is Neoplatonism? We propose to give a fair, though of course a brief, reply. We regret that we are so little able to avail ourselves of English guides, and that the path which we have to strike out for ourselves is almost entirely new to English readers. There is no fair account of the Neo-platonists, at least in our modern literature. Mr. Kingsley's "Hypatia," which is less a novel than a magnificent historical picture, is too gorgeously painted to be available for more than general purposes. His lectures on "Alexandria and her Schools," only one of which is concerned with Neo-platonism, properly so called, is of course ably written, but it is very unworthy of the author of "Hypatia," and meagre beyond endurance as an account of Neo-platonic doctrine. The only other books worth mentioning on the subject are Mr. Maurice's "Philosophy of the first Six Centuries," in the new edition of the "Encyclopædia Metropolitana," and two or three chapters in Mr. Vaughan's recent "Hours with the Mystics." The latter of these we recommend most heartily to the notice of our readers; for, though too brief to be looked upon as a fair and complete account, wiser words could not have been more eloquently said. French literature, on the other hand, leaves nothing to be desired on this subject. Of the two works named at the head of our article, that of M. Jules Simon is fair, discriminating, and often profound; that of M. Vacherot, which is partly a prize-essay of the French Academy, is complete, sensible, and thoroughly impartial. To both of these we shall owe much before we have finished the investigation, whose commencement we have delayed so long.

The nature of our position, which is rather that of apologists than of critics, will explain the introduction of what might otherwise have been unsaid. Our wish to give the great thoughts which form the system, rather than the minutiæ which veil it, will account for the omission of what often is all that is known of it; and the limits of our space will compel us to leave nearly all the modern relations of the philosophy to our readers' own experience. Our great point is to show that Neo-platonism deserves better treatment than it has hitherto received from all except a few who have studied it. This will be best done, not by cursory cavillings at particular passages in the books before us, or even by a rough outline of the philosophy of all the great Neo-platonic teachers. For it will be remembered that the title of Neo-platonists, though applied generally, includes very diverse elements. There are at least three distinct schools —the Alexandrino-Roman, the Syriac, and the Athenian. The first includes Ammonius and Plotinus, the second comprehends Porphyry and Iamblichus, the last is chiefly represented by Proclus. Instead, therefore, of giving a skeleton-like description of the chief theories of all of them, or even general observations applying sometimes to one school and sometimes to another, it will be more profitable to give as full an examination as we are able, of some one particular system. We select that of Plotinus, because in him Neo-platonism is found in its best and purest form, and we shall proceed at once to show what foundation his philosophy has in reason, or, at least, how far it is true psychologically.

Plotinus was born at Lycopolis, about 205 A.D. In his twenty-seventh year we find him at Alexandria, a weary and anxious student, utterly perplexed by the chaos of philosophies which had gone before him, and yet longing eagerly for intellectual peace. In his despair he hears one of the lectures of Ammonius Socius, and henceforth looks to him as Plato did to Socrates.

We are told that Ammonius had two kinds of doctrine—one exoteric, the other esoteric—one for the many, another for the few. Of the latter Plotinus was one of the three chosen auditors, under the obligation of a fearful oath binding him to silence and secrecy. When his master's voice was hushed, Plotinus looked for further teaching to the ancient homes of philosophy in the East, and accompanied Gordian's Persian expedition in the hope of finding it. The disastrous rout of the army compelled him to return without the knowledge which he sought, and he spent the next few years in quiet thought at Antioch, whence, in his fortieth year, he passed to Rome. His oath still bound him, and for some time his fame was a lambent light—not a single ray came forth from himself. But when his fellow pupils, Erennius and Origen (not the Father of that name), had given glimpses of the secret, he felt that the spell was broken, and stood forth at once as the chief teacher of his time, to whom students and statesmen, and even emperors, listened as to an oracle. But we need not linger on the story of his life, for of him, even more than of all other philosophers, is it true, that his life consists of thoughts, not deeds. Let us pass, then, at once to his philosophy.

He began, not where preceding thinkers had left off, but with the very foundation of thinking. He made his philosophy, not a patchwork of particular questions, but an entire edifice of thought. Two problems presented themselves to him at the outset—as they had done to Plato before, and as they have done to nearly every metaphysician since—embracing in themselves all existence and all knowledge. First, what is? or, what is truth? Secondly, is it knowable? or, how is it knowable? The first problem has a twofold answer, and gives birth to a twofold inquiry. What is? we ask. And the first answer which suggests itself is naturally that which our *senses* exhibit to us—the world. This reply necessitates the further investigation—if so, how comes it into being? Again, we ask, what is? and Plotinus felt bound to reply, that of which the *mind* tells us—a first cause, a final cause—in short, a God. Here again we must inquire—how does he exist, and what is his relation to ourselves? These are the two great temples of knowledge—the world and God; but there is still a bar to be removed from their threshholds. *Do* we know them? *How* do we know them? These three inquiries, then, came before Plotinus for their solution—How comes the world? What is God? What is knowing? The order of their investigation is the reverse to that in which they present themselves (*τὸ γὰρ ἔσχατον ἐν τῇ αναλύσει πρῶτον ἐν τῇ ζητήσει*). We must therefore first decide what it is to know, what certainty there is in knowing. Plotinus began by noticing that there is one kind of knowledge for material, and another for mental phenomena; that we cannot be said to know in the same manner the facts which strike our senses, and the laws which are generalized from them, for that the former are in one great flux continually, always dying or springing into birth, always eluding our cognizance and passing away in change; while the latter are eternally and unalterably true—as real as the others are phenomenal, as constant as the others are variable. If, then, the former cannot he firmly grasped, they cannot be certainly known. All that we possess is opinion, on which we can rely more or less in proportion to the fulness of our observations. The philosopher's true path, he reasoned, lies elsewhere: we can only *know* those things which alone really exist, which above the changes and chances of the world have a fixed and eternal being.

And what are they? he asked. Is there nothing in the universe but phenomena, which pass like shadows and escape our reason? Is it all a vain show—a dreamland of delusive phantasies? Must there not rather be a world of reality above these unrealities—a world of changelessness above these ceaseless deaths and resurrections? Has not the soul its own sphere as well as the body? Shall not thought be true, though all else be fickle and uncertain? Just as Bacon thought that, though " we sleep, and wake and sleep, and all things move," the laws of nature are changeless and eternal—as being reflexes of the mind of God. So Plotinus held that there is an inner world of being, fixed, and constant, and knowable, which contains in itself the laws and causes of all possible developments of all things visible. So far we see only the recognition and anticipation, though masked in Grecian phraseology, of a truth which modern science postulates: but here begins the divergence. Plotinus could not stop with the mere fact of knowledge, he must needs explain and test it—he must needs proceed to inquire, Why is not all this a delusion? Why is it that our knowledge corresponds with objective realities? Eclecticism came to his aid, and in the old formula " like knoweth like," he found the first step towards a solution. Why does like know like? Why does the subject thinking become conscious of the object thought? Is there any real difference between them—is there not rather a close sympathy, an intimate union? Do we not know things, in short, because they are part of ourselves—because we are one with them, and they with us? And thus at last he reached the seeming paradox that nothing is being—that to know is to become, that life is philosophy; just as, though in less degree, St. John seems to have thought, when he makes knowledge one with faith, and shadows forth the mysterious notion that the eternal knowledge of the everlasting Father will make our eternal life.

The chasm between the soul and the world being thus filled up by knowledge, growth in knowledge was thought to lead us step by step to the very culmination of our own humanity. But Plotinus rightly saw that this kinship with all being must be wrought out for itself by each individual soul; that this ascent up "the world's altar-stairs," must be gradual to be certain. We must climb by processes of our own thought, not by imparted teaching, if we would ascend to the highest truths of the finite; and if at last we would soar to the home of the infinite. Accordingly we have little more in Plotinus than a sketch of the track which we must follow. The first step is a natural and true one—the recognition of the harmony of nature; the student at this stage is termed a musician—one who sees order where the fleshly eye sees only confusion, one who distinguishes an eternal and unchangeable system of laws beneath this chaos of the outer world. Harmony is then seen to be beauty, and the love of beauty transforms the musician into a lover; first, of beauty in the outer form, then of moral beauty, then of scientific beauty, then of intellectual beauty, and lastly of ideal beauty; the beauty of the ideal laws and forms, whence all other beauty emanates. The lover is thus led to the land of the eternal archetypes of things; he is fairly removed from all communication with corporeality; but his longing is not yet satisfied, his thirst for higher knowledge and higher life leads him farther still. He is changed into a philosopher; and now his soul must be disciplined and purged, must be trained and sanctified, for its final flight. Mathematics must teach him the nature of form and relation in the abstract; and, last of all, the master-science, dialectics, must crown his education by unfolding to him being and non-being, good and evil, time and eternity. But this is not the limit: there still remain before him the strangest mysteries of deity without, the abysmal depths of personality within. Thought is one—the notion of unity must be satisfied: thought is eternal—it must speak, then, in the unreasoning monotone of eternity. Listen to the kind of *cento* which Mr. Vaughan has gleaned from the Enneads:—

"You ask, how can we know the infinite? I answer, not by reason. It is the office of reason to distinguish and define. The infinite, therefore, cannot be ranked among its objects. You can

> only apprehend the infinite by a faculty superior to reason, by entering into a state in which you are your finite self no longer, in which the divine essence is communicated to you. This is *ecstacy*. It is the liberation of your mind from its finite consciousness. Like only can apprehend like; when you thus cease to be finite, you become one with the infinite. In the reduction of your soul to its simplest self (ἅπλωσις), its divine essence, you realise this union, this identity (ἕνωσιν)."—Vol. I. p. 87.

Thus Plotinus explained the theory of knowing and the certainty of knowledge: our subjective knowledge has an absolute value, because subject and object are really one: the senses and the sensible world are only materials for opinion, they can never be fairly caught by the grasp of intellect: the laws which cause their various phenomena are alone matter for knowledge—first that of the musician, then that of the lover, and lastly that of the dialectician; but above all these is the absolute, the one, the infinite, with whom even reason fails, and who can only be apprehended by ecstasy. This is one great thought which Neo-platonism has done much in all ages to preserve—that we cannot by searching find out God, but that to the pure soul He is known at once by the light of revelation.

"But what is this God?" Plotinus asked, "whom I know sometimes in ecstatic illumination, and whose remembrance, somehow or other, continually recurs in my most secret thoughts?" This was his second quest—a quest which even more than the former it will be profitable to us to follow. It will be borne in mind that the objective reality of our idea of God is postulated by all Neo-platonists. Anselm's ontological proof being merely the scholastic version of it: and thus the inquiry begins by an analysis of logical necessities by which our idea is conditioned. These divide themselves into two classes, each as essential as the other, but apparently involving mutual contradictions. God must be the one, the absolute, the changeless; and yet he must be the immanent cause of the manifold, the changeful, the finite: he must be perfectly sufficient in his own eternity and yet perpetually efficient in time—above all motion, and antecedent to all existence, but yet the source of being, the fountain and mover of the universe. How were these to be reconciled? Could the motionless one be the universal cause? Could the absolute one link himself to the limited? Plotinus saw that no dualistic theory was possible, that the notion of the eternal absolute oneness of the deity shut out all conception of a co-existent principle or polar opposition to him: he saw that to subtract the world from God would be to make him imperfect in fact, and that to suppose its addition as adding to him would be to make him imperfect in potentiality. The world must be in him, though he cannot be in the world; and if so, there must be some bond which binds him to it, there must be some cause which can account for his connexion with it. The necessities of logic thus require what no logic can explain; and if we are to know God at all, some faculty higher than the logical faculty must be resorted to for his revelation. How then can the finite know the mysteries of the infinite one, but by the lightning-flash of divine illumination, by the instant and immediate working of ecstasy? The immutable principle must be transformed into an efficient cause by supposing that God exists in more modes than one—that in his nature there is an indefinable something which can preserve the changelessness of the unity, and yet be the source of life to the manifold. To human intellects such a theory has the appearance of gradation, but it is very conceivable that, taken out of space and time, the relation may be such as to leave the divine oneness unaltered. We are by no means certain whether Plotinus transferred to his philosophy a notion derived from Christianity—many maintain the reverse; —but he conceived that in the one divine *nature* (φύσις) there might be a plurality of *persons* (ὑποστάσεις). He had the same or even greater difficulty than the Christian fathers in explaining exactly what was the precise meaning of an *hypostasis;* it could be neither matter, substance, nor being—neither attribute, function, nor capacity;—all that could be said of it was, that it was a separate phase of divine manifestation, which yet did not interfere with absolute unity. This once granted, he proceeded to determine that these hypostases must form a triad. Thus, in the outward structure, if not in the inner detail of his doctrine, coming very near indeed the Catholic belief in "One uncreated, and One incomprehensible," "Unity in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity." Most philosophers before him, except Numenius and the Eleatics, had looked upon God as the first and best of things, the aggregate of the world's perfections, the ideal of the world's excellence, as thinking and acting, feeling and moving, in kind if not in degree, like ourselves. But Plotinus perceived that such an idea of God was but the reflex of our humanity, and that even if it formed part of the true divinity at all, it could be but an inferior phase. The necessity of thought required as the first hypostasis, or highest mode of God's existence, absolute and eternal oneness, antecedent not only to time, and space, and matter, but to all that we know, and think, and are; in short, to thought and being itself. This was his process; if God had a past and a future, he would not have eternal unity, for that is out of relation in time; if he could embrace matter, he could not have infinite completeness, for that is out of relation in space; if he were capable of action, he would not be absolutely self-sufficient, for action makes the agent more perfect than before, or less so. Thus we must disconnect from God all motion in time or space, all operation in matter, all relativity to the finite; and even more than this. Extension and thought, Spinoza's infinite attributes of being, must not be predicated of the unconditioned one; for the former is a notion derived from matter, while thought itself, since it implies an object, cannot exist in him who is a subject without an object. Lastly, we may not even say of him that "he *is*," for we know not whether existence itself—at least so far as it is possible for us to apprehend it—may not be a limitation of his unconditioned unity, a contradiction of his absolute infinity. He is thus, in his highest phase, above all knowledge of which we are capable, he is the unsearchable, the ineffable One; or, in modern phraseology, the immanent negative, the inscrutable anonymous, before whom, at least in this mortal life of ours, we can only be silent in ecstasy. This is very far from being pantheism. Plotinus held as firmly as we can do, that

"Eternal truth shall still divide
Th' eternal soul from all beside;"

but yet to us it seems a cold and cheerless thing to contemplate so utter a negation, so intense an inanity. The rapture with which the Neo-platonists looked forward to the eternal vision of its glory—not, as is sometimes wrongly stated, to absorption into it—is to us almost inexplicable. We cannot refrain from quoting some of the words which Mr. Kingsley has put into the mouth of Hypatia, for they express very nearly what Plotinus says himself, and, moreover, possess the rare Neo-platonic gift of intelligibility. Speaking of men in ecstasy, she says—

> "For the time, this burden of individuality vanishes, and recognising themselves as portions of the universal soul, they rise upward through and beyond that Reason from whence the soul proceeds to the fount of all—the ineffable and Supreme One—and seeing it, become by that act portions of its essence. They speak no more, but it speaks in them, and their whole being, transmuted by that glorious sunlight into whose rays they have dared, like the eagle, to gaze without shrinking, becomes an harmonious vehicle for the

words of Deity, and, passive itself, utters the secrets of the immortal gods. What wonder if to the brute mass they seem as dreamers? Be it so—smile if you will. But ask me not to teach you things unspeakable, above all sciences, which the word-battle of dialectic, the discursive struggles of reason, can never reach, but which must be seen only, and when seen confessed to be unspeakable. Hence, thou disputer of the academy!—hence, thou sneering cynic!—hence thou sense-worshipping stoic, who fanciest that the soul is to derive her knowledge from those material appearances which she herself creates!—hence—and yet, no; stay and sneer if you will. It is but a little time—a few days longer in this prison-house of our degradation, and each thing shall return to its own fountain; the blood-drop to the abysmal heart, and the water to the river, and the river to the shining sea; and the dew-drop which fell from heaven shall rise to heaven again, shaking off the dust-grain which weighed it down, thawed from the earth-frost which chained it here to herb and sward, upward and upward ever through stars and suns, purer and purer through successive lives, till it enters The Nothing, which is The All, and finds its home at last."—(*Hypatia,* Vol. I. 188, 9).

But Plotinus proceeds with his problem: How can this Absolute One descend into the multiform finite? The theory of emanation, of seeming gradations in the godhead, bringing it into closer union with the world and the soul, appeared to him to furnish the only solution. A second hypostasis must therefore come forth from the first—but how? "Let us answer," he says, "by prayer and humility—let us lift ourselves up to communion with him, that we may know him. When we think of the procession of the intelligence from the unity we must not think of motion, at least like that in time, for the Absolute One cannot be a motive cause. The intelligence comes forth from him, like light from the sun, without diminishing aught of its fulness, without disturbing in any wise the motionlessness of his eternal quiescence." This is exactly the theory of emanation; it is not subtraction, it is hardly effluence; it is the *raying forth,* in this case, of all existence, from Him who is above existence, as the sun was supposed to give forth perpetual light without losing anything of either its fulness or its power. The second hypostasis is thus accounted for, and the chasm between the finite and the infinite is already almost bridged over. Two reasons help us towards the ascertainment of His nature. The first is purely objective. On the one hand we have unity, the first hypostasis; on the other hand we have number, or variety, the first element in the constitution of the world. The gap between these two can only be filled by an intelligence which shall hold them in synthesis, in which the one is fused with the many by the potential existence of both, in which the universal subject and the universal object are blended in an infinite mind. The second reason leads to a similar result. Starting from subjective data, we have in our minds a consciousness of eternally-existing ideas, or forms, or laws of nature. If such laws exist, they necessitate the existence of an eternal all-embracing mind, which comprehends and unites them. The second hypostasis is thus the union of the two highest predicates—of the two highest forms of subject and object—in other words, of existence and thought. It is Aristotle's motionless intelligence, his *νόησις νοήσεως νόησις*, which is thought abstracted from all thinking, existence abstracted from all the elements of matter, the identification of the thinker with the thinkable.

The first hypostasis of this Trinity is thus an absolute subject without relation. The second hypostasis, an infinite subject in synthesis, we now require one who shall preserve the infinite subjectivity of the Godhead, and yet imply the existence of an object. The second hypostasis is essentially motionless; from him therefore proceeds—just as he itself from unity—an hypostasis with whom motion is possible, who is not pure thought but thought in activity, who in other words may be designated as the infinite soul, the *ψυχὴ ὑπερκόσμιος*, not *ψυχὴ ἐγκόσμιος*, the cause of the world's birth in eternity and of its life in time, who is yet out of the world and above the world. We may sum up this Trinity, therefore, in the words of Porphyry, Plotinus chief pupil, and we do so the rather because they so distinctly repudiate pantheism:—

> "God [*i. e.* the first hypostasis] is everywhere because he is nowhere; and mind is everywhere because it is nowhere; and the soul is everywhere because it is nowhere. But God is everywhere and nowhere in those things which are beneath him—being in them so far merely as he is and wills. Mind is in God, but everywhere and nowhere in those things which are posterior to it. Soul is in mind and in God, and nowhere in matter: matter is in soul and mind and God. And as all beings and non-beings are from God and in God, he is himself neither being nor non-being, nor included in them. For if it were only true of him that he is everywhere, he would be all things and in all things; but since he is also nowhere—all things flow from him and are in him because he is everywhere—all things are distinguished from him because he is nowhere. So, too, mind being everywhere and nowhere, is the efficient cause of soul, and of those things which are posterior to

souls. And this progression extends through the universe as far even as those things which are limited in space." (Sentent. XXXI.)

But the greatest problem of all still remains—how can the existence of the world be explained consistently with this idea of God? He must have made it—He must sustain it; but how, and why? If the world is necessary to His perfection now, it was so always, and will be so always. It exists, then, by necessity of the divine nature; for all dualistic theories have been before shown to be inconsistent with his absoluteness, and all pantheistic theories with his immateriality. It is not God, nor is it wholly independent of him, but it is a necessary consequence both of his oneness, his intelligence, and his activity. The one supposes the many, thought necessitates thinking, soul must become life. The world is thus a development from God's infinite subjectivity; step by step it has evolved itself from him. So far as it exists at all, it exists in him, and by him, and through him. The great controversy, however, among Neo-platonists was as to which hypostasis should be considered to be the more immediate creator. Numenius held that the third hypostasis created substance, and the second informed it. Iamblichus held that not only the divine mind, but the whole world of intelligible forms, assisted in the production of sensible things. Amelius seems to have been the only one who grasped the idea that the whole Trinity, in more or less degree, might be concerned in the act of creation. He speaks of the δημιουργὸς βουλήθεις, δημιουρνὸς λογιζόμενος, and the δημιουργὸς παραλαβών. But what we have said before will have shown that Plotinus's own theory required to be different from all these. He supposed an inner world and an outer—a world of realities, having its existence in eternity; and a world of sensible phenomena, having its existence in time. This double world could not have the same origin—the world of thought must depend from the divine mind, the world of matter from the divine soul. The logic of the theory of emanations required that this third hypostasis of the Godhead should develop from itself the soul of the world, the immediate fountain of the world's life, the efficient cause of its motion. Matter, which is only conceivable as non-being, is perpetually informed by this principle of life, is perpetually moved and moulded in conformity with the laws or ideas of the divine intelligence. Beauty—for all that is divine is beautiful—is thus continually impressed on the formlessness of chaos, changing the dark nonentities of the material world into images of the archetypes in heaven; all that is beautiful in the world is the result of the perfect fulfilment of the law of nature, or, in Neo-platonic language, of the victory of the the "idea" over the deformity of matter. So it is, too, with goodness: all that is godlike is good; all the laws of nature, when perfectly worked out, produce good; evil is a disturbance of these laws, it has no existence of its own, but is merely relative to good, as darkness to light. Here is the foundation of Neo-platonic ethics. Evil is a non-entity, a privation, a something of which God is unconscious—for he can only take cognizance of what is in conformity with his laws, and just as he knows not darkness so he knows not evil. It will be remembered how often this has appeared to theologians—especially to the schoolmen—the only possible solution, even upon Christian grounds, of this mysterious enigma. We can only state, not discuss, the theory: with it the Neo-platonic cosmology necessarily terminates.

What then is man's duty? With a changeful world around him, with the eternal "ideas" in his grasp, with the absolute Godhead above him; how is he to act? what is to be his aim? Here it is that Plotinus chiefly fails, for the answer to all this is an answer for the few and not for the many, for the strong and not for the weak. He maintained that all human effort should tend towards good, and therefore ultimately to the highest good; or, in other words, union with God: but we can only become one with God by *knowing* him, by rising more and more from the fetters of materiality, and gazing upon the pure light of his countenance. This was only possible to the philosopher—to him who was able to give himself wholly to thought, and dialectic, and contemplation. To him alone virtue is possible, for virtue consists in purging the soul from the defilements of its sympathy with evil; not by action, but by self-annihilation: to him alone is the way open to happiness on earth, and union with God hereafter. The innumerable multitudes of men who toil in the sadness of blighted hope for the mere mockery of a livelihood, are all passed over, as beneath God's thought and care. The sole aristocracy of heaven consists of those who have been above the trials and woes of earth. But this is the dark side of the theory—its exclusiveness: with less bigotry it would have been the truest account of virtue which any philosophy had set forth. Virtue was knowledge, Plotinus said: but we must remember his notion of knowledge, that it was not mere consciousness of an object but union with it; and that thus growth in knowledge was growth in God's likeness.

He thought that this was only possible to the philosopher, because he looked upon God as simply an intellectual entity. If he had known of God as being also a moral entity, he would have admitted the great principle of Christianity, that virtue is not so much mental as moral purgation—that we become like God by moral rather than intellectual sympathy.

Such are the leading thoughts of the Neo-platonic philosopher—considered apart from their minor details, and from a host of collateral questions which are involved in them. It has been the fault of nearly every great thinker—perhaps excepting Plato—to be so careful about bending his thoughts into a symmetrical system, as to overlay them with a multitude of absurd details, distorted in every imaginable fashion for the sake of supposed consistency. In process of time these adventitious superfluities are confounded by plodding scholiasts as well as by shallow students, with the theories which lie far beneath them; so that often a great name becomes famous among posterity, not for his great thoughts but for a few extravagant eccentricities. So it is with most of the Neo-platonists, Proclus especially, and to a considerable degree Plotinus also. But we have been content to leave such things to perish as they came to birth: we have endeavored to sketch out the temple which he reared, leaving the defects of its cornices and the unworthiness of its friezes to the notice of the little minds who can care for them.

But we have said far too much, probably, for our readers' patience, although we have done so little for Plotinus. We have been striving to show that these Neo-platonists are at least worth studying, and that the works at the head of our article deserve far more attention than they have gained, for their subject's sake, if not for their own. Our main argument has been twofold; we pointed out, in the first place, that a system which has had, and which is having, so mighty an influence, conscious and unconscious, upon the world, must at least merit attention. We have endeavoured to demonstrate, secondly, by a brief exposition of Plotinus's philosophy, that Neo-platonism does not wander so widely from reason as is commonly supposed; and that it would be well if, in our dealings with the Neo-platonic phases of modern infidelity, we were to allow more for its plausibility and possible truth. We cannot of course forget that this very philosophy was for three hundred years the great intellectual rival of Christianity; that it was the last and strongest citadel of the old-world philosophies and faiths; but this is by no means a proof of their positive antagonism. It seems quite strange to us that thinkers who stood so near should have created a bottomless abyss between each other. It seems strange to us, as it did to some of the Christian fathers, that men who could believe in the Trinity could not believe in Christ; for this was the universal stumbling-block to the philosopher—the atonement by the crucifixion. We feel impelled to take up the words of St. Augustine to Porphyry, (*De Civit. Dei*, x. 29):—

> "Thou seest, though in the far distance, and with half-blinded eyes, the country where thou mightest rest: but the way thither is hid from thee. Thou confessest that the grace to know God is given to very few—thou sayest not 'few like it,' or 'few desire it,' but '*it is given* to few,' and thus thou acknowledgst God's goodness and man's insufficiency. And thou speakest still more plainly, in conformity with Plato's own words, that in this life man cannot possibly arrive at knowledge in its perfection, but that those who live like true philosophers have every need supplied by God's grace in the life to come. O that thou hadst known the grace of God in Jesus Christ our Lord and His incarnation—His taking on Himself of our soul and flesh by which he became the greatest example of goodness that ever was."

We might show how, one by one, all the great doctrines which we have been unfolding from Plotinus, find their exact correspondences in Christianity; how all that he says about the abysmal nothing—the one, the absolute, the all—which seems perhaps at first sight a mere waste of dialectic, is but the philosophic recognition of God's necessary incomprehensibility: how the theory of emanation, though an utter failure in itself, is a noble attempt to solve the problem which the advent of the God-man alone could unravel; or how this very stand-point of self-reflection is also the stand-point of Christian ethics—which bid us to examine ourselves that we may know ourselves and feel our need of God. But we can only enter now into one of these correspondences; these intuitions which Plotinus had of the truths of revelation. His theory of ecstacy—what is it? Can it be a mere idle dream, a mere mystical raving, as we are sometimes told? Or is it not something which Christianity has brought home to each one of us; something like what God has in all ages been unfolding to us? We do not speak of it in its naked Grecian form, just as Plotinus, with his crude prejudices, elaborated it; we speak of it as a thought, as a principle, as the broad theory of illumination and oneness with the Deity. In this light it shines forth not merely as what modern philosophy is built upon, but as what humanity has craved for in every age of history; but as what in the early days of our faith was to the evangelists inspiration, to the whole church, the spirit of prophesy—as what theologians have known as contemplation, what every saint has known as communion with God. We will not speak of it as the dying voice of the old philosophy testifying to the poverty of unaided thought—as the vision of a country afar off, a golden cloudland of sunset, which the swallow-flits of dialectic failed to reach. It is something far higher. It is the striving to realise what this life of ours might be, if by some lightning-flash of revelation the Eternal One should lift up the veil from His infinity. It is the philosophic anticipation of the Christian's daily life, his perpetual dying to the world, his perpetual drawing nigh to God. And if we hear aright these echoes of futurity which the voice of Holy Writ has borne to us, the harmony is closer and loftier still. Surely these Neo-platonists were no mere visionaries when they thus gloriously shadowed forth the culmination of our bliss in the mystic marriage of the Lamb. This very ecstasy of which they spoke is held forth to us as our eternal joy; this very contemplation, which they strove so hard to realise, is revealed to us as the consummation of our faith. For when faith is perfected in sight, "we shall *be like* Him, *because we shall see* Him,"—beholding His glory we shall be "changed into the same image from glory to glory:" and as "the angels do always behold the face" of our Father, so shall we be tranced for ever in one long rapture of contemplation, one great gaze upon His light; which shall be to us an eternal growth in His likeness, an eternal receiving of His fulness, until at last—we know not how, but we know very surely —*ὁ Θεος ἐσται πάντα ἐν πᾶσιν*—"God shall be everything to all of us."

ART. V. 1. *The Euphrates Valley Route.* By a TRAVELLER. London: Sandford. 1856.

2. *The Scinde Railway, and its Relations to the Euphrates Valley, and other Routes to India.* By W. P. ANDREW, ESQ., Chairman of the Scinde Railway Company. Allen and Co. London: 1856.

3. *Prospectus of the Euphrates Valley Railway Company.* 1856.

4. *Prospectus of the European and Indian Junction Telegraph Company.* 1856.

5. *The World's Highway.* Reprinted from the Calcutta Review for March, 1856. London: Weal.

THE gradual progress and development of a great idea, from the mere suggestion, which a sanguine speculator might entertain, to the proposition, in the practical realisation of which the most cautious man would not hesitate to risk his time, his knowledge, or his capital, is an almost every-day matter with us in the present advanced, and advancing condition of our scientific and social knowledge. The union of classes, on which our forefathers looked with open incredulity—the alliance of nations, which those among us who have not passed through half the usual term of man's life, regarded as Utopian; and the application to our every day use of numerous scientific theories that seemed to forbid the slightest reduction to practice have combined to make many a project, that once appeared fabulous or foolish, a mere question of time, of labour, and of outlay. Have we forgotten the incredulity and opposition with which the first locomotive and the first passenger railway were received in England? or the laboured arguments by which men of admitted scientific acquirements proved to demonstration, as they thought, that no steamer could be formed to cross the Atlantic, where now, week after week, the iron fleets of the great steam companies accomplish, in less than a fortnight, often in ten days, the journey which the *savans* proved to be an impossibility? The authorities of the towns and cities, and the rural lords, who not so long since moved heaven and earth to prevent the disastrous iron road from coming within sound or sight of their bounds, for years past have been confessing their error, and striving, at treble cost, to turn towards them the great highway against which they raised every barrier that pride, prejudice, ignorance or wealth could devise. The maritime towns, which deplored the certain destruction of the mercantile navy and the British seamen, if the slightest encouragement were given to steamboats, have long since courted the great steam companies to their ports, and expended many thousands in providing for the accommodation of the enormous increase of shipping which the paddle-wheel and the screw have brought to their harbours. But it is needless to multiply illustrations which suggest themselves in "numbers numberless." We cannot move without coming on some fresh proof that the limits of material improvements, at least, are mere questions of time; and that sooner or later, in the case of hundreds of presumed impossibilities, if there is but a will, the science, skill, industry, and capital of Europe will provide the way.

The gradual lessening of the distance between us and that noble empire which we have acquired in the East, is among the questions which time is rapidly solving. As in the case of all other great questions the solution has been slow and partial; or, in other words, simply co-equal and cotemporaneous with the scientific knowledge and the social and political condition of the age. To those who remember the days of the tedious voyage in the noble merchant ship, and the months spent in toiling by St. Helena and the Cape to the nearest Indian port, the first overland route through Egypt, even with all its earlier delays and difficulties, appeared to solve the question of the quickest route to the East. Yet to us, who have now all the advantages due to extended lines of railway in Europe, to swifter steamers on the seas, and to a more rapid transport across the desert, the then solution of the problem appears but a sorry and partial attempt. Just as that of which we now boast, will to those who live to see, not only India herself overspread by great trunk railways, and Europe pushing her lines to the utmost verge of her territory, but Asia Minor seamed by the iron road, and her great rivers ploughed by the keels of flying steamers.

The idea of a railway communication between the West and the East is no novelty; and had not political events intervened by which social progress was necessarily interrupted, might ere this have been something more than a project on paper. As far back as 1842, Mr. William Pare, of the Seville Iron Works, Dublin, projected a Calais, Constantinople, and Calcutta railway, which, three years after, he extended, *on paper*, to Pekin. In the next year, Mr. A. F. Campbell actually proposed to the astonished Board in Leadenhall Street, a line of railway through Austria, Turkey, Asia Minor, Persia and Beloochistan, to Kurrachee; and in succeeding years supported his proposition by fresh appeals and plans. In 1849 a Mr. Wright, who rightly regarded the advance of Christianity and commerce as the natural results of the geographical progression of railways, advocated the opening of the Euphrates Valley: or, to come to later dates, who does not remember the sketches and plans of Dr. Bowen Thompson's London and Calcutta line, which attracted so much attention at the Great Exhibition. Later again, or rather last in the list, we have "The World's Highway," of Mr. Macdonald Stephenson, first made at all public in the March number of the "Calcutta Review;" and, practically an ecclectic *refaciamento* of the suggestions of previous projectors, and, therefore, little better than a patch work of many colours.

In each and all of these various projects, there was one geographical point on which all were unanimous. Though they might differ from one another as to how Europe was to be crossed, or Asia Minor spanned by the iron road northward of the range of Mount Taurus and the pass of the Cilician gates, or how the line was to be run through Beloochistan or the regions of the Upper Indus; they all, somehow or other, contrived to meet in the valley of the Euphrates, and to agree in selecting that promising portion of the earth's surface for at least six or seven hundred miles of their projected railway. The secret of this unanimity is to to be found in the long prior labours of Captain Chesney, the well-known leader of the expedition by which, in the days of William the Fourth, the Valley of the Euphrates was explored, and the navigability of the river fully tested. Though railways were but in their infancy when this expedition was so ably carried out, no sooner were the details of the levels, then made between the port of Seleucia and the Euphrates, presented to competent parties, than they saw at a glance the unparalleled fitness of the ground for such a communication. So strong, indeed, was this impression, that when the results were first laid before the Royal Society, its council hesitated to publish that section of the levels by which these facts were demonstrated, from the fear of appearing to give their countenance to a project which at that time could not but appear visionary in the extreme. Captain Chesney's expedition was as far back as 1836; and, no doubt, his discoveries, which could not but be known to many in the expedition besides himself, gradually crept out, despite the attempted reticence of the Royal Society, and were only too gladly taken up by one and all the projectors as the basis of the most feasible, and, therefore, most attractive portion of their apparently Utopian projects. In the important results of his repeated and careful surveys, Captain Chesney, of course, could not secure a patent. As the representative of our Government he acquired his information for *its* use; and when the Government published that information, it practically gave to the world the unrestricted use of Captain Chesney's labours. Now, however, that the progress of the age, socially, politically, and scientifically admits of his views being reduced to practice, General Chesney, in his maturer years, naturally reclaims his own discoveries; and, as the true discoverer of the inter-oceanic communication with India, unites himself to those practical men whom his experience tells him are most certain to carry out, as a reality, the day-dream of his youth.

Before, however, we endeavour to sketch out the short, simple, and feasible route to the East, which General Chesney, and his active coadjutor "The Old Postmaster," have combined to carry out, it would be well to give our readers some idea of the day-dreams of those whose more ostentatious projects we have noticed, as they are exposed in the project of "The World's Highway" so lately ventilated in the "Calcutta Review." From this hybrid bird, each of the previous speculators, if they be so minded, may reclaim some bone, or feather, or claw of their own specimen, until they leave the party-coloured daw with hardly a bone to its skeleton, a feather to its back, or a claw to its foot.

Any one who learned experience in the days of the railway mania—and who was there, or is there, who did not do so, and that in the most expensive of schools—well knows that railways take their rise from two species of projectors. There is the slow-plodding, pains-taking projector, who begins by a careful examination of the physical character of the country of his proposed line, and of its capability of development, so far as traffic and production is concerned. He has but one object in view, namely, the construction of such a line through the desired tract as will not only best develop its resources and means, and stimulate its population to use the new means of communication offered them, but at the same time will repay its outlay, as well as maintain its daily expenditure. He does not, therefore, either disregard difficulties, or affect to overcome those impediments which nature offers, by the construction of works of undoubted grandeur, as mere proofs of the power of science, and the resources of engineering; but which in reality are the quicksands of capital, and the maelstroms of dividends. He avails himself of the line of the greatest facilities, and the greatest promise, and produces a plan that will not startle, nay, that will, at first sight, hardly appear attractive from its simplicity, but which will pay those who carry it out, whilst it fully benefits those for whose use it is projected.

The other class of projectors were of a very different order. Taking a decent map of the proposed route, they pitched upon the two extreme termini of their line, ruled a line, or drew a red tape between them; and then, following the apparent course of the rivers, and the line of the hills, which too often had been put in by the imagination of the draftsman, they made a bend here, and a curve there,—designed a viaduct in this place, and a grand tunnel in that, and perhaps coolly proposed such a bridge over a river that was ever shifting its banks, and cutting out a new channel for its waters, as we have heard was suggested on paper by one who once talked of carrying out a direct political line from Calcutta to Mirzapore, without a thought of the difficulties that nature had put in his way. A bold and taking idea—a suggestion that attracts attention by its apparent completeness, and puts down objection by its boldness, is a *bonne bouche* for this class. It looks well on paper. And when its good looks have secured to its projector the monopoly of the country which he courts; he makes no wry faces at being called upon to abandon his own "comprehensive scheme," and to carry out that of his more modest rival, which he and his friend have not hesitated to ridicule in the days of their prosperity. To which of these classes of projectors the author of "The World's Highway" belongs, we need not stop to inquire. It will suffice to describe his project, bearing this in mind, that to a great extent it is composed of borrowed ideas, and that its originality consists not in its conception, but in the ingenious dove-tailing of the proposals of its author's predecessors.

Starting them from Scutari, (for on the European portion of "The World's Highway," it is needless to comment) Mr. Macdonald Stephenson proposes to run his line to Is Nikmid or Ismid, a poor city now reduced to 4000 inhabitants, but which has ignorantly been held out to the world as the Brighton of the Constantinopolitans; as if a Turk would go thus far for repose or a bath, with the Bosphorus at his feet, and the Princes Islands within hail. Conceive season-tickets for the express-train for Stamboul merchants, and an excursion-train to Ismid, at single-fares, on the Mahometan Sunday! From thence the line is to run "southward by the valley of the Sakariah river to Eskishehr, keeping to the south of Sevrihissar and Balahissar." This no doubt reads well; it reminds us the stereotyped phrase of the prospectuses in 1846, "no engineering difficulties," or as the poet of the Westminster epilogue put it,

"Omnia plana,
Nec quidquam dignum nomine colliculi."

Unfortunately, however, for our projector, though, on the common maps of the country, the Sakariah river appears to mark the course of a valley from the lower country to the central uplands of Asia Minor, in reality it is effectually barred on the southward by a line of formidable precipices, and "throughout its entire course has to force its way through the Ascanian Olympus." Such is the verdict of a late traveller, from whose minute criticisms on "The World's Highway," and on the advantages of the Euphrates valley route, we shall freely quote. Let us see what our traveller goes on to say about this part of the line:—

> "But, suppose the rugged limestone cliffs of the Olympus turned, tunnelled, or overcome, and the town of Lefkeh reached, there is southward of that place another range of precipitous limestone hills through which the river forces its way by an impassable glen; and beyond that again, and between it and the plain of Eski-Shehr, is the Tomanji Tagh, or Mount Tmolus, a very difficult, wooded, and mountainous district, which a person bent upon any practical object would carefully avoid, especially as there are openings to the interior uplands of Asia Minor, at other points.
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> Eski Shehr, the old city, the Doryleum of the Lower Empire, is, it is to be admitted, on an available plain, but it is surrounded by hills; and as Mr. R. M. Stephenson's project carries him south of Sevrihissar and Balahissar—two castellated rocks, which it was wise to avoid—it would cross the wide and woodless central uplands of Strabo's Phrygia Epictetos, force the basaltic ridge of Sayid Ghazi, and then be lost in the unexplored defiles of the Emir Tagh, from which it would only emerge after some hundred miles of struggles amid wooded and rocky recesses, upon the plain of the great Tuz Gol, or Salt Lake.
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> "Compassing, with a mere slip of the pen, all the unknown difficulties presented by throwing himself into the intricacies of a mountain chain, and instead of solving a passage through that chain, chivalrously involving himself in all its obstacles, as presented along its line of greatest length: after, in fact, ignoring one hundred miles of unexplored mountain districts, we are thus at last relieved by a particular notice of some thirty miles of plain, by the shores of the Salt Lake from Iskil to Ak Serai.
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> "A touch of the same magic wand, which has carried us through the passes of the Sangarius, across Mount Tmolus, and through the Emir Tagh, to the plain of the Salt Lake, next conveys us from Ak Serai, the "white palace" of the sultans of Karamania, situated on the borders of the said plain, to Soghanli, across one of the most peculiar and difficult districts in Asia Minor, correspond-

ing to the district of Garsaura in Cappadocia, a volcanic region composed of rocky hills and valleys, offsets of the lofty Hasan Tagh, and the place of refuge in the earliest times of the propagation of the gospel, of persecuted Christians, who dwelt in caves hewn out of the perpendicular face of the precipices which are so characteristic of the region in question, and which are more particularly seen at Salmady, Gelvedery, and Soghanli."—*Euphrates Valley Route to India*, pp. 23—25.

But as if such difficulties were not enough, and more than enough, to arrest any but the wildest of speculators, Mr. Stephenson forces the passes of the mighty Taurus, and at last arrives at Malatiyah on the Upper Euphrates, tempted again into almost insurmountable difficulties by the appearance of a line of river running into the Euphrates, and thus affording him an opportunity, as he supposes, of proving the truth of his axiom, "That where a river can run, a railway can be made." That this rule does not hold good, at least in Asia, we have already shown in the course of the Sakariah; and the valley of the Tokmah Su, to which Mr. Stephenson now runs for help, is equally impracticable, passing, as the stream does, through deep and continuous precipices, beneath the rocks and castle of Derindah, and many another rocky and rugged defiles, ere it gains at last the plain of Malatiyah. And now, perhaps, we might with safety leave "The World's Highway" for some more feasible road, were it not that just at this point, according to our traveller, the geographical ignorance of its projector receives a most pertinent and amusing illustration:—

"Arrived by dint of unexampled struggles through the most stubborn regions of Asia Minor, at Malatiyah, our projector would, if he had examined a map, have found that two passes lay before him by which to get through the great mountain chain of Taurus, in the presence of which he now stood. One of these to the west, the other to the east of the Euphrates; one in the ancient Cappadocian Prefecture of Laviniasena, and the other in Lesser Armenia. If he had referred to olden times he would have found both passes in the Antonine Itinerary, or Peutingerian Tables; if to modern times, he would have found that the great Constantinople road to Dyarbekir went through the one by the well-known copper mines, and that Hafiz Pasha led his troops, and had his guns conveyed through the other on the occasion of his giving battle to the Egyptians at Nizib, and his disastrous retreat was effected through the same pass.

"But, Mr. R. M. Stephenson despises all such details; he finds a place marked Ees Oghlu (properly Ilijeh, the Elegia of Pliny, and Al Hammam of Idrisi, celebrated for its hot springs and

Assyrian inscriptions) on the map, and the Euphrates flowing past that point onwards to the plains of Mesopotamia and Syria, by Someisat and Rum-Kalah, and he apparently resolves as usual to keep to the valley of the river, so he states that 'from thence' (Eez Oghlu) 'to Mesko, the country is one uninterrupted level plain.' It is difficult to determine here the place particularly alluded to by the projector. There is, a little below the point where the Euphrates emerges from the Taurus, a Syrian village called Masro; and there is in the plain of Mesopotamia, a village called Mesko, not far from Mardin. Probably the latter is meant, although the projector alludes to 'striking the head of the Euphrates' at Ees Oghlu; and in the map attached to the memoir in the *Calcutta Review*, he carries his line by Dyarbekir on the Tigris, which is as much to the east as the line of the valley of the Euphrates is to the west of Mesko, in Mesopotamia. Whichever is the line proposed, however, whether by the valley of the Euphrates, across country from Ees Oghlu to Mesko, or by Dyarbekir to Mesko, certain it is that Ees Oghlu stands at the northern foot of Taurus, and that instead of from thence southward, the country being 'one interrupted level plain,' there is in every direction the whole width of the Taurus to traverse!

" As to the valley of the Euphrates, no road follows the river in its devious and difficult passage through that great mountain chain. It has to force its way through narrow gorges and perpendicular cliffs by alternating depths and rapids, and which, however available for railway purposes, have never yet been so to man, not even to the hardy Kurdish mountaineer. Emerging from Taurus *below* the last rapids of Dirisko, the Euphrates again enters rocky barriers below Gerghen Kalashi (Juliopolis), meets with obstacles which create rapids at Misibin and above Somosata, (as noticed by Pliny), is once more enclosed in a large rocky barrier at Rum-Kalap, and only finally reaches a really open and available country at Bir or Birehjik."—*Euphrates Valley Route*, pp. 30—33.

To which class of projectors Mr. Macdonald Stephenson belongs can now hardly be a matter of doubt. If it were, it would perhaps be sufficient to point to the fact of his so mixing up the geographical points of the next portion of his project, as to leave it in doubt whether he takes the valley of the Tigris or that of the Euphrates; or whether he does not neglect both these available routes in favour of one, the main portion of which would be carried through a waterless desert region. Suppose, however, our projector at Kornah or Bassorah, how do our readers suppose he talked of getting thence to the Indus? Virtually through Fars, by Shiraz to Kerman, across the most mountainous and rugged of the Asiatic provinces. Latterly it would appear that the objections raised to his wild scheme by Sir Justin Sheil, our late minister at Teheran, led him to accept the ambassador's suggestion of a coast line through Beloochistan; possible indeed, but still in itself offering most serious obstacles, as much from the absence of any settled form of government in the districts through which it would pass, as from the height of several of the mountain chains running to the edge of the sea, and from the breadth of the rivers that fall into it. "It appears then," says the able critic, whom we have previously quoted, "from the summary here given, that Mr. R. M. Stephenson's scheme of a direct railway to India, which has been trumpeted to the public, as the grandest which has yet been proposed, will not bear the ordeal of even a superficial discussion. That part which refers to the connexion of Belgrade and Constantinople, has already been in the hands of many projectors, and it is to be hoped will soon be carried out. That part which refers to a line across Asia Minor is only the revival of the crude suggestions of others, and is projected in utter ignorance of the physical conformation of the country; an ignorance which attains its climax when it describes the country occupied by the Taurus chain of mountains as a perfect level. In that part of the line which refers to the valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris, the projector, by mixing up with his project the Sinjar Hills and Tekrit, leaves us in doubt whether he means the one river valley or the other, or the central plains of Mesopotamia; and, lastly, for that part of his project which concerns the coast line of Fars, Laristan, and Mekran, he is indebted to Sir Justin Sheil. Of the surveys made by her Majesty's government and the Honourable the East India Company, of the river Euphrates and Tigris and their tributaries, as well as of their adjoining territories, he makes no mention whatsoever. They are obviously too insignificant to be noticed in so magnificent and so visionary a scheme."

Passing then from this visionary scheme for wasting millions without benefitting hundreds, let us see whether there is not a route from London to Calcutta, not only probable, or possible, but actually capable of being opened within a few years, and at an outlay hardly exceeding that, which some of our own railway corporations have not hesitated to expend on a contested branch.

To commence in the far east. That system which "The Old Postmaster" introduced to us in 1846, of constructing railways in connexion with, instead of superseding, the old river navigation, is at last being carried out not only in his own territory of Scinde, but also in that of Bengal and

Upper India. It will be remembered that, ten years ago, Mr. Andrew drew the attention of the public to the comparative facility and costlessness of a line of railway from Calcutta to Rajmahal, at which point the navigation of the Ganges becomes fully open, and proposed to place that line in communication with another to Delhi, by the means of improved steam navigation between the northern terminus of the one line, and the southern terminus of the other. Had his suggestions been accepted, long since, the communication between the capital and the northern frontier would have been thus completed; and instead of a bit of a line to a coal pit, we should have had the iron road to Rajmahal, the swift steamer from thence to Allahabad, and again the railway from thence to Delhi or even further north. It is useless now to expose the policy and the practices by which this practical and comparatively inexpensive scheme was temporarily set aside for an attempted direct political line from Calcutta to Mirzapore, or by which the monopoly of railways in Bengal and Upper India was given to its projectors. After many a delay, and almost countless broken negotiations, the men who ridiculed the notion of merely co-operating with the old river traffic instead of superseding it, have had to give up their own pet project as impracticable, and are actually carrying out the scheme which they despised, and yet taking the credit of the proposals which they pretended to treat with contempt. It is the old complaint of the Latin poet:—

> "Sic vos, non vobis, fertis aratra boves;
> Sic vos, non vobis, mellificatis apes;
> Sic vos, non vobis, nidificatis aves;
> Sic vos, non vobis, vellera fertis oves."

Anyhow, however, though another may reap the reward, the public will in the end be benefited; and if only reasonable diligence is exercised by the manager of the East Indian Railway, and a little less tendency shown by him to foster disputes between himself and his contractors, in less than five years the sister lines from Calcutta to Rajmahal, and from Mirzapore to Delhi and thence to Lahore, ought to be open, and the communication thus effected by the waters of the Ganges between the capital and the north-western territories. Eventually even this break of river traffic will not exist, and the Gangetic valley line will unite Rajmahal and Allahabad by the iron road.

But still, though thus rapidly lessening our distance between Lahore and Calcutta, our communication from England with the north-west not only labours under the disadvantage of going far towards the east to Calcutta, and of then returning westward to Lahore; but so far as we are concerned, Calcutta is not apparently one minute nearer to London despite the rail or the river. To make the first step towards this result, we must turn our attention to the most western part of India, —the port of Kurrachee in Scinde, the only land-locked harbour between Bombay and the Red Sea. This port, situated on the extreme verge of our newly acquired territory, where it borders on Mekran, is the natural outlet of the valley of the Indus to the sea, and being perfectly safe and easy of access for large ships during the north-west monsoon, has been rightly named the "Door of India."

For that combined system of railway and river traffic of which "The Old Postmaster" was the author, this country, to which this port acts as the outlet, is especially suited. A short and far from difficult line of railway from thence to the Indus at Hyderabad, taps that mighty river at the point where its waters become open to navigation by large craft as far upward as Moultan, a distance of five hundred and seventy miles. From Moultan another line of rail, of about two hundred miles in length, would connect that city with Lahore, and thus unite Kurrachee with Calcutta. Thus, in the west of India, we have a duplicate of that conjoined system of the rail and the river which we find in Bengal and the north-west. Nor is this system in the west much less forward towards its completion than that in Bengal. The Scinde railway, (which Mr. Andrew has been permitted to construct without a claim "by right of discovery" on the part of the managing director of the East Indian), is in course of rapid construction. The Indus has long been traversed by boats, and is ready for its part of the work; and the engineers have already started to survey the line frem Moultan to Lahore, for the immediate construction of which the East India Company and the English Government are most creditably anxious.

In his memoir on the Scinde railway, Mr. Andrew thus sums up the results for which we may look from the completion of this important means of communication in Western India:—

> "A proper system of transit once established through Scinde and the Punjaub, a few enterprising European merchants at Kurrachee would soon afford a medium for extensive shipments from the Punjaub and provinces to the north-west of Delhi, and the distribution of our manufactures to the remote parts of Central Asia, finding customers along the valleys of Affghanistan as far as Herat, and in Balkh, Khiva, and Bokhara.

"I will now point for a moment to the extensive provinces of Central Asia, which are now our near neighbours, and explain briefly how those important and comparatively far advanced countries have been supplied with merchandise, and have disposed of produce since the course of the Indus was comparatively closed to commerce by the exactions of the native princes. To follow the description the reader must refer to a large map of Asia. First, he will find to the north-east of our frontier, in the immediate vicinity, the celebrated valley of Cashmere, inhabited by a people renowned for their great skill and ingenuity. Beyond that lies Thibet, famous for its fine goat wool, and the manufacture of yarn for the shawls woven in Cashmere. To the west and south-west we find the Affghan territory, with the large towns of Cabul, Ghizni, Kandahar, and Herat, the *Gate of India;* in the same direction, the northern provinces of Persia. In a north-westerly direction we find the extensive and fertile countries of Turkestan and Bokhara, with the large central towns of Balkh, Khiva, and Bokhara; and, at a great distance westerly we find the Caspian Sea.

"The commerce of this vast territory is now carried on by so circuitous and expensive a route, that it will be easy to restore it to the ancient and natural channel of the Indus, and by that means how much it is likely to be increased, now that it is freed by the supremacy of England from the political obstructions and exorbitant demands of the turbulent and semi-barbarous states on its banks, may be readily conceived.

"In former times the Indus was the great highway of commerce between India and Central Asia; but upon the dismemberment of the empire of the Great Mogul, the river fell under the power of a multitude of petty chiefs, whose exactions gradually extinguished the traffic. One consequence of this revolution was, that Cabul, Bokhara, and Persia, instead of being supplied from India with manufactured goods, as had previously been the case, received most of their supplies from Russia, which, from the facilities of conveyance afforded by the Volga, running into the Caspian Sea, was enabled to come into the markets of the East upon eligible terms. These advantages possessed by Russia have, it is understood, been latterly augmented by the establishment of steam-vessels upon the Volga and the Caspian: and the Russian are now supplanting the English manufactures in the Punjaub, and even threatening to do so in the north-west provinces of Bengal."

Having thus shown how the river and the rail will, as it were, annihilate distance between Kurrachee and Calcutta, and thus bring the length and breadth of India close to us, let us turn to Europe, and see what steps she has taken, and is taking, towards the far east. France has her railway to Marseilles, and Austria her's to Trieste. Besides this, a line from Vienna to Belgrade, and another from Belgrade to Stamboul are on the *tapis.* A company of rich Hungarian landowners, to the development of whose lands the former would be an inestimable aid, are preparing to undertake the one; whilst an Anglo-French Company is tendering for the other, attracted by the liberal offers of the Turkish government to those who will thus initiate the railway system in European Turkey. From Marseilles, or Trieste, or from Constantinople, the sea is open to us, whilst from Kurrachee westward runs the Gulf of Persia with its thousand miles of sea board.

What then remains to be crossed? From Europe we can approach any point we select of the coast of Asia Minor. From India we can ascend to the head of the Persian Gulf. Here we meet the natural highway of Asia, the united streams of the Tigri's and the Euphrates, already ploughed by the keels of our Indian steamers. Passing upwards by Bassorah to Kornah, we follow the track which, twenty years ago, Captain Chesney and his brother discoverers proved to be navigable. For more than nine hundred miles we ascend by populous towns, and through a people ever eager to barter anything they possess for European manufactures. Two apparent difficulties alone encounter us; the marshes at Lamlum, and the rocks at Karablah, two miles above Anah.

> "The Karáblah rocks," wrote Mr. Charles Wood, of the royal navy, to Colonel Chesney in 1836, "have ten feet water over them in the high season, and three feet at the lowest, the stream running over them at the rate of seven miles per hour.
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> "We have already a diving-bell at this place, which, at a small expense, might clear away the rocks so as to give a passage of 4½ or 5 feet of water in the low season.
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> "From El'Uzz to Lamlúm, or rather to four miles above the latter town, we have 288 miles of a beautiful river, the average depth in this distance being three fathoms, with the exception of some places, a little below the town of Hít, where ten or twelve feet would be the average."

To care for such impediments after the triumphs of modern engineering is absurd. An American well said, that we had fallen on age in which steamers could be made to float whereever it was damp. In 1840 Captain Campbell, of the Indian navy, ascended the river from its mouth to Beles in two steamers now on the Indus; thus proving that we need not even draw on our latest improvements in ship building to find vessels suited for the river passage.

But our river voyage has come to an end as we drop our anchor off Beles, or Ja'ber castle, where the situation offers every facility for docks. And where are we now? In the parallel of Aleppo and Antioch, and almost within sound and smell of the Mediterranean. About forty miles westward of us lies Aleppo; a similar distance in the same direction brings us to Antioch, where the valley of the Orontes forms a fertile plain; and eighteen miles more to the west we touch the sea at the old port of Seleucia, where the massive works of its Roman lords mark the value that was once set upon its natural advantages. In the harbour of Seleucia we shall live to witness the meeting of Europe and Asia—of England and her Indian Empire. The connecting link lies in that iron road which ere long will unite the river and the sea, and complete the inter-oceanic communication of the Mediterranean and the Indian ocean.

That we have lighted on the natural highway between the east and the west is evident. We have eighty miles and no more to span with the rail; and, according to our traveller, to whom it is clear the country is known, not from book learning but experience, nature herself has smoothed all serious difficulties in our path.

"The line of country across which it is here proposed to carry a railway is throughout, with one or two trifling exceptions of no importance whatsoever, composed of sedimentary formations, almost all supra-cretaceous, attaining no great elevation, friable and easy to cut through. The exceptions are where this chalk and supra-cretaceous limestones, corresponding to the *calcaire grossier* of the basin of Paris, are indurated and hardened, and where plutonic rocks crop out, the instances of which are very rare indeed. In such cases the former give origin to tracts of land, often more or less obstructed by great slabs of limestones, just as is seen in some parts of Carniola, near Adelsberg, or between Lough Mask and Corrib, in Ireland. This is the case in districts that intervene between Dana and Aleppo. There are also some strong basaltic districts in the country south of Aleppo, but which might be easily avoided.

"The valley of the Orontes presents no obstacles to a line of railway. Such might be carried either on the right or left bank of the river; the former would seem to be preferable, as avoiding the pass of Mount St. Simon and the town of Antioch, and being shorter. It would cross the Orontes, to avoid the lake and marshes of the plains of Antioch, a little above the town, and keep along the foot of the hills, by what has ever been the highway, from the time of the Macedonian kings to that of the Crusaders, and is so to the present day. Arrived at the 'Iron Bridge,' the Pontisfer of the historians of the Crusades, and jirs Hadid of the existing dwellers in the country, the road would bend to the south, the valley of the river affording a beautiful level margin, like a bowling-green, all the way to Apamea. This was the line of Macedonian and Roman road from Antioch to Apamea and Hamah, and the M.P. stones are still occasionally visible by the wayside. This line of route is rendered necessary, or at least preferable, on account of the hard limestone districts which present themselves on the direct route to Aleppo, as also from a chain of rugged limestone hills flanking the upper valley of the Orontes to the east. But it remains to be seen if practical engineers may not determine the direct line to be feasible and preferable. The northerly line, by Gindariz and Azass to Bir, and which was the one along which the line of levels was carried under General Chesney's superintendence, remains always available, and presents the advantages of being carried through a quiet country, and across a plain or upland, everywhere cultivated and studded with the villages of well-disposed, laborious, and agricultural peasants."—*Euphrates Valley Route*, pp. 93, 95.

How now stands our calculation? From London to Trieste we have the rail; from Trieste to Seleucia the steamer; from Seleucia to the Euphrates, at Ja'ber Castle, the rail again. Then the river to Bassorah and the sea to Kurrachee. By this route we reduce the distance from London to Lahore by nearly 3600 miles—by more than one-third of the distance of the present route by Suez and Calcutta. The reduction in time is, however, far greater than that in distance. When the proposed Euphrates Valley line is open, in *fifteen days* we shall reach Kurrachee, and be at Lahore by the Scinde railways and the Indus, in a tenth of the time now consumed on that fatiguing journey. Eight days and a quarter will bring us from London through Trieste to Seleucia. Three hours will be ample for the eighty miles of rail from thence to the Euphrates. Three days, and as many hours, will bring us to Bassorah, and a like time complete the voyage down the Persian Gulf to the door of Western India.

We can quite believe that this project will disappoint—it has nothing of the marvellous, except in its results: and its attractions lie, not in costly operations, engineering wonders, or gigantic works, but in its simplicity, cheapness, and facility of execution. It is no doubt a subject of just pride to an engineer to point to a Britannia Bridge, an Alpine Tunnel, or a Chat Moss. But what is pleasure and profit to him is too often loss and sorrow to his employers. And it is but a cruel pleasantry to excuse the absence of profits by pointing to an engineering miracle, when by a simple deviation the dividend might have been secured, at the cost perhaps of the pride of the engineer.

Valuable as this diminution of distance between England and India is to us, and, therefore, justly worthy of that interest in its success felt by the home as well as the Indian government, it is almost invaluable to the nation through whose territory it is to pass. Happily for Turkey, the relationship which late events have established between her and the Western Powers, has gone far, not only to cure her of her jealousy and contempt of Frankish interference, but to make her best men painfully sensible of the importance of inviting European capital, enterprise, and skill to the developement of the resources of their country. The present Grand Vizier, Aali Pasha, a man of irreproachable integrity, great acuteness, and much information, naturally takes the greatest interest in this first step to the introduction of railways into Asiatic Turkey. He requires nothing to convince him what must be the results to Turkey of turning the stream of western travel from Egypt to the waters of the Euphrates. Every assistance therefore that his government can give to such a work, we know, for certain, he will secure to those who have undertaken this task; and if there still exist in the council those of the older Turks who spurn the Frank and his notions, he will find a ready ally in combating their opposition in the representative of our government at the Porte. Besides the necessary concession and firmans, the grant of a minimum guarantee on the capital expended, will readily be yielded, so as to insure the speediest application possible of English capital and skill to the important work. Already General Chesney, the real discoverer of the route, and Sir John M'Neil, the eminent railway engineer, are at Constantinople, only waiting for the necessary firman to drop down to Seleucia, and determine by a close and accurate survey which route shall be taken from thence to Ja'ber Castle. In India, too, the news of the Euphrates project having been practically taken up by the leading projectors of the Scinde railways, as the complement of their scheme, has been received with delight. Its value in a mercantile, as well as a political view, has received the best of tests from the haste and eagerness with which the author of "The World's Highway," has claimed the project for his own, and tried to lay an embargo on it by right of discovery. Whilst its practicability in an engineering point of view, has induced the chief contractors of the East Indian railway—Messrs. Hunt and Emslie—to send a competent engineer to inspect the proposed line of route, in order to enable them to compete for its construction.*

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* The following extract from Mr. Andrew's Memoirs on the Euphrates Valley Route sums up the advantages of the project.

In thus welcoming the Euphrates Valley line, from Seleucia to Ja'ber Castle, as the connecting link between the West and the East; we are far from accepting it as the final solution of the great problem—the shortest route to India. In this case, the maxim that where a river can flow, a railroad can run, is peculiarly capable of practical proof, and that, at an outlay by no means more than commensurate with the advantages gained. We accept the Ja'ber Castle line as an instalment, and an instalment only, confidently looking forward to the day, when the company which now proposes the first step in the right road, will carry out the extension of their line, and connect the Mediterranean and the Persian Gulf by an iron road. To show that we are not speaking without reason, we quote from our traveller, his description of the Euphrates Valley from Ja'ber Castle to Bassorah:—

"A few hills of no importance rise up out of the plain of Ja'ber, called the Abu Bara, but they are composed of friable marles and gypsum. From the termination of these hills to Thapsacus, the banks are level and covered with a jungle of tamarisk, beyond which again are low hills of sandstone and breccia. At Sura we have the marles and gypsum always leaving a level bank to the river with grassy plains, *hawi*, or cultivated districts in places, or long lines of tamarisk, mingled with poplar and mulberry, in what

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"1st.—From the country presenting great facilities for the construction of a railway, being a succession of extensive plains traversed by low hills, between Antioch and Aleppo, and from Aleppo to Ja'ber Castle, a distance of thirty-nine miles, a perfect level.

"2nd.—From the neighbouring mines of Marash, having supplied iron in abundance to the Euphrates expedition, they would provide all required for the railway; an inexhaustible supply of timber of the finest quality for building purposes, sleepers, &c., being obtainable from the forest near the old port (Seleucia) and Scanderoon: and from there being also large quaries of stone on different parts of the line, with an abundant supply of bitumen, timber, and coal for fuel.

"3rd.—From the first section of the line being of moderate length, and complete in itself, having a port in the Mediterranean at one end, and a terminus on the Euphrates at the other, below which the navigation is permanently open.

"4th.—From the line from Seleucia to Ja'ber Castle, forming of necessity the most important portion of any system of improved transit, which shall follow the course of the valley of the Euphrates, or the plains of the Tigris.

"5th.—From the clearly proved statistical returns of the former trade and commerce of the country, its vast natural resources and manufactures, and the extensive transit trade which was formerly carried on between China, India, Persia, Armenia, and Arabia, with Europe, and especially with Great Britain, which has been greatly diminished by the policy of Russia, but which would speedily be revived; and from the conviction that the commerce of Great Britain with Central Asia, China, &c., instead of seeking, as at present, a costly and circuitous route by the Volga and the Caspian, would return to its natural and most ancient channel."

is designated as the forest of Aran, south of Rakkah, the favourite city of the Khalif Harun al Rashid. Beyond this is one continuous low tract of country, of same structure, with a fringe of tamarisk along the river border, to where the Euphrates passes through the basaltic hills of Bushir, near Zenobia. The marles and gypsum come down in this long interval, at one or two points only, to the river banks, and form headlands of slight elevation. This is the case at Mohalia, where they give rise at low water to rapids.

"The plutonic rocks crop out also near Deir, where, in contact with the marles and gypsum, they give origin to thermal springs, giving off naptha and bitumen, but they cause scarce any variety of configuration. From Zenobia, by Deir, to the river Khabur, the banks are almost uniformly level; and south of the Khabur we have the low desert region, described by Xenophon as full of wormwood, and only interrupted by cliffs of gypsum and marles, with occasional sandstones and breccia, or conglomerates, at Rahabah, Salahiyah, and Irzah.

"At Anah, while the right bank is level to some little distance from the water's edge, coarse and hard compact limestones come down into the stream from the left bank, giving rise to the rapids called Karablah, and also forming a bluff promontory beyond the village of Rawah.

"To the south of Anah contrasted configurations become more common, and the valley of the river is varied in its aspect by ranges of low and unimportant hills of sandstones, ironstones, conglomerates, marles, and gypsum. Amid these are expanded and fertile valleys and fine alluvial plains, while the river boasts its numerous islands, its copses of wood, and frequent villages. This is particularly the case near Hadisah and Jubbah. At Hit we have bituminous and saliferous marles and clays, with thermal springs, giving off bitumen and other products. At length the low hilly country ceases at Masjid Sandabiyah, north of Felujah, and from that point by Baghdad or Babylon to the Persian Gulf, we have nothing but a level plain of alluvium."—*The Euphrates Valley Route*, pp. 66—69.

Nay more, we believe that when occasion calls for it, as probably it may even in our own time, if we be but blessed with another long term of peace, a practical and nearly paying line could be laid down from Scutari to Ja'ber Castle, and that without either forcing the Ascamian Olympus, tunnelling Mount Taurus, or any of his gigantic spurs, or traversing a region little less arid and impracticable than the infamous katakekaumene. We will even allow our aspirations to take a wilder flight. We will believe in a coast line from Bassorah to Kurrachee, and look forward to the day when either civilisation or the arms of Western Europe will render the home of the Mekranees a safe abode for the railway and its staff. But whilst thus willing to believe in this attractive future, we cannot afford to wait for even its most feasible projects—we cannot consent to let slip the homely and cheap opportunity that lies at our doorstep. And we take therefore the Ja'ber Castle line as the welcome instalment of the final solution of the problem of the true highway of the nations.

"Electricity and steam," it has been said, "are the twin-sisters of civilization; and without the application of the latter to the general purposes of transit, it is highly probable that the *former* would not have come into practical use as a means of communication." Of the truth of this saying we have almost daily proofs, and perhaps none more pertinent that, the rapid extension of the electric wire throughout India, as the companion, and in many places as the pioneer, of railroads. When we remember within how short a time the Electric Postman has been naturalised even in Europe, it speaks well for the readiness of the people to adapt themselves to a novelty of really practical application, to see how thoroughly familiarised they have become with its operations, and how readily they resort to its use even on the most trivial occasions. It is more remarkable, however, to note its ready acceptance in the East. "The number of native correspondents" writes Dr. O'Shaughnessy, in his report on the working of the 4080 miles of electric wires in India, "is daily increasing. Not only do they use the lines for financial business, but on the most delicate and secret matters affecting family araangements, bethrothals, marriages, and other domestic affairs, of which they treat with an absence of all disguise which is almost beyond belief." The progress of the telegraph in India is indeed most encouraging: already Calcutta is placed in almost instantaneous communication with each of the presidencies. Ceylon is on the point of being united with the main land, and the cable that is to connect Kurrachee with the head of the Persian Gulf is already in course of construction by the orders of the Indian Government. In Europe, from Cattaro on the Adriatic—already in union with the great system of continental telegraphs,—the submarine cables are to join the main land with Zante, Candia, and Alexandria, whence the wire will run by Jaffa and Beyrout to Seleucia. At this point the sister enterprise to the Euphrates Valley railway, mainly promoted by those who are most interested in the prior undertaking, will carry the wire along the route of these intended railways, by the valleys of the Orontes and Euphrates to the terminus of the submarine cable at Kurrachee. Mr. Ainsworth, who twenty years ago accompanied Capt. Chesney, as the geologist of the Euphrates expedition, has recorded it as his opinion, that no special means will be required in the construction of the telegraph, and that there is no reason why "the connecting link should not be established by the ordinary telegraphic system."

"As to physical difficulties," continues that writer, "there are none whatsoever. Whatever difficulties do exist, are connected with the more or less lawless and semi-barbarous state of the country through which the wires would have to be conveyed. But the Arab, although in some instances by education and by profession a robber, does not appear to be wantonly destructive. No instances of the kind will be found in the books of travellers. The untouched ruins and monuments of different kinds, met with along the banks of the rivers Euphrates and Tigris, attest rather to a conservative feeling. There are castles on the Euphrates which date as far back as the time of the Khaliffs, the rooms of which are perfectly inhabitable. There are fresco paintings in the halls of Birijik Castle of the times of the Crusaders, and inscriptions at Rakka of the time of the first sultans, that have never been injured save by time. The Arabs do not even appear to destroy animal life wantonly. They detest pork, yet they do not trouble themselves to destroy the innumerable boars that fatten in their *hawis*—the rich alluvial plains of the rivers. In fact, from all that can be gathered, they appear to rob but not to destroy. Were they wantonly destructive, so as to fire encampments, cut date-trees, break down dykes, or ravage corn-lands, olive-groves, and gardens, the consequence in such countries would be very disastrous. Providence seems not to have given to them such an evil propensity in addition to others. But, supposing even that the contrary were the case, and that the Arabs were wantonly destructive, those dwelling along the banks of the Euphrates are for the most part of sedentary habits, pastoral or agricultural, and they would be among the least disposed to injure property, the destruction of which would be of no advantage to them. They might entertain some superstitious ideas in connexion with a system of wires carried across their lands, but these would be easily dissipated by proper explanations made to them of the meaning and purport of the wires; and the most perfect security would be obtained for them by its being in the power of the Company's agents to say that they were used not only by Europeans, but also to carry the messages of the Sublime Porte and of the Sultan himself—the actual Khalif and head of their religion."

The electric postman has become so necessary to us, that it is as difficult as it is needless to estimate the advantages that must result from this rapid communication with our eastern empire. Whether it be in the cause of good government, of humanity, of defensive or offensive operations, of commerce, or merely of private interests, the utility of such an establishment would be inexpressibly great. But a few years need pass ere this is done, and but comparatively trifling sums need be expended in its attainment. The whole line down the Euphrates Valley could be completed for less than it cost to connect London and Birmingham, and the instalment to Ja'ber Castle can be constructed for two millions sterling; whilst so far as English public enterprise is called on to take its part in speeding the electric postman to Calcutta, its contribution will be confined to one million, half the cost of the Ja'ber Castle line. The cost is indeed trifling, the expectation of profit more than reasonable, the results to be anticipated, social and political, hardly to be estimated. England will indeed crown the trophy of peace with a corner-stone worthy of the occasion, other sons open up the highway of the nations from Europe if the once fabled Cathai, and make it possible for the message of joy, of hope, of sorrow and of consolation to fly really with the lightning's speed between those who are separated by half the circuit of the globe.

ART. VI.—*The Great City Frauds of Cole, Davidson, and Gordon fully exposed.* By SETON LAING, Assignee to Cole's Estate. Dedicated by permission to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Clarendon, K.G. Fourth edition. London: Mann. 1856.

THERE is a prevalent impression abroad, especially amongst a certain class of Churchmen and Dissenters, that there never was an age in the history of the world wherein greater iniquity prevailed than in the present; and most certainly the numerous swindling transactions that have recently been brought to light would seem to confirm this impression, were it not that the persons who are thus acted upon forget, or, perhaps have not yet learned, that human nature is much about the same as it has ever been since the Fall; and that in every nation and people there have been, from time to time, specimens to prove that honesty is not one of the most prominent characteristics of the human family. The appearance of a lower tone in commercial transactions, and the tendency to cheat and overreach are but, in fact, as cause and effect. Selfishness—inordinate selfishness—is at the root of each transaction that must be branded as foul and infamous, and selfishness is but a development of the nature of the human race, whether its progeny be inhabitants of the more or less civilised portions of the earth. When, therefore, we hear people exclaiming that the wickedness of mankind is growing larger and more extensive than it formerly was, and see them throwing up their hands, and lifting up their eyes, as if their lot was the most unhappy that can befal mankind, because they are now living instead of in former years, we are very much inclined to give them credit for being either fools or hypocrites; for, most assuredly, if they would only take the trouble to think, and reason, and read, they would learn that there is scarcely a year that has elapsed since the world began which has not proved to a demonstration that fraud and chicanery are the rule of human transactions, and far—very far—from being the exception in the transactions passing continually and continuously between man and man.

An immense outcry has very recently been made in the city of London on account of the discovery of a systematic series of frauds, that have brought immense loss and, perhaps, in one or two instances, ruin also upon firms of hitherto established credit. This discovery has been seized upon by the multitude for the expression of the opinion to which we have adverted. In the market, in the exchange, in clearing houses, and at home as after dinner talk, denunciations both loud and deep have been hurled against the heads of three men, whose fraudulent transactions have been found out, and against one house in particular, which has been accused of propping up these individuals, in order to save themselves at the expense of others. There is no palliation for the conduct of the rascals themselves; assuredly very little, if any, excuse for the house which is said to have bolstered them up in order to save themselves from ruinous loss, if half that be said about them be true: but many of those who sit in judgment, and are so exceedingly loud in their vehement admiration of honesty and probity, would do well to take into account a certain transaction that passed some centuries ago, when a royal personage, expressing similar indignation to that now vented upon criminals and houses of business, had himself to be told, in somewhat specific terms, that "he himself was the man" who had robbed his neighbour of his chiefest good, and shown no pity. Few counting-houses, we fear, could bear a similar searching test. Wherever money-getting is the end and aim of life, we do not hesitate to say every transaction will not bear the strictest investigation. The heads of the establishment may be world-renowned for their pious professions, their large charitable gifts, their extensive benevolence; but in far too many instances, they are but specimens of the whited sepulchre,—"fair without and foul within," whose inner life, could it be laid bear with all its schemes, and adventure, and trickery, would lead no small number, unexposed to similar temptations to self-aggrandisement, to assert there is not a just man upon earth that feareth God and keepeth his hand from evil. Wherever commerce largely abounds, wherever there is a turn in the market to be made, wherever a per centage of larger amount than usual is seen to be within reach, there will rarely be an indisposition to make the most of it; and if success attend the venture, no matter what have been the means to the end, no one will have a higher repute than those who have gained it. If misadventure follow, however, there never were such rogues in all creation as these, who have aimed at the prize but, unhappily for themselves and others, have not hit the mark. The inference from all this, therefore, is, that it would be far better if those who make the most noise, and pretend to show such a keen sense of what is honourable and noble, would just dwell upon the injunction of One who knew what was in man, and who said to similar accusers concerning another transaction of which very few are guiltless, "he that is without sin, let him cast the first stone."

Now, it is just in this spirit that we would treat the publication which calls forth these remarks. Undoubtedly the annals of commercial life will not show many transactions of a darker hue than those which Mr. Seton Laing, with more show of virtuous indignation than was perhaps needful, has done his best to make appear amongst the blackest—if not the very blackest—that have ever transpired within the city of London. The inference his bulky pamphlet seems to draw is just that of which we have denounced the folly—that the present commercial age is more ripe in fraud and duplicity than any other that has preceded it. In his eyes it may be so, because he has been fleeced. He made a venture, and expected to obtain considerable profit thereon; but he failed, as we shall presently show, to take the most ordinary care to find out the character of his clients, and would never have entered the lists as an exponent of virtuous indignation at the crimes of others, had he not lost some thousands in his eager desire to make a profit out of Joseph Windle Cole. We have really no patience with a man who so thoroughly shows that his anger is chiefly roused by the breeches-pocket influence. *That* is evident on every page of his pamphlet. No terms are too bad to apply to the three swindlers—*because* he lost money through them! No recrimination against Mr. Chapman, of the firm of Overend, Gurney and Co., too savage, because that individual endeavoured, and did, to a certain extent, save himself, and, therefore, let Mr. Laing himself in. Here is "the head and front" of Mr. Chapman's, and Cole, Davidson, and Gordon's "offending." This is the burden of the tale. There is no lament in behalf of other creditors. Self alone is predominant; and this is exhibited in a bitterness of spirit, and with a repetition of vulgar phraseology, which savours of a determination to abuse every body, and to give no one beside himself credit for probity or fair dealing; *because* he came off second best in a transaction which seemed likely enough, when he entered upon it, without the most ordinary care, to realise a handsome return. We denounce, as they deserve, every transaction brought to light in this pamphlet. We believe three greater scoundrels than the convicts Cole, Davidson, and Gordon never trafficed upon the credulity of others. We offer no apology for the course taken by Mr. Chapman on behalf of Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co., but we cannot relieve Mr. Seton Laing from any share of blame. He went into the transaction with his eyes open. That he has been a severe sufferer he has no one but himself to blame; and this we think we shall show ere we have done with "the Great City Fraud."

Mr. Seton Laing commences his exposure of the robbery perpetrated upon himself and others by the following very singular relation of Cole's antecedents:—

"Of Cole's career as a man of business this much has been ascertained from the authentic relations of two persons—one of them Mr. Gray, who was a fellow clerk with Cole in the house of Messrs. Forbes, Forbes, and Co., and the other, Mr. John Johnson, who subsequently became his partner. A statement also by Charles Maltby, who will be referred to in ample detail hereafter, confirms the accounts of Messrs Gray and Johnson.

"It appears that Mr. Gray (who continues to enjoy the entire confidence of his employers) entered the house of Messrs Forbes, Forbes, and Co., in the year 1835, at which time Joseph Windle Cole held the situation of shipping clerk in that highly respectable firm. In the following year, 1836, Charles Maltby, then a young man of about two-and-twenty, and four or five years junior to Cole, joined the same establishment, and was employed in the capacity of Custom-house clerk in the same department as Cole, and immediately under his orders. In consequence of their relative positions the two clerks became very intimate, but with this feature in their intimacy, that, owing to the difference of age, the contrast between weakness and vigour of character, and the official subordination of the one to the other, Maltby yielded at once to the supremacy which Cole asserted and continued ever after to exercise. It should also be mentioned in this place, and the reason for doing so will presently appear, that contemporaneous with Cole and Maltby, in the house of Messrs Forbes, Forbes, and Co., was another clerk, Sargant.

"The duties which devolved upon Cole in the London house of his employers were performed by him so satisfactorily, and he had given so many proofs of mercantile ability, that, in the year 1840, the firm despatched him to India, to fill a responsible office under their correspondence at Bombay. After being absent about four years, Cole returned to England on the plea of ill-health, and was subsequently appointed to represent the London firm of Messrs Forbes, Forbes, and Co., at Liverpool, as their special agent there. For some reason, which has not been explained, Cole ceased, in a short time, to be connected with his principals in any shape or manner, being summarily dismissed from their service. He then came back to London, and in the year 1845 was introduced, at the house of Sargant,* Gordon, and Co., in Mincing Lane, to Mr. Johnson, with whom, on the 1st of January 1846, he entered into partnership. This partnership subsisted till towards the close of 1847, when the firm of Johnson, Cole, and Co. suspended payments.† Mr. Johnson was at that time in India, but when he heard of the suspension he made immediate arrangements for his return, and reached London in February, 1848, when, according to his own account, he was encountered by reports of having been a party to certain fraudulent practices of which his firm had been accused, the accusation in question proceeding, as he learnt, from Cole and his friends. Mr. Johnson states, that in the endeavour to ascertain the exact position of his affairs, he found great difficulty in getting at the books and papers of his firm, Cole during his absence having voluntarily sought the protection of the Court of Bankruptcy, and actually standing to receive his certificate (if unopposed) on the 8th of March, 1848. Amongst other discoveries which Mr. Johnson says he made after his return, was the fact that on the very day of the suspension of his firm, Cole transferred tangible value in the hands of correspondents at Bombay, Calcutta, and New York, to the extent of upwards of £10,000, to Messrs Sargant, Gordon, and Co. (who also failed a few days afterwards)* in exchange for their acceptances for an equivalent amount, which acceptances were distributed amongst friendly creditors. Mr. Johnson adds, that '*ex post facto* entries were made in the books of the firm, of bills negotiated on Bombay, many months previously, the proceeds of which were never accounted for by Cole,' and that he 'knew nothing whatever of the transaction till long after its occurrence.'

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* "The head of this firm was the fellow-clerk of Cole and Maltby, previously alluded to."

† "Johnson, Cole, and Co. failed in November, 1847; their total liabilities amounted to £153,000, and their assets stated at £71,800; the deed of inspection breaking through, the firm were subsequently made bankrupts, and the estate was expected to realise about fourpence in the pound.—*See* Evans's 'Commercial Crisis,' 1847 and 1848. John Johnson's second failure took place May, 1853; in November following he obtained a first-class certificate. Not a fraction of dividend has yet been declared." [Did it never strike Mr. Seton Laing that such a book as "Evans' Commercial Crisis" was in print at the time Cole became introduced to him? A glance at this publication would surely have saved his pocket!]

"It thus appears that, in the year 1847, Cole was a bankrupt, and, his certificate having been obtained in March, 1848, had to begin the world again. But to a man fertile in expedients, possessed of considerable mercantile experience, and confident in his own resources, the prospect presented no difficulties that he was not fully prepared to surmount. Of the damage which his reputation had sustained he took little heed, and relying upon the expectation that future success would throw the past into general oblivion, boldly recommenced business as a general merchant, under the style and firm of Cole, Brothers, though there is every reason for supposing that the "Brothers" (Francis or Frederick, and James Edward Cole) were never associated with him as partners, but were simply employed as clerks, and only put forward as occasion might require. To make use of stalking-horses seems, indeed, to have been a prominent feature in all the arrangements of Joseph Windle Cole, and notable instances of this system are developed in the transactions into which he entered with the firm of Laing and Campbell, which form one of the especial subjects of this exposure."

Within the city of London there exists a company called "The Protection to Trade Society," whose business it is to register the transactions of the Bankruptcy Court, and to be furnished with particulars concerning all persons who have in any way infringed the commercial laws of the land. In the office of that company, we will venture to say, every particular respecting Cole was recorded. His bankruptcy in 1847 could have been in a moment referred to, and his connexion with Davidson and Gordon told. It appears never to have struck Mr. Laing that it might be as well for him just to call upon the Secretary of the Trade Protection Society before he entered into any business transactions with Cole. Perhaps, however, he did not know there was such a society in existence. Were this the case—which cannot be very likely—Mr. Seton Laing had been long enough known in the City to have gained any information he wanted. What was there to have prevented him from going over to Overend, Gurney, and Co., who know more perhaps than any house in the City "who is who," and asking whether they knew anything of a man "who was only known to his firm by name?" (p. 21.) If such a question had been put to Mr. Chapman—bad as his conduct is sought to be made to appear by Mr. Laing—is there anything to show that he would have denied a knowledge of any one of the parties? Had this prudential course been taken, and Mr. Chapman had certified to their respectability, then he would have justly been branded with dishonor. Money getting, however, as the house is known to be to which he belongs, we cannot suppose that his worst enemy would think it possible that he would not have warned Mr. Laing from entering into any transaction with the parties. Whether he would have conceded the knowledge he possessed or not, is now beside the question. *Mr. Laing did not go to him nor to any one else.* He took the business offered to him, just as if it was *bonâ fide*, and never troubled himself for an instant to inquire whether the parties were solvent or men of standing. The manner in which the transaction, which was to prove a loss, was, on Mr. Laing's own showing, so loose, that it is quite as well to let him tell his own tale. He says:—

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* "The business of this house was afterwards carried on in the names of Davidson, Gordon, and Co., Davidson having been a partner in the firm of Sargant, Gordon, and Co. The last-named firm failed in November, 1847, and wound up under inspection; their total liabilities amounted to £62,254 1s. 5d., and their total assets showed £10,652 2s. 10d.; the first dividend was 2s. 6d. in the pound, and some further small amount may since have been paid.—*See* Evans's 'Commercial Crisis.'"

> "On the suspension of the house of Lackerstein and Co., in March, 1852, (who subsequently absconded), Messrs. Laing and Campbell held a number of warrants as security for money due to them by Lackerstein and Co., amongst which were several representing spelter and Swedish steel. Cosmo William Gordon, of the house of Davidson and Gordon, called upon Messrs. Laing and Campbell, at their office, respecting these warrants for metals, stating that they were the property of Cole, Brothers, who were anxious to be introduced to Messrs. Laing and Campbell, it being their wish to pay the latter the amount of their advances, and to take up the warrants. Mr. Laing then accompanied Gordon to the office of Cole, Brothers, in Birchin Lane, when his first interview with Joseph Windle Cole took place; *previously to which he had been only known to Mr. Laing's firm by name.* Cole stated that Lackerstein had improperly got possession of the metal warrants from him, but that he was willing to pay Messrs. Laing and Campbell the amount of their advances, and take up the documents. Mr. Laing declined giving him the warrants, unless he handed his firm bank-notes, and he then gave them an open cheque for £1,617 15s. (which was duly paid), in exchange for the following warrants, viz.:—

" Steel per Albion	32 tons 10 cwt.
,, Belle	40 ,,
,, Carl Johann	50 ,,

and on the same day another cheque for £708 6s. 7d. in exchange for a warrant of spelter, per Wave, 50 tons. *Messrs. Laing and Campbell have no record of these warrants to enable them to discover where the goods were warehoused*, but they entertain no doubt that they were Hagen's Wharf warrants, and fraudulent ones, as Lackerstein and Cole were on very intimate terms and closely mixed up in business; and as Lackerstein's character did not stand remarkably well at the time of his failure, they are firmly of opinion that his absconding was entirely attributable to his dread of these transactions being discovered, and, consequently, of his being involved in criminal proceedings.

" At this period considerable speculation was afloat in the market for cochineal; and Cole, Brothers, having in the manner above described opened business relations with Messrs. Laing and Campbell, gave them instructions to purchase a quantity on account of the former, which was paid for in due course. Further transactions were entered into, all of which were regularly met; and finding Cole, Brothers, thus regular in their payments, Messrs. Laing and Campbell operated for them largely during the remainder of the year; their account at the close standing thus:—

Dr.	Cr.
£103,049 1 6	£79,249 1 6
	By balance 23,800 0 0

" But notwithstanding this apparently honest mode of dealing, Messrs. Laing and Campbell had not been introduced to Cole more than a month before he began to pass off some of his spurious warrants. *He applied to them to lend him a sum of money against metals. When the first loan fell due, it was renewed on the* 2nd *of August*, 1852;[*] *a date which marks the commencement of his fraudulent dealings with Messrs. Laing and Campbell.*

Surely the transactions, which we have emphasised, by setting them in italic, were in themselves sufficient to have roused Mr. Laing's suspicion. So far, however, from this being the case, he and his partner, Mr. Campbell, positively entered into other transactions with Cole.

" During 1853 similarly extensive transactions took place; and at the close of that year Cole's account stood as follows:—

" Purchase and sale of goods and loans . .	£110,000

" In the month of July, 1853, Cole made an application to Messrs. Laing and Campbell for the loan of £30,000., *stating as his reason for asking it that he had been pressed for money by Mr. Chapman, of the house of Overend, Gurney, and Co., who wished to*

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[*] "These loans were all regularly paid off during the year."

reduce their account. This amount he afterwards extended to £41,000, and deposited as security for these advances warrants for bonded and free goods, tin, cochineal, spelter, &c., lying at different bonded and other warehouses. *It was agreed between the respective parties that the advances should be made in such sums as Cole might require, and that he should from time to time deposit with Messrs. Laing and Campbell warrants of sufficient value to cover the loans.* Accordingly, Messrs. Laing and Campbell sent to Cole, Brothers, the following letter:—

"39, Mincing Lane, 21st July, 1853.

"Messrs. Cole, Brothers,

"Gentlemen,—We have arranged to advance to you £30,000 for three months, on the security of spelter and cochineal, the loan to be taken up within a week, and one clear day's notice to be given, with lists of goods and policy of insurance. Interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum, and three-quarters per cent. for commission.—Waiting your reply, we are, &c.,

"For Laing and Campbell,
"S. GOODBURN."

"In consequence of the receipt of this letter, Cole, on the 26th of July, sent one of his clerks to the office of Laing and Campbell, with a certain number of warrants, formal in all respects, and having every appearance of being genuine, and bearing on the face of them the declaration that the goods therein specified were Cole's property, and were then in the possession of Maltby and Co., wharfingers, at their warehouse, on 'Hagen's Sufferance Wharf, St. Saviour's Dock.' *Relying on the genuineness of the warrants, Messrs. Laing and Campbell sent back a cheque on their bankers, Messrs. Martin and Co., Lombard Street, for* £10,000, *crossed with the name of Glyn and Co., Cole's bankers, who placed the amount to his credit.* In the course of a week after this transaction, *further applications were made by Cole to Messrs. Laing and Campbell, which were responded to by them by further advances, partly in cheques, partly in acceptances, until the whole sum borrowed between the 26th of July and the 9th of August,* 1853, *amounted to* £41,000, *all of which was lent without the slightest doubt on the minds of Laing and Campbell that Cole's transactions were perfectly bonâ fide.*"

Here we have Cole going to Mr. Seton Laing, and telling him plainly that he wanted £30,000, *because he was pressed by Mr. Chapman for money.* In the name of common sense why did Mr. Laing abstain any longer from paying a visit to Lombard-street, to ask why Cole was pressed by Mr. Chapman to meet the demands of Overend, Gurney, and Co. £30,000, to our minds, was a sum large enough in all conscience to have made any *prudent* person think twice before he ventured to give credit to any man, not very long known to him, *except by name!* So anxious, however, does

Mr. Laing seem to have been to get Cole for a client, that he not only advances him £30,000 on his own representations, to meet Mr. Chapman's pressing demands on behalf of Overend, Gurney, and Co., but positively lets him have £11,000 more in a few days, upon pieces of paper, which he did not even take the trouble to see whether they were genuine. No doubt authentic warrants would have been a safe security for advances to be made; but in the mere matter of dealing between man and man, it would surely have been much more business-like for Mr. Laing to have said to Cole:—"these warrants may be all right for all that we can tell, but before you touch the cash to be lent upon them, you must excuse our seeing that they are formal and regular." Any prudent man, not having had any knowledge of another, *except by name for a short time previously*, would have said as much as this at least, and acted upon it. Not so, however, Mr. Laing. He jumps at Cole's business; though he is frankly told that his money is to go to settle pressing demands at Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co's. He agrees *for a consideration* of 5 per cent. on the loan, and ¾ per cent. commission, to make advances "in such sums as Cole might require," and to be quite satisfied with as many of the worthless warrants as could be put into his hands. In this, too, there was an under-current. Supposing the warrants had been genuine, they represented more than enough value to have covered the advance made, they could be turned into money at any moment, should the bill at three months be dishonoured, or if it were found *not convenient* to renew it, at a greater advantage too than at 5¾ per cent. With all his show of magnanimity, Mr. Laing let not a shilling of his money go to Cole, than he thought he had *more* than money's worth for. No money-lender ever lets hard cash go out of his hands unless he has at least something considerably over value to realise in case of casualties. He was driving a bargain with a determination to make a good thing out of it. It was a venture that, supposing the warrants to have been genuine, would have been no bad speculation, even though he was aware that Overend, Gurney, and Co. were pressing the loans to square his accounts with them. Here, however, was just the point at issue. The warrants were not genuine, and this Mr. Laing could without much difficulty have tested. So eager, however, was he to do a stroke of business, that his avarice got the better of his judgment, and—not an uncommon occurrence—the biter was once again bit.

For a time Cole managed by means of fictitious credit to keep the forged warrants a close secret, and to meet his engagements. How he did so is told by Mr. Laing, and certainly a more ingenious specimen of rascality has rarely been contrived. But if Mr. Laing could find all this out *after he had been victimised,* why on earth did he not show something more of that perseverence in which he has since persisted, to bring all parties connected with the swindle to justice *before he was taken in?* Had he expended only a hundredth part of the time and money with which, step by step, he tracked Cole, Davidson, and Gordon, the Great City Fraud would never have been perpetrated. Had he tested the warrants he would have been a wiser, and certainly a richer man. Upon his own showing, he has no one to thank but himself for being so easily taken in.

From the 21st of July, 1853, to the May of 1854—nearly twelve months—no suspicion seems to have crossed Mr. Seton Laing's mind that he was trading on a quicksand, in having made advances to Cole to the extent of £41,000.

> " About that time (*i.e.* May, 1854) rumours began to prevail in the City that all was not right with the warrants in which Cole, Brothers, had been dealing so largely. These rumours reached the ears of Messrs. Laing and Campbell, and the uneasiness which they created quickly grew into apprehension when they found that the reports in circulation assumed greater consistency. They then thought it was time for them to ascertain the fact, by personal inspection, that the spelter and other articles for which they held warrants, were actually in Maltby's warehouse at Hagen's Sufferance Wharf; and, in order to test their own power over the goods, they determined to demand the delivery of some of them, under the pretext of having effected a sale. Accordingly, on the 18th of May, 1854, they sent by Lucy and Sons, lightermen (as is usual when goods are required to be delivered which are held by warrant), two spelter warrants, together with a form of contract for sale addressed to Cole. The person who lodged these warrants at Maltby's counting-house on Hagen's Wharf, was a man named Wilkins, in the employment of Lucy and Sons, and on the following day, May 19th, he went to the wharf and required the delivery of the spelter. *He did not, however, succeed in obtaining it; and having intimated the fact at the office of Messrs. Laing and Campbell, the firm at once despatched Mr. Samuel Goodburn, their confidential clerk, to inquire the reason why the goods were withheld.*"

And after many other vain attempts, Mr. Goodburn was at last obliged to reclaim the warrants.

Mr. Laing's eyes now, of course, began to be opened to the nature of the business in which he had involved himself,

and we doubt not that he felt he might in all human probability "whistle for his money,"—an idea soon confirmed, as he himself thus very naively relates. "Having accomplished this formality,"—viz., of having given notice to Maltby and Co., the supposed holders of the spelter and tin, represented by the forged warrants, that they were not to be delivered to any party but themselves,—

"Another day or two elapsed, and Mr. Laing's suspicions having increased almost to certainty, he once more called on Cole, being accompanied this time by Mr. Page, a gentleman who had recently joined his firm as a partner, and in his presence directly accused Cole of having given him spurious warrants. ***The answer which Cole made was a declaration, upon his honour as a gentleman, that he had done no such thing, that Mr. Laing's suspicions were quite unfounded, and that the whole of the property was perfectly safe.*** **Messrs. Laing and Campbell, however, thought it right now to consult their solicitors: inquiries were set on foot, and although Cole could no longer be seen, discovery was made that not less than eighteen of the warrants handed by Cole to Messrs. Laing and Campbell, and held at that time by them, amounting in marketable value to the sum of about £18,000, were altogether spurious and valueless."**

The murder was now out. Messrs. Laing and Campbell saw for the first time—what they had only previously feared—that they had been duped. No suspicion, however, seems to have crossed the former gentleman's mind, that he had no one to thank but himself for being so completely swindled. He never for an instant, either by hint or a conjecture, drops a word that implies any censure upon his own want of caution. As he unravels the skein of duplicity and fraud practiced upon his partner and himself, one is led to ask oneself, again and again, whatever he could have been about not to have been as much on the alert to prevent loss as to punish it. Now, however, an entire change comes over his spirit. He will have "the pound of flesh," if he cannot recover his money. He will follow up Cole, Davidson, and Gordon *à l'outrance.* From this moment he is all prudence, caution, and tenacity. Every one that does not think with himself, act with himself, and feel as strongly as himself, is an aider and abettor of the criminals! The process of justice is diverted from its proper course, if anything like a loophole be left for the culprits to escape by. Law, as recognised by the statute-book, is no law at all in Mr. Laing's eyes, if it does not go with his determination to have instant judgment done on Cole, Davidson, and Gordon. Men of respectability are not spared; officers of integrity and activity are branded with something very like connivance at fraud, because they could not execute the warrant for apprehension as he would have had the process executed. He has lost his money, he will therefore have his revenge! We shall have to give, bye and bye, a very definite proof of this dealing on Mr. Laing's part respecting his view of Mr. Charles Pearson's—the City solicitor's—conduct; but at present we only find him flying his kite at lower game. Great indignation is expressed at the conduct of the attorney who acted for Cole, because he tried to save his client by a compromise; and much credit is also taken by Mr. Laing for his not having for an instant listened to the proposition, though we can detect no cause whatever, as set forth in the pamphlet, to show that the "reasons" for such a course "were sufficiently obvious." The gist of the entire publication is to make it appear that Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co., are deeply interested in "keeping" the entire transaction "dark"—a sad conclusion could it be arrived at, but one that Mr. Laing certainly has not thus far proved, notwithstanding his earnest efforts to do so.

Difficulties having arisen in the execution of the first warrant, through an informality on the part of Mr. Goodburn, Messrs. Laing and Campbell's confidential clerk, it was withdrawn, and another issued. But why does Mr. Laing go out of his way to attack one of the most trustworthy of the London city police that has ever fulfilled the duties of a detective officer? A more gratuitous and unproved charge against the character of Daniel Forrester could not have been written, than Mr. Laing has laid against that officer. Had this officer really allowed himself to have been entrapped into the offence of seeking to compound felony, the proofs of such misconduct ought to have been given. If he is not guilty, Mr. Laing's insinuation is an unpardonable and unwarrantable attack upon a man, whose character we have never heard before aspersed. But this is just Mr. Laing's manner of flinging invective and insinuation against those, who were not as vehement as himself in seeking to bring the culprits who had swindled him to justice—a manner not at all logical, and certainly not very gentlemanly. "The warrant for Cole's apprehension was now out, *but there is much likelihood that its issue would have been ineffectual, had the execution of the warrant depended only on the exertions of Mr. Daniel Forrester, the officer to whom it had been en-*

trusted." Mr. Laing then relates the manner of Cole's capture, in which, though he seeks to make Daniel Forrester appear to have been lukewarm, if not something worse, he evidently contradicts his own suspicions. Had Daniel Forrester intended to have let Cole escape, he would not have been as smart in his capture of his prisoner, as Mr. Laing unwittingly shows he was by the following remarks:—

"Cole continued at large on the 17th and 18th of July, and so much at large, that casual information reached Mr. Laing that he had been seen on the last named day, very quietly walking in Cornhill. On the receipt of this news Mr. Laing promptly acted. *He sought out Daniel Forrester, and told him what he had heard, and that he must now do his duty*, and placed at the disposal of the Mansion-house officer a very intelligent young man, a clerk in his office, named Thomas Croker, who knew Cole by sight, which Daniel Forrester said he did not. On the 19th of July the following arrangements were accordingly made for securing the person of Cole. At five o'clock on the afternoon of that day, Mr. Laing appointed to meet Forrester in Cornhill, accompanied by Thomas Croker. The meeting took place, Mr. Laing withdrew, and Forrester and Croker took up a position in 'Change Alley, immediately opposite Cole's offices in Birchin Lane. Forrester then said, as he was too well known in the city to admit of his being seen loitering about, that he should withdraw for the present, but that he would send a person to act with Croker, whom the latter would recognise by a given sign. Upon this Forrester retired to a neighbouring public-house, and shortly after a man approached Mr. Croker, wearing the dress, and having all the appearance of a common labourer, who gave the sign agreed on. For three hours the stranger and Croker patiently waited, watching the entrance to Cole's offices. Various persons passed in and out, but not the right man, until eight o'clock in the evening, when, greatly to the satisfaction of Thomas Croker, the delinquent Cole made his appearance. Croker whispered to his companion, that the 'party' they wanted was in sight.—'Are you sure of it?' was the question. —'Perfectly,' was the reply.—'To be quite certain, go close up to him, and if you are right take off your hat; I will then step forward and detain him till Forrester, who has the warrant, comes.'—This *programme* was instantly carried out: the hat was lifted, the stranger accosted Cole, who seemed undecided which way he should bend his steps, Croker ran to the public-house for Forrester, and before Cole was well aware of what had taken place he was in custody. He glanced at the warrant, made no remark, and gave himself up a prisoner. It is more than probable that, had he not been captured that night, he would the next day have been far enough off, having £320 in his possession. On his person when he was taken were found a number of warrants for goods, two of which were genuine, and the remainder, about sixteen in number, representing goods of the amount of about £30,000 stated to be lying at Hagen's wharf, all fictitious, but regularly endorsed."

On the 18th August Cole, having been many times remanded, was at length committed to Newgate, and on Oct. 25th was tried at the Central Criminal Court, when he was sentenced "to be detained in penal servitude for the space of four years." After giving a full report of the trial, and the remarks upon it from a journal very little known, beyond the mercantile world,—the *Daily Commercial Gazette*—Mr. Laing thus proceeds to arraign Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co., with having been *particeps criminis* :—

"Although the delinquencies of Joseph Windle Cole were visited upon him by the sentence just recorded, it must not be supposed that all had been plain-sailing on the part of those who, impelled by a strong sense of public duty, instituted the proceedings against him: on the contrary, they had many difficulties to contend with in their endeavours to bring the culprit to justice. Mention has already been made of the obstacles they encountered in their first attempt to obtain a warrant against Cole, and in the supineness of the officer to whom the warrant for his apprehension was entrusted, after it was finally granted: two very important witnesses* were kept out of the way at the trial, and an additional instance of the truth of the preceding assertion will appear in the following statement.

"At the time when Messrs. Laing and Campbell were collecting evidence against Cole, *they were not aware that Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co., either held or were cognisant of the existence of any fictitious warrants.* Mr. Laing, one of the assignees to Cole's estate when he became a bankrupt, in examining the margin of Cole's cheque-book, discovered that he had made payments to Overend and Co. during the months of July and August, upon metals *similar in all respects to those deposited with Laing and Campbell.* Mr. Laing sent his confidential clerk, Mr. Goodburn, to Overend, Gurney, and Co., requesting information to enable him to secure Cole's conviction. Mr. Goodburn saw Mr. Bois, the head clerk in the Loan department of Overend, Gurney, and Co., showed him one of the false warrants, and asked him for the information required. Mr. Bois returned for answer that *his principals never kept any account of goods when once they were taken up* [a most improbable circumstance], and never dropped a syllable to lead Messrs. Laing and Campbell to suppose, what was really the case, that Overend, Gurney, and Co. *actually held warrants themselves, at that very time, to the nominal value of* £269,000, *similar to those respecting which inquiries were being made of them;* nor was it until

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* "These witnesses were Cole's confidential clerks, William Nichol and William Garner, the former being his chief clerk; every attempt to secure the presence of these persons proved wholly unavailing."

Mr. Chapman's admission of the fact in the Court of Bankruptcy, that their knowledge of the circulation of spurious warrants was positively ascertained! Conduct like this was certainly not what might have been expected from a house of such high standing as that of Overend, Gurney, and Co., who must have known that the sole object of Messrs. Laing and Campbell was to do their duty towards the public, and expose one of the most iniquitous frauds ever perpetrated. So far, indeed, were they from *volunteering* information—as most houses would have done—that they literally withheld what they knew, though the revelation of the facts of which they were cognisant would have rendered the case for the prosecution clear at once, and have most materially advanced the cause of justice; but, having compromised the proceedings of Cole in October, 1853,* Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co. seem to have been determined to stifle everything in the shape of inquiry likely to lead to a discovery of the real nature of the dealings in which Cole had been so long engaged. The motive for this reticence will be a mystery to no one who reads the clear and comprehensive report of Messrs. Quilter and Ball."

Let us first analyse this very extraordinary piece of reasoning a little. Again does Mr. Laing launch out against the obstacles encounted in the first attempt to obtain a warrant against Cole, though he had only a few pages before admitted that the difficulties arose in consequence of some informality which his own confidential clerk had occasioned; and again—how unwarrantably we have already shown—he accuses Daniel Forrester of supineness, whilst he also complains of two important witnesses being kept out of the way. The absence of these witnesses does not seem to have much affected the making out of the case against Cole, who, of course, was interested and did everything within the compass of possibility, through his solicitor and counsel, to prevent a verdict being recorded against him. What more could have been proved by these men than was brought out on the trial does not seem to be very conclusive, if we are to judge from the manner in which their absence is referred to. Mr. Laing, however, is so fully convinced that there was, from first to last, a regular conspiracy against himself in order to prevent the fulfilment of the ends of justice, that he twists every incident he meets with, both small or great, into conclusive proof of the accuracy of his opinion. Here, again, he raises a giant, as he continually does, simply, as it seems, to fight it. But passing from the assertion that Nichol and Garner were purposely kept out of the way, he enters upon a much more serious accusation, in laying to the charge of Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co. that they were *the* interested parties in defeating the ends of justice. Mr. Laing admits that neither he nor his partner "were cognizant that Messrs. Gurney held fictitious warrants" till they collected evidence against Cole. But why were they not cognizant of the fact? Simply because it never entered into Mr Laing's head to make a single inquiry in Lombard-street before he trusted Cole with forty-one thousand pounds! When, however, this fact was found out, why did not Mr. Laing himself go to Mesrss. Overend, Gurney, and Co. instead of sending their confidential clerk, Mr. Goodburn, who as assuredly as he was employed was always at fault? Had Mr. Laing gone himself he would have doubtless seen one of the principals, and perhaps heard more than it would have been pleasant for him to hear of his own part in the transaction. Was it that he had a vague suspicion in his own mind that he was himself to blame in not having gone earlier to the Lombard-street house, that he refrained from personally seeking an interview with Mr. Chapman, or any other principal in Messrs. Gurney's house? "The head clerk," Mr. Bois, having in all probability no authority to communicate particulars to another clerk, or any one else, hazarded a very improbable opinion to the other clerk, for which some allowance may be made too for manner, the particulars of which, in all probability, would give a somewhat different colour to the relation between question and answer, which are spoken of with so much asperity against Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co. We do not contend that Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co. were right in not *volunteering* the information Mr. Laing then, for the first time, was seeking at their hands through a third party. They would have saved themselves much aspersion had they given instruction to their clerk to say, we have been duped, but we have made the best of the matter, bad as it is, and written off the deficit, large as it is, which has resulted from our transaction. There is, besides, nothing to show that Mr. Bois asked for instruction in this case. But, suppose he did so; like many other commercial men who fear the confession of a very heavy loss may damage their credit on 'Change, they kept their counsel, and acted, as they most assuredly thought, upon the impression that Mr. Laing could have no cause of complaint at their not telling him all that happened to themselves, as he had not been at the pains to make any previous investigation, when he might have been saved from loss. The very reasons which Mr. Laing uses to make Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co.'s conduct appear the more atrocious, cuts also quite as much against himself as it can possibly do against them If Mr. Chapman pressed Cole for money, because he had discovered the warrants delivered to his house as securities for loans advanced were forged, at a time when "there was nothing in the state of the money market to account for such a proceeding," the conduct of Mr. Laing is the more extraordinary, that he, though accusing others of conniving at being swindled, should never for a moment have taken any pains whatever to learn, why or wherefore Cole was pressed for money by Chapman. Had he gone to Mr. Chapman, and that gentleman had concealed the truth of the discovery his house had made, there would then have been just ground for the bitterest accusations against them, if not a ground for criminal process; but inasmuch as Mr. Laing never took the slightest pains at all to learn the character or transactions of Cole, not only with Messrs. Gurney, but with anybody else, it is but fair to give Mr. Chapman the credit that had he been asked he would have told Mr. Laing what had happened. This opportunity was, however, never given to Mr. Chapman; and as no man can be pronounced guilty till he is proved to be so, it is only due to a well-abused man to give him the benefit of the opinion—that he would have saved Mr. Laing from loss, had that gentleman been prudent enough to have asked the reason why he had pressed Cole for money.

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* "*See* Mr. David Barclay Chapman's evidence, p. 17, where he states that his 'first' suspicions with respect to the genuineness of the warrants purporting to represent goods at Hagen's Wharf, arose 'in October, 1853.' But there is some reason for doubting the perfect accuracy of this deposition when the following facts are taken into consideration:—In the course of the inquiries which were conducted before Sir Peter Laurie at the Guildhall, preliminary to instituting criminal proceedings against Davidson and Gordon, Mr. Pelley, Metal Broker, of Ball Alley, Lombard Street, gave evidence (on the 14th July, 1856) that *as early as the Spring of* 1853, he was asked by Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co. to make enquiries about some spelter warrants at Hagen's Wharf, and that Maltby showed him goods corresponding with those named in the warrants held by Overend, Gurney, and Co. What motive could have induced Messrs. Overend, Gurney and Co. to send Mr. Pelly to make these inquiries, other than some doubt as to the genuineness of the warrants? Again: by reference to the statement respecting the loan for £30,000*l* between Cole and Messrs. Laing and Campbell in July, 1853 (*ante* p. 23), it will be seen that Cole stated as his reason for asking for the Loan, that 'he had been pressed for money by Mr. Chapman, of the house of Overend, Gurney, and Co., who wished to reduce their account.' *Now it is patent to the commercial world that at the time of this pressure on Cole there was nothing in the state of the money-market to account for such a proceeding.* (The money-market during the month of July, 1853, was very easy, the Bank rate being 3½ *per cent.*) The cause for it must naturally be looked for elsewhere: and, coupling this pressure with Mr. Pelly's inquiries, a strong presumption arises that if Mr. Chapman did not positively *know* in *July*, 1853, that the warrants which Cole dealt in were fradulent, he could even at that time have made *a shrewd guess* at their actual character. At all events he was, by his own admission, aware of the existence of the false warrants for upwards of eight months before Davidson and Gordon absconded, or Cole stopped payment."

The case, as set out in Messrs. Quilter and Ball's Report, in the Appendix B. of Mr. Laing's pamphlet, of Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co's. transactions with Cole, Davidson, and Gordon, is, to say the least of it, most extraordinary, and is made to tell very much against them as men of business; but bad as the matter is represented, we still maintain that there is nothing to show that had Mr. Laing made the slightest inquiry before he trusted Cole with £41,000, he would not have learned the cause of that adventurer being pressed for money by Mr. Chapman. We cannot believe that any mercantile house of the standing of Overend, Gurney, and Co., however much they might have assisted Cole to meet his difficulties, and to obviate the necessity of his being prosecuted, would have willingly and deliberately lent themselves to a manœuvre of the most dastardly construction, to obtain a liquidation of the debt owing to them by Cole at the expense of any one in the world. At all events Mr. Laing never put them upon the trial, until he had become a sufferer through his own imprudence and want of common caution. It does, therefore, seem somewhat preposterous that he should insist upon that, which by no possibility can be proved. In whatever point of view the case, as between himself and Cole, is looked at, he himself alone is to be blamed; and this, we take it, will be the verdict of ninety-nine men of common sense who have no partialities for, or connexion whatever, like ourselves, with the several parties who have been mixed up with "the Great City Frauds."

From the particulars of Cole's trial, Mr. Laing next proceeds to relate the proceedings taken out in bankruptcy against that individual; and here again he has not a word to say beyond his own part in the matter, and how, at every step, the most vehement efforts were made to prevent justice being done him. Did it never for a moment happen to strike this gentlemen that he was known to be a most hostile creditor to Cole, and that having already instituted legal proceedings against him, that unhappy man could but desire that any one rather than the prosecutor should be appointed assignee to his estate? The marvel is, *not* that his appointment to this office should have been obstructed by every possible contrivance, but that he could have supposed no opposition to that appointment would be raised. However, appointed he was; and again showed so much energy and practical business habits in unravelling the complicated skein that the wonder is only made more wonderful still, that with all his acuteness he should ever have permitted himself to have been placed in the unenviable position of winding-up one of the most enormous failures ever perhaps recorded in the history of metropolitan delinquencies. Step by step, however, does Mr. Laing prove his own infatuation in having ever treated with Cole at all. But in no respect does he more so than by relating the following *ipsissima verba* of the bankrupt, as to the general character of his dealings in the commercial world:—

"I commenced business, under the firm of Cole, Brothers, early in 1848. I had no partner. *I had been a bankrupt in the year 1847.*[*] *I had no capital when I commenced business, except loans from friends.* I cannot state the amount of those loans without reference to my papers. *I began without any capital, as I have stated.* I carried on business under the name or style of Cole, Brothers. *I never took stock.* I did no business that required my taking it. I never exactly ascertained the state of my affairs, but I had an estimate in my own mind. At the end of 1848, or the beginning of 1849, I was rather prosperous. I knew continually the general result of my affairs, though I never exactly ascertained it. In 1853 my affairs were in the most prosperous state of any time during the time I have mentioned. I was in a state of prosperity up to the summer of 1853.[†] I cannot tell what I owed at the period mentioned. I could ascertain from my papers what I owed in 1853, but there is no one book in which it is to be found. My business was extensive. Its original nature was business to the East Indies—consignments for orders and shipments on my own account. It was very extensive in 1853. The amount of my transactions in 1853 was about £2,000,000. I mean that I was concerned in buying, or selling, or consigning goods to that extent, or very nearly. The principal goods I bought or consigned were tin, copper, spelter, and iron. The books of account kept by me in 1845 were an invoice-book, bankers' books; no cash-book; a banker's cheque-book. There were no other books to register my transactions, except a letter-book; but there were various papers, containing statements of my affairs. There were assurance-books, but no other books that I remember. I had no ledger—no journal. The bankers' cheque-book was made as a rough cash-book. I should have spoiled my operations if I had allowed my clerks to write a journal. My cheque-books will enable me to make out a cash account. All moneys received in the course of my business, from the time I opened my banking account in 1848, went through my bankers to the credit of my account. All the payments I made in the course of my business came from my bankers. When I stopped payment I had no property very material in my possession nor under my control. There were consignments. I think I had then two bills. I must add that there were surpluses of consignments or loans under my control at the time I stopped payment. In Christmas, 1853, I believe I was solvent. I do not consider that I was insolvent when I stopped payment. Upon reflection I entertain no doubt of my solvency in Christmas, 1853. I think I was perfectly solvent on the 5th of June, 1854, in the present year. I took out £1,200 from Glyn's on the 24th of June. I received it myself by cheque. A large portion of it has been applied to the defrayal of legal expenses. I am not prepared to state how much, but nearly all for legal expenses. I appropriated about £1,000 for legal expenses, paying accounts that were owing to solicitors. I paid Kersey and Co., solicitors, £300; to Mr. Digby, solicitor, a larger amount—altogether, I think, about £600 to Digby. The rest was disbursed in various expenses within a day or two after the 24th, with the exception of the money found on me by Forrester, the officer. Gave securities to creditors in June, between the 13th and 20th. Sent the creditors in question a cheque for £10,400. The security consisted of four assignments. At that time those creditors made me advances. I sent them down to Liverpool a cheque on Glyn's for £10,400. That cheque is not in the pass-book, nor on the margin of the cheque-book. The cheque was not paid, but I received it back again as cash advanced to myself. The payment of £320 to Mr. Digby, the solicitor, was not until it was got from Forrester. The securities given up to me by the Liverpool creditors, to whom I sent the cheque for £10,400, were railway iron, bar iron, steel, and spelter. The goods were pledged to them for £10,400,* but they were of greater value. I had transactions in May with Sill and Mugins, of Liverpool. I obtained in advance for their bills about £25,000,† upon warrants for metals. They drew upon Cole, Brothers. I got the £25,000. It was all paid through Glyn's. I received no account from these parties, and I can't tell whether they sold the securities or not. I do not know precisely how we stand, not having received any account. They gave me up securities as against other securities, I think, early in July, after I stopped payment."

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[*] "A reference to the Trade Protection Society would have told Mr. Laing this."

[†] "Prosperous enough, no doubt, for he was then busily engaged in passing his false warrants!"

A more fearful revelation than those contained in this statement can scarcely be conceived. Here was a man, without a farthing in the world, a bankrupt in 1847, and yet able, through sheer impudence, to obtain loans from the largest discounting house in London—if not in the world—and credit at command, as if he had been possessed of thousands and tens of thousands to back his speculations! We can but ask whether Overend, Gurney, and Co.,—nay, whether Mr. Laing himself, would have trusted any respectable tradesman in the city of London with a few hundreds, if he had gone to them, and made it appear that he was in need of a temporary loan, and could give tolerably good security for the repayment with moderate interest. Most assuredly they would not have looked at him or his paper. They would have held out no helping hand to relieve honesty from temporary necessity, nor so much as cared whether he sunk or swam. But it was quite another thing with a man who dealt in thousands, albeit those thousands were only on paper, and he had not a farthing of capital at his back to secure a shilling of the advances he was seeking and easily obtaining. Commercial men are thus continually caught with the glare and glitter of enormous transactions. "Blot is no blot" with them "till it is hit." Like the dog in the fable, they grasp at the shadow and let go the substance. Who can pity them that they are taken in? Richly do they deserve to be swindled. But for the facilities they give to such men as Cole for obtaining credit, there would be fewer swindling transactions to take account of. We can feel no commiseration for them, and to such an appeal, *ad misera-cordiam*, as Mr. Laing has ventured upon, we have no other verdict to record than that said to have been once given by a stolid Welsh jury in the case of a woman killed by her husband in a moment of passion—"*Served her right!*" We marvel more and more, as we read in this pamphlet, that Mr. Laing has not discernment enough to see how ridiculous he renders himself in showing that, without making the slightest inquiry, he lent a swindler, who had been through the Bankruptcy Court, £41,000, upon his own acknowledgment that he was pressed by another house for money! Such, however, are opportunities for the prosecution of ficticious business,—for which such as Mr. Laing alone are amenable,—that it could come to pass in the City of London in the nineteenth century, amidst a class of men as wide awake as most people, and as keenly alive to their own interests as any body of men in the world, that a man, who had been a bankrupt in 1847, could make payments in 1852, amounting to £1,531,708: 11s. 6d.; in 1853, to £2,000,744: 0s. 4d; and in 1854, to £770,750: 18s. 6d.; "making a total in two years and a-half, of upwards of FOUR MILLIONS, THREE HUNDRED THOUSAND POUNDS!" "Verily, Mr. Laing, thou hast thy reward!" To follow up the phraseology of the members of the house so loudly condemned as the cause of all the losses—"how thou can'st imagine thyself not to have been somewhat in the light of a *particeps criminis*, in lending friend Cole £41,000, without making inquiry about him, is one of the greatest marvels of a marvellous age!"

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* † "These warrants were nearly all fictitious."

Whilst we have prosecuted our task of examining Mr. Laing's remarkable publication, we have now and then mentioned the names of Davidson and Gordon, as having been very much mixed up in the enormity of Cole's swindling transactions. Mr. Laing, having expended his vehemence upon this convict, now proceeds to give the particulars of the other worthies:—

> "The close connexion subsisting between Cole, Davidson, and Gordon, the mutual transactions in which they were involved, and the natural sequence of events, make it desirable to proceed now with the narrative of the fortunes of the two last-named persons, after their flight from England. Independently of their pursuits as general merchants—importing colonial goods and exporting merchandise of all kinds—Davidson and Gordon carried on the especial business of distillers, being the proprietors of a large distillery at West Ham Lane, in the county of Essex, about four miles from their counting-house in Mincing Lane. This distillery had originally been the property of Mr. Thomas Webb, but in the year 1851 he executed mortgages on it to Davidson and Gordon, who then carried on the business, which was, no doubt, a very lucrative one. Had they limited themselves to this pursuit, matters might have continued to go on well with them; but intimately connected as they were with the fraudulent operations of Cole, and others whose delinquencies still remain unpunished, it was impossible for them to trade with success on the simple basis of honesty, and, as a matter of course, they fell into embarrassments. In what way the condition of their affairs led them to the transactions with the house of Overend, Gurney, and Co., which have become so notorious, it is not necessary at this moment to speak, as that question will be considered hereafter; neither need the details be entered into here which refer to the assignment which Davidson and Gordon made of their interest in the West Ham Distillery. It is enough for the present purpose to state that, in addition to the involvements which caused their failure, and which amounted, in the gross, to the enormous sum of £500,000, they owed the Excise a large amount for duty."

The flight of Davidson and Gordon immmediately followed, as a matter of course; and the manner in which their proceedings are told is so graphic, that it would savor more of romance than of reality, were it not a detail of positive and well-authenticated facts. Mr. Dudley Costello, a short time ago, wrote an account of the escape, flight, and capture of

Davidson and Gordon in a monthly periodical, under fictitious names; but even his clever and amusing story loses by comparison with Mr. Laing's details, which, though somewhat lengthy, we shall readily be pardoned for giving it at some length, without any further criticism respecting the perseverence of his captors, urged on as they were by Mr. Laing, than we have already written—that had only a hundredth part of the zeal been shown to prevent the frauds, which were taken to punish those who perpetrated them, there would never have been the slightest occasion for the publication of this pamphlet, or any reason whatever for the exposure of a system which, it is to be feared, prevails to a much larger extent in mercantile circles than is even exposed by Mr. Laing's vehement invectives.

"This being their position (viz., of hopeless insolvency) in the month of June, 1854, they resolved to extricate themselves from it by absconding with what money they could raise upon the spirits in their possession. There was, however, a difficulty to be got over here, for the officer of Excise, whose duty it was to superintend the premises, would not suffer the removal of any spirits until the duty owing had been paid. But the crisis in their affairs being imminent, and their resolve taken, Davidson and Gordon removed this obstacle by giving the Excise officer a cheque for the amount due, which he accepted in payment, and then gave them permission to deliver goods. There was only one defect in this arrangement, as far as the Excise was concerned, viz., that when the cheque was presented it was dishonored. On the other hand, it perfectly answered the purpose of Davidson and Gordon. . . . The last time they were seen in business was by a clerk of theirs, named Walker, about five o'clock. They mentioned nothing to him of any intention to leave London, and he fully expected to have seen them again on Monday: it need scarcely be said that they left no money with him. On the same evening Mr. Prehn, a merchant carrying on business in London, saw Davidson and Gordon on board the Ostend boat at eleven o'clock. Arrived on the continent, they proceeded to the Rhine by way of Brussels and Aix-la-Chapelle, at which places they changed two of the £500 notes which they obtained on the 17th of June, these notes being received from abroad, in the regular course of business, by parties in London. The fugitives were next heard of in Switzerland, being seen on the lake of Lucerne, in the month of August, by Mr. Imthurn, a merchant resident in London, who knew Davidson and Gordon by sight.

"A clue to their 'whereabout' being thus discovered, an officer attached to the London police, named John Mark Bull, was instructed to follow them, and he went in consequence to Neufchâtel, where he arrived on the 4th September. He did not, however, succeed in seeing either Davidson or Gordon until November, at which time they were comfortably domiciled in the neighbourhood of Neufchâtel, at a place called 'Chaux de Fonds,' where they had made the acquaintance of one Madame Fornachon, with whom and with whose family, as it subsequently appears, they contracted a very strict alliance.* But a sight of the fugitives was all that the London police-officer took by his journey to Neufchâtel, for there being no mutual law of extradition between Switzerland and England, the persons of Davidson and Gordon were safe. The task of disturbing them in their quiet Swiss abode, of routing them out of Switzerland, of tracking them through Piedmont, and finally of hunting them down in Naples, was reserved for one of their creditors, Mr. James Rait Beard, of the firm of Beard, Brothers, of Mosley-street, Manchester, whom they had swindled to the extent of £5000, for which sum Messrs. Beard held bills of various amounts.

" This gentleman, who had kept himself informed of the movements of Davidson and Gordon in Switzerland, through the medium of commercial friends in that country, received a telegraphic despatch from Berne, on the 17th December, 1854, acquainting him with the fact that the fugitives were then at Neufchâtel. On the receipt of this intelligence Mr. Beard resolved to start at once for that place, in the hope of being personally able to accomplish what could not otherwise be effected. He accordingly went to London, where, at the request of Mr. Brotherton, M.P., he was furnished by the Earl of Clarendon with the following letter to the British Minister at Berne :—

" ' Foreign Office, 19th December, 1854.

" ' Sir,—This despatch will be delivered to you by Mr. Beard, who, as you will perceive by the enclosed copy of a letter from Mr. Brotherton, is proceeding to Switzerland to attempt to recover a sum of five thousand pounds, of which he has been cheated by Davidson and Gordon. I am aware, that under the circumstances stated in Mr. Christie's despatches, Nos. 58 and 59, of the 30th ult., to which my despatch of the 13th is a reply, it will not be possible for you to give any official assistance to Mr. Beard, and this has been explained to him. But as Mr. Beard seems to suppose that he has peculiar facilities for effecting his object, I do not hesitate to recommend him to your notice for such unofficial assistance as you can properly give him.

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* "Davidson and Gordon had dropped their real names, and assumed those of Sedgwick and Gray. Under the latter designations they had managed to procure a passport from the Consul-General for France in London, which was delivered to ' George Sedgwick, Rentier, aged 31, travelling with his servant, Charles Gray.' The address indicated was No. 47, Moorgate-street, and the bearer was described as ' going to Paris.' It was dated October 3rd, 1854, and bore the Calais *visa* of October 5th. This passport was deposited at the British Embassy in Paris, and in lieu of it one of Lord Cowley's passports, dated October 6th, was granted to the persons calling themselves Sedgwick and Gray. It was subsequently discovered that this passport had been originally obtained by the clerk of a London solicitor who was interested in the safety of Davidson and Gordon."

"'I am, with great truth and regard, Sir,
"'Your most obedient humble servant,
"'**Clarendon**.'"

Provided with this letter Mr. Beard went to Neufchâtel, when he learned that the birds were flown.

"He immediately applied to the Chief of the Police, whom he saw on the 29th December. That functionary informed him that Davidson and Gordon had really left Neufchâtel, but were not, he believed, far off; he promised to telegraph to different parts of Switzerland, but went away to visit his friends, and Mr. Beard never obtained any further information from him. 'Point d'argent, point de Suisse,' is a proverb which seems to be equally applicable to the civil authorities, as well as to the military in Switzerland, and Mr. Beard soon learnt from various quarters that Davidson and Gordon had been on very intimate terms with the police, whom they used constantly to treat at a small cabaret outside the town. He tried the Inspector of the Force, but did not succeed in getting any information out of him, and when he reported to him what he had heard concerning the body under his charge, the philosophical Inspector coolly observed, that 'the greatest men had their price!'

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"In Geneva, where he next went, Mr. Beard had to dance attendance on the police for several days, receiving assurances from them that the fugitives would be discovered, and one of their body was, indeed, sent to Evian, but returning without any tidings, Mr. Beard put himself into the diligence for Thonon (the town nearest to Evian) to communicate with the Intendente, who promised great assistance but rendered none. From the *garçon* of the hotel, 'Les Balances,' Mr. Beard, however, wormed the fact that Davidson and Gordon had arrived there, had drunk a bottle of Beaujolais, and then engaged a carriage to take them to Bonneville. To reach that place it was necessary for Mr. Beard to return to Geneva, and he accordingly went back, and a lucky chance favoured the great object he had in view. Making a purchase of books at Munroe's English Library on the Quai des Bergues, he learnt that Davidson and Gordon had been well known there while staying in Geneva in the course of the previous summer; that a Dr. Davidson and family were residing there at that time, at whose house Davidson and Gordon constantly visited, but that the acquaintance was not recognised in public. Mr. Munroe's son, who gave this information, added that Dr. Davidson and family had gone to live in Naples. This was a ray of light for Mr. Beard: he at once concluded that the fugitives would make for Naples, and thither he resolved to track them every inch of the way.

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"Mr. Beard in Naples had many difficulties, and had to wait a month for a reply from the Foreign Office, to a letter which he found it necessary to address to Lord Clarendon, but at the end of that time, his business requiring his return to Manchester, he set out for England, reached London in four days, and, applying at the Foreign Office, saw Lord Wodehouse, who stated that the necessary instructions had been sent off a fortnight previously; it appeared, however, that they had been despatched *vid* Malta, under the supposition, on the part of the officials, of its being the most direct route. After this interview, Mr. Beard received a communication from Naples to the effect that the British Minister there had positive orders for making the arrest, but that he had not yet acted upon them. He therefore wrote to Lord Clarendon, and received the following reply, explaining what the difficulties were which had thwarted his Lordship's efforts to secure the fugitives:—

"'Foreign Office, March 20, 1855.

"'Sir,—I am directed by the Earl of Clarendon to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, complaining that no steps had been taken by her Majesty's Minister at Naples to obtain the arrest of Messrs. Davidson and Gordon, the two fraudulent bankrupts mentioned in your letter of the 2nd ultimo: and I am to state to you, in reply, that the difficulty of securing the persons of these two bankrupts has arisen, in the present instance, from there being no convention between this country and the kingdom of the Two Sicilies for the mutual surrender of persons fugitives from justice, and that it has consequently been impossible to take criminal proceedings against Messrs. Davidson and Gordon, at Naples, upon the charge brought against them in England. I am to add, that all that her Majesty's Minister at Naples could do in this case was to refuse to fix the *visa* of the Legation to their passports, without which they could not leave the Neapolitan dominions, and then with the concurrence of the Neapolitan authorities, to take measures, as you have already been informed Sir William Temple has been instructed to do, for their being sent to Malta, with the view of ulterior measures being taken against them. I am further to add, that Sir William Temple has not yet reported what steps he has taken for securing, if possible, the persons of the two bankrupts, but that he will be instructed to send home, forthwith, a report of his proceedings in this matter.

"'I am, &c.
"'WODEHOUSE.'

"Very shortly after the receipt of this letter, the measures referred to by Lord Wodehouse were taken: Davidson and Gordon were arrested and sent on to Malta, whither the London police officer, Bull, was sent with a warrant from Alderman Farebrother to take them into custody. Bull reached Malta on the 2nd of April, but fortune still seemed to favour the fugitives, for on endeavouring to enforce his warrant, it was held to be illegal, and the magistrate at Valetta discharged them. It was, however, useless for them to contend further against their inevitable fate, and they embarked for England in the Indus steamer, under the surveillance of Mr. Mark Bull, who accompanied them to Southampton, when they

were at once taken into custody and conveyed to London, ten months after their evasion."

The only point we shall at all refer to in the foregoing extract is to the part taken by the Earl of Clarendon, and his subordinate, Lord Wodehouse, to assist those who proceeded to the Continent to capture Davidson and Gordon; and even upon this we should have made no remarks at all had not Mr. Laing gone out of his way in the edition before us, (the fourth) to eulogize Lord Clarendon as having been mainly instrumental in bringing the delinquents to justice.* As it appears to us, the Earl of Clarendon did no more than his duty in complying with the request preferred to him, that he would facilitate the means of capture to the utmost of his power. It is a duty devolving upon the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, whoever he may be, to attend to the interests of her Majesty's subjects, in all parts of the world. Had he refrained from putting every means he possessed at Mr. Laing's disposal, he would simply have neglected one of the ordinary rules of his office. That he did not neglect to do what he was asked to facilitate may, therefore, merit notice; but it is something closely akin to fulsome adulation to have attributed to that nobleman the credit of having been mainly instrumental "in catching two as great thieves as ever were arraigned at the bar of the Old Bailey."

Taking all the particulars of Mr. Laing's pamphlet into consideration, we do not fancy the Earl of Clarendon will be much flattered by the clumsy compliment offered to him, although he has been weak enough to permit of the publication being dedicated to himself. All that he could do was little enough; and but for the indomitable perseverance of the officers employed, both Davidson and Gordon would have escaped capture, as they afterwards escaped anything like an adequate punishment—a point to which our attention is immediately called upon the return of the prisoners, and the officers who captured them, from their foreign travels.

Notwithstanding the pains that had been taken to catch Davidson and Gordon, as well as the money expended in following them from one part of the Continent to the other—from Belgium, in short, to Naples—it was only after three trials that these men were found guilty. The natural question occurs—Why did it so turn out? According to Mr. Laing's assertions the case was not only clear against them to a demonstration, but it was so positive against others also that it could be nothing else than something very like a conspiracy that prevented a much greater number being prosecuted to a conviction, than the two who were sentenced to two years' penal labour. We have most carefully read the 7th and 8th chapters of Mr. Laing's pamphlet, in which he leaves no stone unturned to make it appear that Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co. well knew the character of the three swindlers with whom they had had dealings, and only sought to protect themselves through injury done to others. The result of our reading is, a conviction that Mr. Laing, in his anxiety to fix Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co. with this offence—crime we might perhaps more properly call it—has attempted to prove too much. Blameable they doubtless were; singularly infatuated also does Mr. Chapman appear to have been; but, earnest as Mr. Laing is to fix them with guilt, he fails legally to do so. The whole business between themselves and the guilty parties appear to have been transacted in a very loose manner; but there is one clear item in their favour to disprove the notion of intentional complicity—and, be it remembered, we draw our conclusion from the statements of a most determined enemy—that had they purposed to compound felony, or to save their pockets from loss by permitting Mr. Laing, or any one else, to be sacrificed, they never would have acted so clumsily as to have sufferred such an enormous loss as that of £120,000! It is easy enough to fling accusations right and left against individuals who are supposed to have wilfully and purposely injured others, but plain people demand proofs, even where circumstances look black, and have the appearance of not being quite straight forward. It is this that we complain of in Mr. Laing's exposure of his view of Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co's. conduct in their transactions with the culprits Cole, Davidson, and Gordon. Assertion is no proof; and until Mr. Laing can give some positive evidence that he was wantonly and intentionally plundered by that house, he must not be surprised if everybody does not endorse his opinions. It is very true that he lays to the charge of a public officer, Mr. Charles Pearson, an intention to preserve Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co. from prosecution—with this we shall deal presently—and sneers at the Recorder for having, in his charge to the grand jury previously to the first trial of Davidson and Gordon, "mildly characterized" the part taken by that firm in the proceedings which led to their being mixed up with the transactions; but in spite of all this, he has not ventured to bring an action against Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co., nor to get the question at issue between himself and them tried before a *nisi prius* court; the reason for which is obvious enough—and it is the old point from which Mr. Laing can never by any means escape —*because he never took the slightest trouble to inquire in Lombard-street as to the character of Cole,* but for the transactions with whom he would have had no more to do with Davidson and Gordon than the man in the moon.

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* *See* Dedication.

Whilst Mr. Laing shrinks from having recourse to a civil action, and merely perseveres in the repetition of an assertion that others ought to have been prosecuted besides Cole, Davidson, and Gordon, and accuses every one who have to put justice in operation with being determined to aid and cover the real delinquents from criminal proceedings, we take it that he will not gain much by the course he has pursued, nor lead impartial people to believe that he was purposely sacrificed that others might be spared. It is easy enough to suggest bribery and corruption as having been resorted to; but the Courts are open, and Mr. Laing surely has his remedy at law if he is disposed to avail himself of it. Till he resorts to this course, he must then not be surprised that we and others refrain from taking assertions for proofs, however strongly and positively they may appear to make out the accusation he is bent upon reiterating.

But, now, as to the charge brought against the City Solicitor, Mr. Charles Pearson. It is made in the following terms:—

> "It was towards the close of last June that the City Solicitor was instructed to prosecute, and in his address to Sir Peter Laurie, at Guildhall, on the 10th of July, explanatory of the course he intended to pursue, he said it was his intention to proceed upon the whole of the warrants of Overend, Gurney, and Co., and to apply as overt acts several others which he specified; making it appear by this intimation that the prosecution would be, in all respects, a *bonâ fide* one. The City Solicitor moreover said, in the course of the examinations which he conducted (this was on the 14th July) —'I must wait for the report of Messrs. Quilter and Ball, *which may involve other parties beside those at the bar.*' For this report, however, the City Solicitor did *not* wait, but on the 30th of July announced that his case was complete, and Cole, Davidson, and Gordon were, as we have already seen, committed. The several trials on the charges which implicated Davidson and Gordon only were brought to a close on the 21st December, and the City prosecution was still untouched. If the case against the three prisoners was, in the estimation of the City Solicitor, 'complete' at the end of July, it could scarcely have been less so at the end of December, when, in addition to all the evidence which he possessed before, the report of Messrs. Quilter and Ball, which is dated November

21st, was put into his hands. But, in the interim, the City Solicitor had been harassed by doubts, beset by misgivings, troubled by scruples; nothing seemed clear in the case; he was groping his way in a fog; the more information he obtained, the more he appeared to be misled. As to being able to discover anybody else who had gone wrong, besides the three convicted criminals, it was altogether beyond his capacity. He made one discovery, however, and a most notable one: he, as the delegated prosecutor, was not bound to get up evidence to prove additional complicity; *that* duty devolved upon others. Furnish him, he said, with proofs that other parties were really involved in the swindling transactions of Cole, Davidson, and Gordon, and then wouldn't he prosecute! Only let somebody else bell the cat, and he would do the rest! Really, the City Solicitor's zeal had no parallel save in the excess of his caution. That we are speaking 'by the card,' let the following correspondence testify:—

"'London, December 22nd, 1855.

"'Dear Sir,—In the Criminal Court, last Thursday, you intimated to me that Messrs. Quilter, Ball and Co. had refused to give you any information relative to the transactions that had taken place between the bankrupt Cole, and Overend, Gurney, and Co., subsequent to October, 5, 1853. In reply I told you that I would at once communicate with Mr. Murray, and instruct him, as one of the assignees, to authorise Quilter, Ball, and Co. to give you all the information you require. Enclosed you have copies of letters sent to you by Quilter, Ball, and Co., and by Quilter and Co., to Mr. Murray, and by Mr. Murray to me. It is quite clear that Quilter and Co. are willing to comply with your request, and it remains to be seen if you are desirous to avail yourself of it. *All the papers that I have so far placed before you have been considered useless. I must beg to differ with you in this respect, and maintain that the documents put into your hands by me are of the greatest importance in your conducting the prosecution for the City, and ought to be placed before the counsel.* Mr. Stovell has volunteered his assistance in addition, and I may add, without any breach of confidence, that Mr. George, of Messrs. Linklater and Co., is in possession of a great deal of important information, which remains at your service if you wish to take any advantage of it. The conduct of the City prosecutor is looked forward to with the greatest anxiety. You have materials now at your disposal to place before the public a case without precedent, fraud premeditated, and carried out to an extent almost fabulous, and continued after the first disclosure under the assistance of what most people would term superhuman aid. I must intreat of you to give this case your serious consideration: no one doubts your ability,—let no one doubt your inclination, to act without fear or favour. Under such favourable auspices I do hope that the result may be alike creditable to the Corporation as to yourself, their official. To the commercial community it is a matter of the most vital importance that a stop should be put to such infamous proceedings. I *must have it clearly understood that I entertain no malignant feelings to any of the unfortunate men at present implicated, although I have been grossly swindled by Cole: I trust I may claim credit for a purer motive than mere petty revenge, which can avail me nothing.*' "*

" The following are the papers referred to:—

" Bankers' pass book and cheque for £7,000, and two warrants, part of thirteen, received from Cole, 30th July, 1853. Two warrants, part of twenty-six received from Cole, 26th July, 1853, and Cheque for £10,000.

" Fourteen warrants for the purpose of being exhibited in court.

" Note from Cole, handed to Mr. Laing by Digby.

" List of warrants taken by S. Goodburn to Maltby.

" Four copies of letters written to Cole and Maltby, and memorandum respecting Graham's evidence of Cole paying for lease, and rent of Hagen's Wharf.

" Counsel's brief at Cole's trial.

" Plan of the wharf.

" Landing account of goods removed from the Wharf.

" Account sales and nett proceeds.

" Copies of letters of Overend, to Cole and Sargant, relative to a transfer of cochineal and coffee.

" Letters from Davidson and Gordon to Overend and Co., relative to a transfer of £1,600.†

" Quilter's letter to S. Laing.

" Quilter's statement of transactions between Overend and Cole, subsequent to October, 1853. (In addition to Quilter's letter, they can give details of the sale and purchase of 400 tons of spelter in October, 1853, and of a transaction between Short and Co., Cole, and Overend, in February, 1854, deeply implicating the latter parties.)

" I am, dear sir,
" Yours very truly,
" SETON LAING."

Throughout the whole of Mr. Laing's proceedings, there is an incessant vindication of the superiority of his own judgment and opinion over that of others. Although he is a commercial man,—and one moreover, upon his own showing, of no very great caution, else he never had trusted a man whom he had only known by name for a short time,—he sets up his judgment against that of the City Solicitor, and infers that *because* he himself considers the documents he had placed in that official's hands all important, therefore they must be so. Many a man has thought much as Mr. Laing thinks, and yet found to his cost that the materials supposed to be most important were not worth, as evidence, so much as the paper on which they were written. A more satisfactory letter than the City Solicitor returned in reply to that he had received from Mr. Laing could scarcely have been written. We give it entire; but before doing so, we would call attention to the evident temper of Mr. Laing in his seeking to particularise a slight grammatical error on Mr. Pearson's part at the opening of his letter, by printing that error in *italic*. Opinions are often formed from trifles, and we do not hesitate to confess we should have thought better of Mr. Laing had he not stooped to endeavour to make his correspondent appear ridiculous from what evidently was nothing more than a mere slip of the pen. This by the bye. But to Mr. Charles Pearson's letter itself:—

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* Has Mr. Laing ever contemplated the meaning of the old French provert, *qui s'excuse, s'accuse?*

† The actual amount of this transfer was not known at the time: it turned out to be £1,566: 6s. 7d.

"Guildhall, Dec. 28, 1855.

"Dear Sir,

"Slight indisposition and great need of a little rest *has* prevented my coming to the office till this morning, where I find your letter with its enclosures. *When I saw you on Friday in the Central Criminal Court, I told you I required to lay before counsel, on the next day, Messrs. Quilter and Ball's report to Mr. Murray.* I at the same time told you I had seen Mr. Ball, who had received instructions from Mr. Murray to afford me any information in his power, but *not to give me a copy* of the report (which was quite confidential) without the sanction of the assignees. You promised immediately to see Mr. Murray and give the required sanction. I presume you did so, for on the following day I obtained a copy of the report from Mr. Ball, in time for the consultation on Saturday last, when it was read and very fully considered. *You are mistaken in supposing that I intimated that Messrs. Quilter and Ball had declined to give me any information.* I said to you then, as I have before stated, that if any important facts had come to light since the meetings we had at Mr. Murray's and at Messrs. Quilter and Ball's offices, I would rather receive it direct from them, or Mr. Murray, than through yourself, for two reasons—*first, because Mr. Murray's legal knowledge, and Messrs. Quilter and Ball's familiarity with such subjects, would qualify them to separate important from unimportant facts better than yourself, who have had only your own experience in such matters to guide you, and who, smarting under the sense of personal injury, are less likely to regard them calmly and dispassionately than men who are only professionally engaged in considering them.* I take pride in feeling that I use great frankness and candour in my communications to all parties with whom I am engaged, and I think

I have expressed the foregoing sentiments orally, as well as in writing, not only to yourself, but to the other gentlemen named. I am quite sure I never complained of Messrs. Quilter and Ball, as withholding facts from me. I am happy to acquire information from any person and by any means, *but I do not consider myself at liberty to rely upon any statement I hear, unless I am furnished with the means of testing its accuracy, and (finding it accurate) I deem it my duty to obtain the assistance of eminent counsel to weigh carefully both its relevancy and effect upon the cases committed to my charge; it will be in their discretion to use it, or lay it aside, as their sense of professional duty may determine.* In their opinion the case is beset with great difficulties, and in this opinion I entirely concur. It is amongst the greatest of these difficulties that, for the means of bringing guilt home to the defendants, we are principally indebted to the evidence of Mr. Chapman, whose conduct in concealing the frauds practised upon him, after they had been discovered, is calculated to shake his credit. *A similar observation, to some extent, applies to your own evidence; for, although it was your proceedings against Cole that brought these frauds to light, your evidence at his trial, upon which you are open to cross-examination to affect your credit, shows that, after yau had discovered the fraudulent character of the warrants, you were pressing him for other securities.* You misapprehend any observations I have made if you think I impute to you any *malignant* feelings against the defendants, in promoting these prosecutions. I applaud the spirit, and admire the zeal and perseverance you manifest, in following up men who have injured you. If Mr. Chapman had not committed a great moral offence, Cole would have been broken up before he became your debtor, and you would thus have saved your money. If by the fear of public exposure Mr. Chapman can be induced to do you justice, and return your losses (which you have never hesitated to avow as one of the objects of your proceedings), no man can properly set that down to the score of malignant feelings. If Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co. have employed their wealth, character, and position to build up the credit of Cole, Davidson, and Gordon, after they knew of these frauds, and if by acting upon the feeling which wealth, character, and position call into play, you, and the other creditors of the bankrupt, can get recouped your losses, no man can justly blame you; *but I must take care that I do not permit my functions as a public prosecutor to be directed by you for the purpose of effecting your private objects, however justifiable or laudable they may be.* I hold it to be my duty to employ all the evidence I possess or can acquire, to prove the cases comprehended in the two indictments now before the Court. If the assignees of either of the bankrupts can now furnish me with *evidence* to implicate Mr. Chapman, or any other person, in the frauds with which the present defendants stand charged, I should consider that my instructions from the Court of Alderman are sufficiently large to warrant me in taking such measures as counsel may recommend to dispose of these indictments, in order that others of a more comprehensive character may be preferred. No time is to be lost, if any change in our course of proceedings is to be made, as the sessions will commence on the 7th of January. I still think it will be more useful and more proper for me to be furnished with any additional information bearing upon the question through the solicitors, but I shall not decline to accept it from any other quarter.

"I am, dear Sir,
"Yours truly,
"CHARLES PEARSON,
"City Solicitor."
"Seton Laing, Esq.

Is there the slightest indication upon the face of this letter that the City Solicitor desired to shield Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co.? More severe strictures upon the supposed misconduct of that firm could scarcely have been written. A more determined resolution of doing his duty faithfully and fearlessly could scarcely have been expressed; but that duty could only be performed in the event of the evidence furnished being conclusive, and such as counsel could rely upon to secure conviction. Mr. Charles Pearson tells Mr. Laing as plainly as he could, that that gentleman was not competent to decide what was and what was not evidence; that he was not and could not be dispassionate; nay, that whilst he was blaming others he himself was open to the same charge he had brought against Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co., and especially against Mr. Chapman, of having himself pressed for further securities, when he found out that the spelter warrants lodged with him by Cole were forgeries. Nay, further than this, Mr. Pearson explicitly tells Mr. Laing that he could only act as counsel should advise. Now, even supposing it possible that Mr. Charles Pearson was disposed to favor Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co.—which the tone of his letter as regards them clearly shows he was not—is it likely, is it within the compass of possibility, that the counsel before whom the case was laid could be cajoled in any way whatever into supporting Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co. against Mr. Laing? No consideration whatever would induce honorable men to take such a course. Suspicious enough the case before them might be, but unless they could evolve proof by proof in one continuous chain, it was utterly out of the question that they could recommend a prosecution, which would not have gone on half-an-hour before any one of the judges would have stopped it. Had such been the case, there is more than enough to show that Mr. Laing would have had, and expressed, no higher opinion of that functionary than he has expressed towards the City Solicitor.

Smarting under the castigation which the City Solicitor's letter had inflicted, Mr. Laing was induced to reply to it in the following testy terms :—

"London, 31st December, 1855.

"Dear Sir,

"I beg to acknowledge receipt of your favour of the 28th inst., in reply to mine of 22nd. I have no desire whatever to enter into any legal controversy with you, from the fact that I am supposed to be ignorant of such matters. In the conduct of the City prosecutions you, as well as myself, ought to have only one object in view, justice fully and fearlessly administered. That you intimated to me your inability to obtain information from Quilter, Ball, and Co., relative to Overend and Co.'s transactions with Cole, I entertain not the slightest doubt; the result speaks for itself—you have had their report, a document of great ability and value. I do not mean to notice the accusations you have made against me, beyond giving them a positive and flat denial. My grand object has been not to obtain back the property of which I have been defrauded, but rather to protect the public against similar frauds, and openly to denounce a gang of swindlers, the moment I had sufficient proof to act upon. I can lay claim to a far purer motive than the paltry consideration of a few thousands of pounds. By remaining 'passive,' and acting in a similarly dishonourable manner to Chapman, I could have pocketed £1500, offered to me by Cole's attorney, and saved £800 legal expenses—sums far above any dividend likely to arise from the bankrupt's estate. I have used, and shall continue to use, ALL legitimate means at my disposal, either for the purpose of the recovery of my property, or of instituting criminal proceedings against other parties implicated in the event of your failing to do so, at the same time reserving to myself the right of making free use of your last communication to me. The fact of Overend, and Co. not having denounced Cole, and Davidson and Gordon, in October, 1853, when the fraud was first discovered, has enabled them* to plunder the public, and so arrange and concoct their future plans as to place the laws of their country at defiance. However great the influence of Overend and Co., they will find to their ultimate cost that such transactions cannot be allowed to pass with impunity.

"I am, dear Sir,
"Yours truly,
"C. Pearson, Esq., City Solicitor. "SETON LAING."

To this letter the City Solicitor replied, but Mr. Laing has not thought it advisable to print the answer. Doubtless it was as characteristic as that which had preceded it, and quite as conclusive. All that Mr. Laing says of it is, that—

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* Meaning Cole, Davidson, and Gordon.

"He alleges, as the reason for his continued inaction, that he cannot obtain 'direct evidence' of Mr. Chapman being a party to the proceedings of Cole to get out of the hands of *bonâ fide* creditors good warrants, for the purpose of placing them in the hands of Overend, Gurney, and Co., in reduction of their claim, and with a keen sense of his official duties, informs Mr. Laing that if he can give him any clue to facts in proof of Mr. Chapman's complicity in these transactions, he will 'without delay lay them before counsel, so that he may 'report upon the whole matter to the magistrates at their next meeting. But,' he adds in conclusion, 'I certainly cannot consent to remain in the uncertain state in which you have left me.'"

What more could Mr. Pearson say? Throughout the entire relation of the great swindle by Mr. Laing, there is nothing, which lawyers will hold to be evidence, to show that Mr. Chapman was "a party to the proceedings of Cole to get out of the hands of *bonâ fide* creditors good warrants, for the purpose of placing them in the hands of Overend, Gurney, and Co., in reduction of their claim." Unless this could be furnished, all else must go for nothing. This proof could not be furnished on Mr. Laing's own showing, for he immediately "closed the correspondence with the following letter, in which he expresses his opinion that it was no part of his duty to usurp the legitimate functions of the City Solicitor"—a proof conclusive enough in all conscience that he had nothing more to offer:—

"London, January 7, 1856.

"Dear Sir,

"I have to own receipt of your letter of the 5th instant. My communications to you have been sufficiently explicit; you are at liberty, of course, to draw your own conclusions from them. I claim credit for having placed at your disposal most importan facts directly bearing on the City case, which have not been received in that courteous way I expected;* I do not, therefore, intend again to subject myself to your censure. When the proper time arrives I shall be prepared to vindicate the course I have taken. I am not the prosecutor; it is, therefore, no part of my duty to get up evidence. What can be more simple than tracing the securities, warrants, &c., that have been placed in Overend, Gurney, and Co.'s hands, by the three bankrupts, subsequent to October, 1853, upon which they have pocketed so large a sum? Surely, this is your duty; it cannot be mine. I fear the City prosecution has not had that attention and assiduity which the import-

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* What greater courtesy could Mr. Laing have expected than he received?

ance of the case demands, and which the public have an undoubted right to expect; from first to last there has been by far too much apathy and indifference, and a thorough absence of free and independent action somewhere: with such conflicting elements I see no prospect of a fair or even satisfactory result. In August, last year, you told me the case was complete, under the immediate charge of Mr. Ryland; now I am told it is beset with the greatest difficulties —how is this? Surely the astounding facts that have subsequently been developed cannot be the cause. Great difficulties have, and can only be overcome at the sacrifice of great personal interest, coupled with bold and independent action.

"I am, dear Sir,
"Yours very truly,
"C. Pearson, Esq., City Solicitor. "SETON LAING."

To Mr. Laing the process of a prosecution, upon the data he had furnished, might appear conclusive enough; however he seems to have thought twice before bringing the case before another tribunal; till which be done, notwithstanding the publication of this pamphlet, we shall hold to the conviction that Mr. Laing can make no more of the case against Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co., than he has already made of it. It is all very well for him to assume that Mr. Charles Pearson's official zeal evaporated, like the courage of Bob Acres, at the tips of his fingers; but, whilst the vulgarity of the simile may be overlooked, his own overweening self-esteem cannot be so readily pardoned. Nothing whatever "closed the avenues of justice" but his own inability to offer more than suspicion against Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co., and, as at first, so at last, the same fact can only recoil upon him, that *he did not take the most ordinary care to prevent his being duped and swindled.*

We have completed our task, and fulfilled a duty which is owing to the public, to show that Mr. Laing himself is not altogether inexcusable in the transactions of which he has detailed the particulars. We know nothing more of him than we have met with in his own publication. Of Messrs. Overend, Gurney, and Co., we have no cognizance whatever, except as to their constituting a large discounting City firm. We have taken the matter, as it is put before the public, upon its own merits; and whilst we can but lament that the perpetration of the frauds revealed should have been possible, we have not feared to assert that just as much blame lays at the door of the accuser as at that of the accused. That this decision will not be approved by Mr. Laing, we can very easily imagine; but we do not write for his approbation, but for the fulfilment of a *public* duty, and with the determination to show that if money-making men would only be a little more attentive to the direction of their Bibles, and more set upon "seeking the kingdom of God and his righteousness," than upon turning all things into a money value, there would be less occasion to denounce the fraudulent practices of mankind, inasmuch as they would be prevented. But so long as Mammon usurps the place of the Almighty, the ledger is converted into a Bible, and the cash-book is turned into a book of Common Prayer, those who are losers by such policy must not be surprised if others, who stand at a distance and can watch the playing out of the game, should reiterate the decision of one wiser than the generality of men, that all is indeed "vanity and vexation of spirit."

Quarterly Report of Facts and Progress.

THE quarter which has just terminated has been productive of many events full of interest for the Church, some of them, indeed, involving principles of the greatest magnitude, and making it extremely probable, that though a really efficient system of Church reform is not to be looked for in our days, yet that some of the most prominent abuses may probably be mitigated, if not altogether removed. We shall commence our remarks with some notice of the new system of

RETIRING PENSIONS TO BISHOPS.

It will be hardly necessary to remind our readers that the Bishops of London and Durham, feeling themselves, through age and infirmity, unequal to the administration of their respective dioceses, have resolved to seek the relief of retirement from active life. Hitherto no precedents had existed for such a step; and the fact that the incapacity of a bishop to manage the affairs of his diocese had rarely hitherto produced any serious inconvenience in the diocese itself, was beginning to tell on the public mind. Indeed, the question was occasionally asked, of what use is a bishop at all, since he rarely makes his appearance in the House of Lords, and the diocese can do very well without him? It was time that queries so mischievous should be stopped, and the intention to do this had, perhaps, some share in the determination of the Bishops of London and Durham.

It was found that an Act of Parliament would be necessary to enable them to execute their wishes, and such an Act has now passed the Imperial Legislature. We think a well-founded objection has been taken to the course of proceeding adopted on the present occasion. If an Act of a general nature had been passed enabling bishops, under certain well defined circumstances, to retire from their sees, we should have seen no reason to complain. As it is, a case by no means uncommon is treated as though it were altogether exceptional; and the same arguments, the same objections, the same compromises, will all have to be gone through again when the next similar instance may occur, and all the trouble and difficulty of a fresh Act of Parliament will have to be encountered. For the sake of the Church, it is earnestly to be hoped that before long some general measure will be passed, of which individual prelates may, when situated like the Bishops of London and Durham, easily avail themselves, without the necessity of a separate Act in each separate case. We may be sure that the public will not now quietly tolerate the spectacle of a bishop utterly incompetent to the duties of his see remaining in it, merely because he *was* a bishop: the example set by Drs. Maltby and Blomfield will prevent this. Nor is it well that episcopal infirmities should be paraded, whenever they occur, before the Houses of Parliament. It is by no means sure that the House of Commons, if called upon frequently to pass Bills like the late enactment, will always be willing to do so without a little further intermeddling; and the small end of the wedge once inserted, it is difficult to say what the result would be.

On these grounds we hold it to be essential to the welfare of the Church, that ere long a Bill should be brought in enabling bishops, whose infirmities deprive them of the power of managing their sees, to resign their posts. That some retiring pension should be provided is self-evident. It is quite true that a poor curate may spend the greater part of his life in hard labour, and when worn out with age and work, or attacked by disease, there may be, unhappily, no provision for his last days: he and his family may suffer every kind of distress and privation. But while we admit all this, we do not see that the matter is at all mended by committing an injustice similar in kind, but smaller in degree, in another quarter. The invalided bishop has just as much right to a retiring pension as an invalided general or an ex-chancellor, and it ought to be one bearing a due proportion to what may be called his working income. No one would object to a pension of two thousand pounds per annum; and in spite of many severe observations, not altogether without cause, there does not seem to have been much objection expressed at the sums required by the bishops now retiring. It is borne in mind, that although six thousand pounds per annum is a larger sum than any bishop, save those of London, Durham, and Winchester, will ultimately receive even during their period of labour; yet, that the present holder of the metropolitan see has enjoyed for many years an almost fabulous income, and that he might, if he had chosen, have kept it all and managed his diocese by the aid of his archdeacons. The same may be said of Dr. Maltby; and hence we do not think that there was anything unreasonable in their propositions. But it is one thing to be unreasonable and another to evince a somewhat too worldly and grasping spirit; and we should have been glad if the retiring bishops had simply said, "we feel ourselves unequal to our duties, let us be relieved from them; we leave to those who have the management of church affairs in their hands to decide whether we should have any retiring pensions, and, if so, what should be their amount." Had they done this they would have stood in a much higher position before the world than that which they now occupy, and the lustre of their example would have been reflected upon the Church.

We shall dismiss without notice the absurd cry of simony raised, against both government and bishops, by some hot-headed and enthusiastic writers. And here, perhaps, may be a fitting place to notice the general character of the government carried on during a tolerably long episcopate by the retiring prelates. We shall begin with the more conspicuous of the two, the Bishop of London. We may speak more freely, both by way of praise and blame, than we could have done had he been removed by death from the see over which he has so long and so energetically presided. We have little sympathy with the motto "*de mortuis nil nisi bonum*," we would rather say, "*de mortuis nil nisi* VERUM:" We look on the former maxim to be a very erroneous one; the great departed leave reputations which are the property of the world, those who follow them are to be warned by their failings, as well as to be encouraged by the praise given to their virtues. Hence, while we reject the idea that we should abstain from the condemnation of evil acts because the perpetrator of them may be no more, we are always glad when we are able to weigh the character, acts, and influence of a distinguished man while he yet remains with us.

No one who is at all acquainted with Dr. Blomfield will dispute the extent, accuracy, and elegance of his classical scholarship, the variety of his acquirements, the brilliancy of his abilities, or the general kindness of his disposition. As a theologian he has never taken a very high rank, probably because his earlier studies were directed into a different channel; and since his elevation to the bench, his great talent for business has kept him employed too closely to allow much attention to anything else. He was a good, practical, and impressive preacher, and rarely lost the opportunity in his sermons of inculcating the necessity of moral excellence as well as of doctrinal truth.

On the great questions which have agitated the Church during his episcopate it would be difficult to say exactly what were his views. He appeared to favour each party alternately, so that in the earlier part of the controversy both Evangelicals and Tractarians claimed him as their advocate, and of late both have disowned him. Perhaps his published declarations may be generally taken as favourable to what is called the evangelical school in point of doctrine, though not without exceptions and variations; while, on the other hand, the distribution of his enormous patronage has been almost wholly in favour of the highest class of high-churchmen. This kind of division of good words and good livings could not fail to provoke much acrimony as well as much disappointment, nor was this result at all modified by the manner in which the bishop carried out his views on church government. The celebrated "*surplice*" charge may be taken as an instance in point, and as a proof that the judgment of this active prelate was far from being, on all occasions, equal to his abilities. His charities are said to have been large and discriminating; and it is also asserted that he is far from being a rich man, great as was his annual income. It is probable that this statement is true; and, if so, it will make the ample retiring pension for which he has stipulated by no means excessive.

To one taking an impartial view of the public conduct of the ex-bishop, there will appear three defects, to which all that was not admirable in his conduct may be referred,—a temper somewhat too hasty and impetuous, too lofty an idea of the powers and prerogatives of the episcopal office, and a desire, sometimes morbid, to stand well in public opinion. We say these things will *appear* to be, we do not say they were, the causes of much that has been regretted in the career of Bishop Blomfield. Thus his hospitality was rarely, if ever, extended to curates. He was in the highest degree impatient of opposition. He is accused of having frequently formed his decision upon insufficient evidence, and of having visited comparatively slight faults with very severe punishment; and it was with a feeling akin to trepidation that the humbler portion of the "inferior clergy" found themselves in his presence.

With regard to the externals of public worship, his feelings appear to have been with the Tractarian clergy throughout; but he could never be depended upon to support them against any decided expression of public opinion. Hence, his alternate encouragement and censure of Mr. Bennett, Mr. Liddel, and others; and to the same cause may, perhaps, be attributed the fluctuation in his proceedings which so much offended both parties, and so much grieved those who wished well to the Church.

With respect to his conduct among his clergy, it must be allowed that it is very variously represented. Acts of individual oppression without number have been laid to his charge; but, in many cases, the facts have been greatly misrepresented; in others, the mischief has been speedily repaired; and in most the offence or provocation was probably greater that it was generally imagined to be. And, after all, there must be reckoned, on the other side, a long list of generous and noble, if not always judicious, acts of kindness and charity. The worst charge ever brought against the bishop is, that he was no exception to a general rule;—those who are usually governed by impulses, either benevolent or vindictive, look, in the latter case, rather to the end than the means by which these impulses may be gratified.

But we now turn willingly to a more pleasing subject, and cheerfully admit the great merit of the bishop in his active promotion of church and school building. His twelve churches in Bethnal Green, not to speak of more than a hundred in other parts of his diocese, will perpetually attest both his activity and his munificence, for he was a liberal subscriber to them all, and he took care that they should be tolerably well endowed, feeling that in so poor a neighbourhood, an impoverished clergy would be comparatively useless. On the whole it may be said, that Dr. Blomfield retires from his see under circumstances which entitle him to the general respect of the Church, and we hope that some years of tranquil enjoyment may be granted to him, so that he may see some at least of that fruit ripen which he has sown for the benefit of the Church.

Of Dr. Maltby there is less to be said. He has distinguished himself as a learned, liberal, and enlightened prelate; his charities have been princely, and he has been, during a very long life, a lover and seeker of peace. There may have been occasions when the absence of sectarian feeling, and a great desire of unity among Christians, have led him into acts of indiscretion, which have even occasioned doubts as to his orthodoxy. It must be remembered, in forming any estimate of Dr. Maltby's episcopal rule, that for many years he has been in a great measure incapacitated for public business; and it becomes necessary to carry back our thoughts to the period when his great abilities and profound learning, his noble munificence and his splendid hospitality, kept up the hereditary dignity of the palatinate see. He will be followed in his retirement by the kind feelings of his clergy, and his loss to Durham will long be regretted whoever may succeed him in his seat.

NEW BISHOPS OF LONDON, DURHAM, AND RIPON.

WE have now before us the names of the new Bishops of London and Durham. Dr. Tait, the Dean of Carlisle is, it is said, to come to London; and Dr. Longley, of Ripon, to go to Durham. We must however remember that the announcement is made precisely on the same authority as that which informed us that Mr. Trench was to have the see of Gloucester, and it may be now as then, that the appointment had no other grounds than the imagination of the editor of the "Times." Supposing, however, that the case be as it is generally believed, we have no reason to speak otherwise than favourably of the choice. Dr. Longley has had twenty years' experience, is learned, rational, mild, gentlemanly and pious. Dr. Tait is an excellent man of business, such as the see of London requires, and is evangelical without being fanatical. It seems probable that before many months are past there will be one if not two more vacancies on the episcopal bench, without mentioning that of Ripon, to which as yet we have heard of no successor: we should be glad indeed to see Mr. Trench placed there. It is understood that the bishopric of London is now to be divided, and the see of Westminster reestablished—the one see comprising the City, the outlying parishes to the east and in Kent and Surrey, hitherto belonging to the City of London—the other, the city of Westminster, and that portion of the diocese lying west of the City of London. The delays consequent on this arrangement have prevented any appointment as yet to the Deanery of Westminster. We presume that each bishop will have £5000 per annum, and patronage to a large amount.

OPEN AIR PREACHING.

SINCE the appearance of our last number, this means of attracting the attention of the multitudes of non-church goers to religious truth has been to a large extent organised. Hundreds of sermons are now delivered, both by clergymen and dissenting ministers, all over the Metropolis every Sunday, not to speak of numerous places in the country where the same work is carried on. The general demeanour of the congregations has been most satisfactory; no interruption worthy of note has taken place, and the greatest encouragement is thus given to persevere. At one place in the Metropolis alone has the plan experienced any opposition; and this, strange to say, came not from the mixed multitudes drawn together often by no higher motive than curiosity, but from the Government, as represented by Sir Benjamin Hall. It appears that in Victoria Park, a number of ministers of all denominations had organised a series of regular services; the Rev. G. T. Driffield, the Rector of Bow, being at the head of them; and the consent and co-operation of the other incumbents in whose parish the Park is situated having been obtained. For a while all seemed to go on well; but after a few Sundays, some infidels set men to preach blasphemy and sedition; complaint was made of this, and Sir Benjamin Hall at once interfered and stopped all preaching whatever in the Park. Now, on this proceeding we have to remark, first, that it lays down as a rule for future guidance, that those who wish to stop open air preaching, which seems likely, by God's blessing, to be one of the most effective agents for good in our days, have only to set up a rival preaching of Satan and both will be put down together. That is, that two sermons for God and one sermon for Satan will be suppressed at the same time; and in the meanwhile all the hindrance to evil, which the proclamation of the gospel may occasion, will be removed out of the way. Nor is this all, Sir Benjamin Hall has attained an unhappy notoriety by his determined endeavour to get up open air concerts in the Parks on the Sabbath-day. He has now suppressed, so far as in him lay, the preaching of the word of God. His maxim seems to be—music, as much as you like, *but no gospel!*

FOREIGN EDUCATION.

It has long been a practice with many English parents to seek what they consider the advantages of foreign education for their children, sending girls chiefly to France and boys to Germany. We have always looked on this practice with regret, because while we admit that the education afforded in an English boarding-school is rarely of much value, that afforded in a foreign "*pension*" is usually very inferior, and the attainment of the language, *if accomplished,* is only secured at the expense of much which we in this country usually and rightly hold as of far higher value. A circumstance has recently taken place in the diocese of Arras, which may probably tend to check what we cannot help regarding as a pernicious custom. The bishop of that diocese (which extends to Calais and Boulogne,) Monseigneur Parisis, has lately published a pastoral, in which he inveighs against those keepers of schools, especially ladies, who allow to Protestants the use of Protestant books, permit them to be visited by Protestant clergymen, and to attend Protestant services. He intimates that he shall be careful in admitting to the sacrament those who thus act; and the object of "*His Grandeur*" (this is the title of a French bishop) is, without doubt, to force a system of proselytism on the ladies in question, which ought to weigh much with English parents before they trust their daughters to the religion of a foreign country. We have heard that some ladies so situated have announced their intention to become Protestants themselves, but the greater number will probably give way to the commands of the bishop.

AFRICAN DISCOVERIES.

WE learn from reliable sources of information, that our Government have wisely resolved on a course of proceedings which will undoubtedly win for them the good-will and approbation of all archæologists and scientific men. They have sent out the Rev. N. Davis, well known as an African traveller, and as a writer of no small abilities, to make excavations on the site of ancient Carthage. They have been liberal in their mode of support, as well as wise in their selection of an agent, for they have given Mr. Davis *carte blanche* as to expenses. As they have to do with a conscientious as well as an able man, we have no doubt whatever that the result will be satisfactory. The Royal Geographical Society, with its usual liberality, have given their aid; and we may probably have, before long, a rectification of the coast line of Northern Africa, which, strange as the assertion may seem, is wrongly laid down even in our best charts, to the extent, in some places, of nearly one hundred miles!

EARLY CLOSING AND WEEKLY HALF-HOLIDAYS.

THIS important cause is making rapid progress; every week brings some new accessions from the ranks of the great houses of business, and strengthens our hope that before two years the system will be universal. At the same time it must be borne in mind, that while we contend for the time we must contend also for some mode or modes of rightly employing and enjoying it. That our object is not to take a young man from the counter and the desk and to turn him into the streets to amuse himself as he may, virtuously if he pleases, but viciously if it be more agreeable to him—this is not our object, but rather to engage him in the exercise of his intellectual faculties, and to bring before his mind that he has moral, and social, and religious obligations. For this purpose it will become necessary either to provide means to these ends, or to make use of those already provided. These are the evening classes for young men, which we can cordially recommend; there are various literary and scientific institutions; there are, for those musically inclined, good and cheap concerts; and all these ought to be made subservient to the great object of improving the minds and condition of the young men in our great cities. And here a word as to music. It has great charms, and is capable of being so applied as to bring great benefits. At all events, if it be looked at solely in the light of an amusement, it is at once innocent and delightful; but it often happens that the accessories are most hurtful—questionable adjuncts, objectionable company, places hardly to be approved—all these may tend greatly to neutralize the beneficial effect of the music, and make what would be a desirable relaxation one of the most decidedly objectionable. It is said that the attempt made lately, under the superintendence of M. Jullien, in the Surrey Gardens, to supply to the "million" operatic music of the highest class, and by the most eminent performers, both vocal and instrumental, is only partially successful—quite so, indeed, as to paying; but eliciting the somewhat humiliating fact, that a very well dressed audience may be lamentably deficient in good behaviour, may take into their own hands the direction of the concert, insist on slight pieces being repeated, and thus render the time too short for the proper performance of those which were more important. In all cases such as these it might be an universal rule *never,* under any circumstances, to permit an *encore;* this rule would tend more to secure good behaviour than a score of policemen ten times repeated. Lectures ought to be encouraged. It would be possible for *every* clergyman in London to get up a series of lectures in his school-room, and it would be found not only to attract young men to his church, but to interest the public in his favour. A short time ago a most malevolent article appeared in the "Times," setting forth that the only real reason for distress among the clergy was, that they were the idlest and most incompetent class in the kingdom, and that no one would be willing to contribute towards their support till they were subject to daily inspection, and made to give an account of how they employed every hour of the day. This article was evidently the product of some personal spite. The author had had a quarrel with some clergyman and revenged himself thus on the whole class. It is almost a wonder that the offender was not singled out by name, and accused of infidelity, or forgery, or dishonest meddling with railroads or joint-stock banks. Such is the usual mode of revenge with writers in the "Times." Now it is evident that such a course of conduct as that which we are recommending would effectually prevent such attacks as that in the "Times."

DISTRESSED CLERGY.

The columns of our daily papers have been recently filled with letters detailing the most agonizing cases of distress among the "working clergy." It is probable that so far from there being more of this distress suffered now than in past times, there is really much less; but now the sufferers have been encouraged by public sympathy to speak out; and, save the brutal assault on them by a leading writer in the "Times," to which we have just alluded, there seems a general inclination to recognise and relieve their necessities. "The Friend of the Clergy," a society which has lately been set on a most satisfactory footing by the exertions of Lord St. Leonards, Lord Lyttleton, and others, offers the best means of relieving such distress. It not only provides permanent pensions for the widows and orphan daughters of poor deceased clergymen, but it comes to the aid of the clergy themselves, when, as is so frequently the case, the wretched stipends of curacies are insufficient to provide the necessaries of life. This excellent charity is hardly so well known as it deserves to be. It has, moreover, the great advantage of being so well administered that its large operations are carried on at a small expense—no little recommendation in days like these.

JOINT-STOCK BANKS.

Two or three failures have lately taken place in the banking world which have not only caused extreme distress and wide-spread ruin, but have excited doubts as to the stability of that system of banking which has lately threatened to absorb all the private banking firms. Joint-stock banks came before the public with the promise of peculiar advantages. Their promoters said, we have no calls to make, as private bankers have, for large sums to support our families, for horses, carriages, and all that show which unless a private banker makes he is supposed to be sinking in the world, and so brings suspicion on his firm: we have only to pay moderate salaries and our profits are all divided among our proprietors. Such was the language held out to shareholders. To depositors it was said, with a private banker your risk amounts to this—you have no means of ascertaining the stability of the firm to which you trust your money: they may be on the verge of bankruptcy when you imagine them to be most flourishing, and if they fail all you have deposited goes with them: with us, on the contrary, you will be able to see our balance sheet, and may judge of our position from those periodical statements which we are bound to publish for the benefit of our shareholders. Besides this, if we should fail you have your remedy against the whole body of proprietetors—all and several—their last shilling and their last acre is liable to pay your demand, so that to lose money is morally impossible. These representations are founded in truth, although there must be some limitation to their acceptance. At the same time they are so manifestly reasonable that they had their full effect, joint-stock banks went up and private banking began to be looked upon with hesitation. The failure of Strahan, Paul and Bates added to the previous impression, and it seemed extremely probable that the present race of bankers would be the last. Some check has, however, been given to this feeling by the successive failures of the Tipperary Bank and the Royal British. The first is, however, altogether an abnormal crash, and it is not likely that anything similar to it will occur again. The Sadleirs had boundless confidence reposed in them, and they practised the most unbounded roguery. No such balance sheets as theirs will ever be accepted again—no such dictatorships will be formed, "*Horret quisque adire locum;*" and with regard to the Royal British, the depositors are by this time congratulating themselves that they had not placed their money in private hands. They may now compare their condition with that of the depositors with Strahan, Paul and Co., and rejoice that they have been wise enough to choose a joint-stock bank, which, though it may ruin its shareholders, can only subject *them* to temporary inconvenience, and those minor losses which result from delay. In the midst of this congratulation, and we admit that there is solid ground for it, it is not to be forgotten that joint-stock banks want looking after; and it is probable that the failures which have just taken place will be the means, at least for many years, of securing that supervision on the part of the interested persons, without which no human institution can be expected to go on safely. We hear, with regret, that considerable sums belonging to the clergy, and, in some cases, destined for church purposes, are locked up in the Royal British Bank.

LIFE ASSURANCE.

CLOSELY connected with the foregoing is the subject of life assurance, and the public has had so many warnings of late that it may seem almost needless to caution them against unsafe offices. Some have said, have recourse only to old long-established offices. This is safe advice as far as it goes: but it is manifestly unfair to the younger offices to class them all as unsafe because they are more recently established. Everything must have a beginning, and the very fact of the older offices being so flourishing now, is itself a kind of pledge that the more recent ones will be so in due time. Moreover, like banking, assurance *cannot* fail if properly managed. And though it cannot be denied that a great multitude of offices have been established by unqualified persons, merely to make positions for themselves, yet we are far from being over-assured. As yet the principle of life assurance is not half developed, and there is room enough for all the existing offices that are based on sound principles, and even for many more. Our own advice would be—look to those offices which offer reasonable advantages, and see by whom they are managed, inquire concerning the commercial and financial status of trustees, directors and managers, and act accordingly.

THE PROSPERITY OF IRELAND.

IRELAND, which was long the reproach of our Government, is now rapidly assuming her proper position. The operation of the Encumbered Estates Bill, coming after so extensive an emigration as that which has lately taken place, and which has not yet entirely ceased, has called in the aid of English capital, set at liberty more money in Ireland itself than was supposed to exist there, and has stimulated the whole nation to exertions such as have never been seen in the country before. The Irish Exhibition of 1853 has had its full share in this development; and though a failure in itself, so far as an immediate return in cash was concerned, it has yet been the means of spreading Irish commerce and of enlarging the Irish mind more than for many years yet will be thoroughly known. That an island, on the whole the most beautiful and fertile in the world, inhabited by a quick-witted race of men, should be the abode only of anarchy and distress, is an anomalous state of things entirely, and we rejoice to see that the anomaly is now being removed.

Irish agriculture is flourishing, their corn, their other crops, their cattle, their pigs, will now bear a favourable comparison with those of England and Scotland; the old rebellious spirit is dying, if not dead; and the energies which used to be employed in declaiming against the Saxon, are now better engaged in developing the splendid resources of a magnificent country. Ireland may now be said to be the most prosperous part of her Majesty's dominions, and it is well worthy of consideration, that just in proportion to this material prosperity has Protestantism made progress among the people. Protestants in Ireland are all at one, they are before a common enemy, and are united accordingly; they have no time to quarrel about minor points, in the awful presence of the great Romish apostacy. Hence we find Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists working harmoniously together, and maintaining the most amicable relations. One consequence of this is, that their united operations against Popery have been crowned with the most extraordinary success. And in Connaught, once the stronghold of Romanism, because at the same time the stronghold of ignorance, filth and poverty, new converts are being won over by thousands to education, industry, cleanliness, and Protestantism.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN SAILORS' INSTITUTE.

THIS admirable institution, long known under the title of the Bethel Union, has now enlarged its operations, and expanded into a more general and more permanently useful form. It boasts now a building of no mean architectural pretensions, containing a large hall for lectures or preaching, a savings'-bank, reading-rooms, coffee-rooms, and, in fact, it places at the disposal of the sailor all the conveniences of a gentleman's club. When it is considered that that portion of the metropolis, commonly called the *Port of London*, is one of the worst in its moral and social condition, that the sailor newly discharged from his ship is almost necessarily thrown into collision with the most depraved and dangerous of both sexes, it will at once be understood how incalculable is the value of that agency which seeks him out on board his ship, supplies him with rational amusement, recommends him to a safe home, takes care of him, of his hardly-earned wages, and introduces him to profitable companions. When once a seaman on shore has become accustomed to such accommodation, such entertainment, and such society as he will meet at the Sailors' Institute, he is a lost man to crimps and their associates. The society is making great exertions to affiliate to itself all similar institutions in the United Kingdom, and we are gratified to find that Lord Carlisle, in his capacity of Viceroy of Ireland, has consented to become the Vice-Patron of the Institution, Prince Albert being the Patron.

THE COLONIAL CHURCH.

London in Canada is to be the seat of a new bishopric; Dr. Courtney is the Bishop of Kingston in Jamaica; and Dr. Cotteril goes out to succeed Bishop Armstrong at Graham's Town; Christ-Church, in New Zealand, is to have Dr. Harper, who will, it is hoped, be a fitting coadjutor to the apostolic Selwyn. None of these appointments call for any especial remark, save that Dr. Spencer ought not to be called any longer Bishop of Jamaica, nor Dr. Selwyn Bishop of New Zealand, seeing that they preside episcopally only over a portion of those islands respectively. We have little confidence in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts—all its appointments savour of Tractarianism, and it has far too much influence in the choice of colonial bishops. The whole colony of the Cape has, we fear, been half Romanized by its nominee, Dr. Gray; an excellent and conscientious man, but whose ultra-high-church views have been productive of extreme mischief in that colony. We hope that all future appointments made by the present Government will be made without the interference of that Society, at least until it is under other and better management. And here we will just observe, that we would gladly see our own home system carried out a little further than it now is in our colonies. Why should not the prelates of Calcutta, Sydney, Jamaica and Quebec be called archbishops?—they *are* denominated metropolitans. The colonies would be pleased with the added dignity, and the consecration of colonial bishops might take place in the metropolitan church of the colonial province. The real reason of objection seems to be one of mere form—the precedence of an archbishop would interfere with that of a governor. But surely there is no real necessity for this; an Act of Parliament, if such a thing were needed, could remove every difficulty; and as to precedency, the Queen is the fountain of honour, and her will would settle that matter at once. We are of opinion that if this plan were tried—and especially if colonial clergymen were frequently chosen for colonial sees, one more rivet would be fixed in that fastening which unites our colonial empire in bands of loyalty to the mother country.

BISHOPRIC OF GLOUCESTER AND BRISTOL.

This see has been now filled up by the appointment of Dr. Baring, formerly the rector of All Souls, Langham-place. We have nothing to say against the appointment. The jubilation of certain journals and parties leads us to think that a better choice might have been made; and we confess to a great disappointment, that the announcement made by the "Times" concerning the Rev. R. C. Trench was unfounded: we say *unfounded*, rather than *premature*, because we have reason to know that such an appointment was never contemplated by Government at all. We regret this, because it would have been pre-eminently a good one, and would have been a real blessing to the Church, as well as an encouragement to biblical learning among the clergy. We do not affect to undervalue the claims of the house of Baring on the Government, nor are we at all surprised at finding them acknowledged by a bishopric. The time will, perhaps, come when such claims will be recompensed in other ways. Meanwhile we must take things as we find them, be glad that the bishop is so good, and only lament that his episcopal career should be commenced by a demand of £8000 for a palace. On this point we copy some very sensible remarks from a cotemporary. Alas! that there should be cause for such severity.

"Church Wealth and Poverty.—From the time when Oliver Twist startled the respectable but not less terrible Mr. Bumble by '*asking for more*,' the higher or more fortunate members of the clerical profession have lain under the imputation of taking that interesting youth for their model. Not long ago the world had an edifying instance in the case of the Rev. Mr. Lupton, who complained—justly of course—that he was shockingly neglected by the Chapter of St. Paul's in the disposal of their loaves and fishes. To be sure, he had a canonry of St. Paul's, and another at Westminster—a rectory in London, and a vicarage in the country—offices which would have taxed the ordinary energies of four gentlemen, but he '*asked for more*,' and instituted proceedings before the Bishop of London to have another mess of porridge transferred to his pannikin. The bishop, who probably thought that a minor canon was hardly great enough to set all church laws at defiance, decided against him—and the world (for the world is proverbially ill-natured) made many uncivil remarks upon him and his proceedings. We, however, who knew that he could not be far wrong, as he was only following the example of his 'betters,' said nothing. If we *had* spoken at all, we should have commended the zeal and spirit with which he had trodden in episcopal footsteps, and an instance has just occurred which would have amply justified our praise.

"All those newspapers and other publications which put themselves forward as pre-eminently religious, which declare that they have especially at heart the spiritual welfare of the people, and which look down on the rest of the press as distressingly secular, if not profane, set up a universal shout of gratulation when the Rev. Charles Baring was appointed to the bishopric of Gloucester and Bristol. It will not be needful to enter into an examination of those points of doctrine which won for him their golden opinions. With his doctrines his practice was understood to correspond, and above all he was cited as a moral man of high conscientious principle. He was no self-seeker, it was the advancement of the Church and not his own that he cared for, and the world was now to see the example of a prelate whom the apostles themselves might approve. We joined in this laudation no more than in the previous censure. It appeared perfectly natural that a man with high political connexions should rise high in the Church, and in the close relationship of the new bishop to the First Lord of the Admiralty, and to many other equally powerful persons, the discerning eye would find a more probable cause for preferment than in any conceivable amount of learning, virtue, and piety. Nor should we refer to it now, but since his elevation we are told that he must have £8,000 in lieu of a palace, inasmuch as that which was inhabited by Bishop Monk is sadly out of repair, and is moreover so princely in its lands and character as to be inconsistent with the reduced resources of the episcopate. But why did the late incumbent of the see allow it to become out of repair? He was a very rich man, for his personality amounted to nearly £140,000, and he had this splendid palace rent free. Surely he ought to have kept it in order. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners would have been perfectly justified in saying to the newly-appointed bishop—We cannot put your lordship into the possession of Stapleton Palace, because we intend to sell it, as unsuitable for the episcopal residence; but we will call upon the representatives of Dr. Monk to pay what may be due for dilapidations, and we will make you an allowance that you may provide yourself with a residence, till the time comes when by the sale of Stapleton we may furnish you with one for a permanence. There would have been, we say, no impropriety in this, for a bishop must be housed as well as a curate; and even those who contend that a feudal castle, with an extensive park and an array of gamekeepers, is not necessary for a Christian prelate, would not, therefore, keep him without a roof over his head. But instead of any procedings such as these, the application is made to the Ecclesiastical Commission to furnish at once the large sum mentioned above.

"Now it has been one of the greatest errors into which this commission has fallen, that whereas they were to equalise bishoprics and increase poor livings, they have done as little as possible towards the one, and scarcely anything towards the other. They have arranged matters that sees which ought respectively to have been worth £8,000 and £4,500 have been really worth £20,000 and £12,000. Nor was this all, for if a thousand per annum were taken from a bishop, £25,000 have been spent in either purchasing, rebuilding, or restoring a palace for him; and thus what was taken from the sees with one hand was kindly given back to them with the other. All this while the poor vicars and perpetual curates were expected to look on with loving admiration, and to wait with Christian patience till all the palaces were finished, and all the parks stocked, and all the revenues furnished for the 'superior order.' But alas, this happy moment has not yet arrived. Each daily paper brings its sad contribution to the catalogue of distress among the 'inferior clergy.' Now we hear of a curate, after forty years' labour on sixty pounds per annum, laid by with a painful and fatal disease, and having paid another clergyman for a long time to do those offices for which he was no longer capacitated, he is dismissed from his curacy and must probably die in a workhouse. There is no commission for him to apply to, to give him a retiring pension: the unfortunate man never was rich enough to entitle him to such a provision as this.—'To him that hath shall be given,'—while 'from him that hath not shall be taken away even that which he seemeth to have'—awful words, which appear to have a literal fulfilment in the stipends of the clergy. Every enactment seems to make the rich, richer; and the poor, poorer!

"But it will be said a curate cannot be taken under the care of the commission, he must depend on his rector and his bishop. Are there then no vicars—no perpetual curates—even are there no rectors steeped in as deep distress and penury as this unhappy curate! We shall soon find them—as one of our cotemporaries observes, 'like Lazarus, cured by dogs, and comforted with crumbs.' Let him appeal then—surely they will not allow his cry to pass unheeded: 'wait, my lord, a little longer for your palace—you can with your £5,000 a-year surround yourself with all the comforts, all the luxuries, all the splendours of life. This poor man is dying, dying under circumstances of the greatest penury and privations; his education was equal to yours, his exertions have been not less strenuous, his abilities are possibly not inferior; but his home is cheerless, his children are uneducated, and he himself is clothed in the cast-off garments of a charitable layman.' This is no fancy portrait, but were such a picture presented to these commissioners, and were they urged to act upon the representations thus made, is there any chance that they would do so? Would not their practical reply be, why do you molest us with your stories about Lazarus—do you not see that Dives wants a new dining-room?"

ARCHDEACON DENISON.

Before the close of this month, this case, the most important by many degrees which has been tried in the Church

Courts, will be decided. The Archdeacon has been declared in the wrong, and if he do not amend his error before the 21st inst., he will be removed from his position and dignity in the Church. Were this all, it would be a matter of little real consequence; for though we are quite willing to agree with his friends that he is an active, learned, and zealous man, and far from disposed to call his piety in question; yet the loss of one man, however distinguished, will be very slight compared with the effects which will follow his deposition. It must be remembered that he does not stand alone; there is a very large party who declare that not only is Archdeacon Denison's teaching in accordance with Scripture, but it is in substance the same as that which has at all times been exhibited by the wisest and most renowned doctors of the English Church, from the time of the Reformation downwards. This party is numerous, active, wealthy, zealous, and comprises a considerable number of the dignitaries of the Church. We do not for a moment suppose that the Archdeacon will or can retract, neither can the Archbishop; so that, so far as the primate's sentence is concerned, Archdeacon Denison may be looked upon as already deprived. Now supposing this sentence to take effect; some hundreds, if not thousands, of clergymen must resign their benefices, for they have been for years teaching exactly what the Archdeacon is deprived for teaching. Granting, too, which is humiliating enough to grant, that in numberless cases they would and will be silent—quietly modify their tone and sail with the stream—yet, in many instances, there will be hearers ready enough to pounce upon them and drag their heresy, as it will then have been decided to be, to the light of day, so that they will be obliged either to retract or resign. We, for our own parts, fully agree with the Primate, and differ from the Archdeacon; but we cannot look forward without apprehension to such a disruption as the execution of this sentence will give rise to. The more closely we study the articles and the formularies of our Church, the more are we convinced that it was never the intention of the Reformers to make the basis of admission a narrow one; that they meant to exclude Popery and all popish doctrine is self-evident; but they as evidently accepted themselves, or looked on at least as admissible, much that is now called Popish. The differences of opinion between Ridley and Hooper, Jewell, Whittaker and Grindall, will be sufficient to show this. We do not now speak of the divinity of the seventeenth century, a great part of which—and that portion, too, which has been commonly looked upon as most valuable—must be at once thrown overboard, including the writings of Lancelot Andrewes; but we confine our observations at present to the divinity of the Reformation, that embodied in the volumes put forth by the Parker Society, and we have no hesitation in saying, that from those volumes Archdeacon Denison might successfully defend his cause, were it to be decided by such authority. Their theology seemed to be capable of a mathematical definition thus:—their line was limited towards A (Rome), but unlimited towards B (Geneva); they even went so far as to admit into full communion with themselves, and to licence and institute to cures in the Church, persons who had never received Episcopal ordination; they never attempted to re-ordain them, but called Presbyterian ordination "the laudable custom of foreign churches." Now, indeed, the line has become limited towards Geneva also; but as it yet stretches far enough to admit Mr. Gorham, it might, without undue tension, admit Archdeacon Denison also. The question is not whether of the two be right, but whether the Church intends that the basis of communion should be so narrow as to take in only one, and that one Mr. Gorham. This conclusion is one to which we very seriously demur. We wish a broad basis, and that within wide limits, the appeal should be, not to church discipline, but to theological argument. It was on this ground that we objected to the tyrannical and unconstitutional course pursued towards Professor Maurice: we differed from him strongly on many points, but we were not the less satisfied that he was unfairly and arbitrarily deprived of his post. The differences between Maurice, Gorham, and Denison are not matters for legal adjudication, but for legitimate controversy.

Archdeacon Denison seems himself to have mistaken—and for so acute and learned a man to have very strangely mistaken, if, indeed, it *be really* a mistake unconsciously made—the true grounds on which his defence rests. He appeals to the Scriptures, and offers to prove that what he has been teaching may be proved by most certain warrant of Holy Writ: and because the Archbishop very properly refuses to admit this appeal he throws up his defence. Strategetically, of course, he is right in this; it is throwing a mist about the controversy, and putting the Primate apparently in the wrong, and, moreover, just in a way in which it is unpopular to be in the wrong. "You," he virtually exclaims, "who profess such an extraordinary value and reverence for Scripture—

you who maintain that your own desire is to purge the Church from all unscriptural doctrine—you refuse to permit an appeal to that very Scripture; by your own showing, therefore, the Church, as you would limit it, cannot bear the scriptural test." Thus Archbishop Sumner, by this clever manœuvre, is made to appear as the impugner of Scripture and the opponent of the sixth article, while Archdeacon Denison stands forth as the supporter of the one and the defender of the other.

We must, however, clear away a little of this mist. The question in dispute is not whether the Denison doctrine is conformable to Scripture or not, but whether it be conformable to the Articles of the Church. The Archdeacon has sworn to receive those Articles as conveying and interpreting the sense of Scripture; by that oath he is qualified to retain his present preferments. If he now be proved to have violated his ordination engagements, and to teach doctrines contrary to those Articles, then, be he right or be he wrong, he is no longer qualified to be a minister and dignitary of the Church. It is not the Church of England which is put upon her trial, as Mr. Denison would adroitly represent, but the Archdeacon of Taunton; and even if he could prove to the satisfaction of all sound thinkers, that every sermon of his was supported by "most certain warrant of Holy Scripture,"—yet if, at the same time, the Rev. Joseph Ditcher would show that such sermons were opposed to the teaching of the Articles—then the Archdeacon's deprivation would follow as a perfectly legitimate consequence, even though its results proved the necessity of a new Reformation. We must not by these remarks be understood as expressing any objection, in the abstract, to testing a doctrine by Scripture, still less of agreeing to the scripturality of the doctrines in question; but simply of pointing out what the real question at issue is, and preventing a very skilful stratagem from substituting for it another and a widely different one. Nobody knows better than the Archdeacon that the test to which he wishes to refer the disputed point is, the Bible as interpreted by himself in lieu of the Bible as interpreted by the Articles. No one knows better than he does that there never was yet a doctrine proposed for acceptance among professing Christians so absurd, but that it was contended in its favour that it might be proved from Scripture; and hence arises the necessity that an organised and visible church should have some standard of interpretation. These are propositions which Archdeacon Denison would be the last man to deny, and they, if carried out to their legitimate consequences, entirely overthrow his appeal to Scripture.

There is another point to which it will be well that we should call attention, "*pendente lite.*" If the Archbishop's sentence should take effect, a large, a very large, number of clergymen, whose doctrines, as we candidly admit, we hold to be extremely erroneous, will either be ejected or will retire from the ministry of the Church. After making allowance for those who will take the vicar of Bray for their model, and recant openly or silently as the case may be, for those who will never be called in question at all, and for those who will, according to an early tradition of tractarian theology, hold the Articles, or indeed anything else in a *non-natural* sense: after making large allowance for all these, there will remain some hundreds of zealous and upright men who will, in all probability, leave the ministry of the Church. Whispers of a "Free Church of England" are already vaguely circulating; and should such an idea take root and be carried into effect, the question would soon arise, would the "Free Church" be Catholic or Popish? Would it take in Maurice, Gorham, and Denison, Sir Culling Eardley and Baptist Noel? or would it take only that peculiar section to which the Archdeacon himself belongs? In the former case it might be the means of bringing about results of an encouraging character; in the latter case it would expire. We have thrown out these points for serious consideration, at what, we believe, may be a most momentous crisis in our Church's history. At the same time we are by no means satisfied that the sentence which must now be pronounced will stand. It will certainly be appealed against, and may not impossibly be reversed. In this case we shall have another series of evils. The authority of the Archbishop in the Church will become *nil*, and his personal influence be almost entirely destroyed. The Romanizing party will claim a great and signal victory, and a large defection will very likely take place from the evangelical ranks. The effects in this case would, perhaps, be worse than in the former. The Church would lose men in whom the laity have great confidence, and whom she could ill spare at the present juncture; Tractarianism would obtain a marked and, we may be sure, a well-improved advantage; and should a "Free Church" be established by evangelical seceders, we may be equally sure that it will be constructed on as narrow a basis as possible. Whatever turn events may take, our Church has reached a crisis in her history, and it is manifestly the duty of all who love her to take their places boldly, to speak out earnestly, and, above all, to pray that the great Head of the Church may guide her safely through the perils which environ her.

SALE OF POISONS.

Much has been recently written and said about the loose way in which poisonous drugs are permitted to be sold, and the carelessness of chemists and druggists as to the persons whom they allow to make up prescriptions. It is scarcely possible now to take up a paper without finding some new case of death through poison, either improperly sold, or else taken or administered by mistake. In consequence of these lamentable events some regulations have been made as to the sale of arsenic; and probably no druggist would venture to sell strychnine, or antimony, without knowing to whom, and for what purpose he was vending it. But when it is considered that there are hundreds of poisons—and, in fact, that *all medicine is poison,* it will become clear that no means short of shutting up every druggist's shop in the country would be sufficient to prevent all sale of poisons. All the mineral acids in small doses; all the vegetable acids in rather larger ones; all preparations of arsenic, antimony, copper, lead, and mercury, are capable of destroying life; and many of these, if not all, are in constant use in the arts and manufactures. Here occurs a real difficulty. The substances commonly used as poisons, may be permitted only to be sold under certain restrictions; and those who require them for legitimate purposes, will know how to obtain what they want. Some regulation may be made as to the persons deemed qualified to make up medicines, and thus many such errors as substituting "black drop" for "black draught," oxalic acid for Epsom salts, arsenic for mercury, may be prevented; still mistakes will sometimes occur, and no care can altogether prevent them. This is, however, no reason why every care should not be taken to make them as few and as unimportant as possible; and we would recommend that chemists should all undergo an examination, that they should be regularly licensed, and that no one without a license should be permitted to sell those articles, which, however necessary to art, science, and manufacture, may yet be employed to destroy life. Such a measure would operate beneficially in more ways than one: it would secure well-qualified persons as chemists, and thereby lessen the chances of mistakes, by the very fact that the individuals in question were so qualified, and it would render them extremely careful, because in case of death happening, or any frightful accident occurring through their negligence, there would be but small probability of their license being renewed.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF VICE.

THIS society, one whose usefulness none can dispute, has been recently involved in some difficulties. Its officers had made one of their periodical razzias into Holywell-street, and similar abodes of abomination, and had carried off a large quantity of the pernicious ware, which is the staple of that miserable locality. That many of those proceedings are illegal in themselves is clear; but the reply to this objection may possibly be, "game laws do not apply to vermin," "if we see a viper we do not first ask the constable whether we may dispatch him:" and so, because the wretched pariahs who get a degraded living by a foul and demoralising traffic, are, in fact, morally speaking, vipers and vermin, it is forgotten that *they* are nevertheless British subjects, and that *we* are violating the principles of the British constitution. However, we pass over this question: they are not likely to find advocates, even if they be unconstitutionally treated. The Society made, in the person of one of its officers a great mistake: it took the law into its own hands, selected some persons to proceed against, and, with equal proofs of guilt against others, allowed them to continue unmolested. They must watch carefully over the proceedings of its officers, or the public will lose confidence in it; and we should, on many grounds, lament to see this.

THE EDUCATIONAL MOVEMENT.

THE late discussions on the retirement of the Bishops of London and Durham, have turned the attention of the public to the inconvenience arising to a diocese from the temporary suspension of episcopal functions. This is most surely felt by the promoters of parochial education, when under the personal superintendence and sanction of the diocesan. Wherever the promoters of the education of the poor in remote parishes have been ably supported by their metropolitan, they are doomed to regret the postponement of important measures when he is unable to animate them by his spirit, and to lead them by his example. Allusion was made by Lord Derby, in the course of debate, to the illness of the Diocesans of York and Norwich; but we are happy to report that his Grace the Archbishop of York is gradually recovering, and will, we trust, be speedily restored to his accustomed activity. Meanwhile, we have to lament the postponement of the EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, which it was intended to hold at York during last July, under his Grace's presidency. At all times such postponements are undesirable; but in the present instance they become very discouraging. For during the episcopate of the present metropolitan, the greatest activity in building schools, training teachers, and supplying church education, has prevailed throughout Yorkshire; the clergy, who have been appointed by the two diocesans of York and Ripon, have been remarkably zealous; and the landlords and influential laity have done much to further the educational efforts of these "Fathers in Christ." Individual agency had accomplished much, but the necessity for *combined action* became singularly apparent. Both landlords and clergy needed a centre of union, so that deficiencies of schools, in number and character, might be pointed out, and funds raised for the improvement and extension of the Church's teaching in poor and neglected districts. It was hoped that the proposed public conference would have assembled the owners of property, and the earnest self-denying workers in the cause; and that when the facts were laid before them, including partial success, numerous requirements, and ascertained deficiencies, the churchmen of the county would display their Christian liberality by subscribing largely, and rejoicing the hearts of the distant working clergy, whose schools are languishing for want of funds. The permanent Board of Education has, however, procured returns of great value from each of the three archdeaconries; discussions of a very interesting character have arisen at preliminary meetings; and every preparation is made for "better times," which are ardently hoped for. The diocesan inspectors have been diligently occupied in preparing a catalogue of suitable books, maps, and apparatus, which they recommend for the use of scholars, pupil-teachers, masters and mistresses; so that the best appliances for mental, moral, and religious training may be placed within the reach of the school managers of the great county of York. The tabulated reports of schools inspected in Yorkshire by the Government inspectors have lately been circulated, and these bear witness to the indefatigable exertions of the clergy and other school managers, who have to contend against a variety of drawbacks almost beyond their control.

VAGRANCY.

Some poor men out of work were lately so unfortunate as to seek for it at Halifax, and we extract from a northern cotemporary the following account of the result of their application:—

"Mr. Farnall, the Poor Law Inspector, has been favouring the Poor Law Guardians with his humane sentiments on vagrancy. And although the Mayor did not think that they ought to commit men to prison who have committed no offence, the poor-law official holds different sentiments. He thinks that vagrancy itself is an offence, and working men are to be considered as such when they are away from home in search of work. The guardians are to ask the magistrates 'to commit every one of these vagrants;' and the doors of the workhouse are not to be opened to them, '*upon any consideration.*' Their poverty is boldly avowed to be a crime, and in the eye of the sharp official the refusal of the shelter of a poorhouse for a single night to a houseless, honest artizan out of employment, foot sore, weary, and almost hopeless, is not to be endured. Better far make the application for admission a proof of vagrancy and send the poor wretch, who has the audacity to be hungry and destitute, to the treadmill for three months. Still this is only in accordance with our much-valued institutions. The law of vagrancy is a disgrace to the age. It is, in the hands of active officers, a ready-reckoner for the guage of any stray customer they may meet. A poor stranger has only to be found without visible means of obtaining a subsistence, and to be in the eye of the police (whose duty it is to suspect everybody and everything) 'a suspected person wandering abroad with intent to commit a felony,' and the law adjudges him to be guilty of 'being suspected' and he must atone for his poverty in prison. Enlightened England of the nineteenth century, what will future ages think of thee?"

Literature of the Quarter.

Danielism; or, the Development of the Religion of the "Son of Man" for the Western Nations, which is to supersede and to supplant the Traditions of Eastern Origin, as predicted by the Prophet Daniel, in the 2nd, 7th, 8th and 12th chapters of his Prophecies, which are fully and literally unravelled, verse by verse, by the Unraveller. London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co. 1856.

Very few students of prophecy will feel inclined to take up the views of this author, who somewhat presumptuously calls himself the "*Unraveller;*" but as far wilder interpretations have found favour, and do still continue to find favour, among many who are called wise and learned expounders of divine truth, we shall allow the author therefore space to detail some of his notions, which are at least ingenous and not without a certain plausibility:—

"The reader is presented in this place with a condensed summary of the three visions, and the four prophecies which apply to the 'LATTER DAYS.' They will be found in full detail in their proper place, in the order in which they appear, chapter following chapter, and verse following verse. The prophecy contained in the 9th chapter, the vision in the 10th and the prophecy in the 11th chapter are omitted, the first being fulfilled by the mission of the 'SON OF MAN,' and for the second and third, the prophet has announced 'THAT THE APPOINTED TIME WAS LONG,' an expression which, placed in juxta-position with that of the 'LATTER DAYS,' conveys the meaning that the time having reference to these two prophecies is posterior to that which is applicable to the 'LATTER DAYS.'

"THE FIRST VISION is found in 2nd chap. 31 to 35 verses.

"THE FIRST PROPHECY is found in 2nd chap. 38 to 48 verses.

"THE SECOND VISION is found in 7th chap. 1st to 14 verses.

"THE SECOND PROPHECY is found in 7th chap. 15 to 28 verses.

"THE THIRD VISION is found in 8th chap. 1st to 14 verses.

"THE THIRD PROPHECY is found in 8th chap. 15 to 27 verses.

"THE FOURTH AND LAST PROPHECY is contained in 12th chap.

"The 'FIRST VISION' predicts the downfall of popery, typified by the figure of the beast; and the prophet foretells that the beast shall be smitten and broken in pieces, and be substituted by pure religion, which shall triumph and be established.

"The 'FIRST PROPHECY' has general reference to the people of the four quarters of the globe, and special reference to the people of America, the character of whom, both of North America and South America, the prophet minutely describes. It is a wonderful fact, that the continent of America was utterly unknown in the days of the prophet, although he signally foretells the change in the distribution of human power, which, in the latter days, was to pass from the Eastern to the Western nations.

"The 'SECOND VISION' again particularises, with wonderful truthfulness and originality, the people of the four quarters of the earth. The reader cannot fail to be astonished at the literal verification of facts relating to Asia and its idols; the present condition of Africa and of the slave trade; the dominion of the four powers allotted to Europe; and the destiny which awaits the people of America, who are to subdue, by the influence of their institutions, the people of the old continents. They are also to establish a new dispensation dedicated to the 'ANCIENT OF DAYS,' before whom thrones are to be cast down, and the beast of popery is to be slain, thus foretelling the dissolution of despotic institutions and the destruction of priestcraft, as a part of popish machinery.

"The 'SECOND PROPHECY' returns to a description of the Anglo-Saxon people of America, who are destined to possess a moral power, qualifying them to overrule and give the law to all other people. The prophet again announces the title and dominion of the 'ANCIENT OF DAYS,' whose development is to be subsequent to that derived from the 'SON OF MAN.'

"The 'THIRD VISION' has especial reference to the epoch during which the dominion of popery is to exercise its despotic sway over the nations of the earth, typified by the figure of the 'RAM WITH TWO HORNS,' which came from the East, until such time as it was attacked by the Reformation, typified by the He-goat with one horn, which came from the West, and which smote the Roman ram, and brake its horns. But the reformed horn of the He-goat is also to be broken, in consequence of its retaining a part of the priestcraft machinery of popery, or of the beast which is to be destroyed, and is to yield its place to the little horn of knowledge, which is to grow up and be exceeding great over all the quarters of the earth. The precise date for the fulfilment of these events by the establishment of religious unity is foretold.

"The 'THIRD PROPHECY' again describes the attack made by the reforming He-goat on the Popish Ram. But the most remarkable prediction in this prophecy is that of the appearance of MAHOMET, and of the rise, progress, termination and disappearance of the Mahommedan religion, which is to be 'broken without hand,' meaning thereby, that it should discard its errors and amalgamate with the new development of the 'ANCIENT OF DAYS.'

"The FOURTH AND LAST PROPHECY announces that man shall inherit a future life, accompanied by a state of retributive reward. It foretels the extraordinary power, influence and destiny awaiting the people of the Anglo-Saxon race. It predicts the fulfilment of the epoch denominated 'THE TIME, TIMES AND A HALF,' and the 'DIVIDING OF TIME.' It fortels the precise date at which the beginning of the end of the Beast of Popery shall take effect; also that for the cessation of altar service, or of the 'ABOMINATION OF

DESOLATION,' and of compulsory religious money payments. It likewise foretels the precise date for the fulfilment of the 'UNIVERSAL BLESSING OF RELIGIOUS UNITY.'"

The author then refers to the prophecy contained in the ninth chapter, which he maintains to be fulfilled by the mission and ministry of the Son of Man; and after a prediction of the conquest of China by the Anglo-Saxon race, he thus speaks concerning America—Colonization—Church and State, and Democracy:—

"Each youthful colony, as it successively rears its head, is prepared to cast off the trammels of monarchical and sacerdotal government, and with the vigour of a young giant to stand alone.

"The eldest of these is found in the people who are the occupants of the vast domains comprised in the United States of America and in Canada. Their destiny is manifest. The possessors of a fertile territory, greater in its extent than that of Russia, whose political institutions secure to every citizen the broadest principles of personal freedom and administrative influence, are at the same time imbued with an unmistakable opposition to all power derived from monarchical, oligarchical and sacerdotal combinations.

"These people, whose population will soon outnumber that of China, are destined to inoculate the Old Nations with the spirit of their free institutions, and to emancipate them from arbitrary power, which is the source from whence is derived the spiritual and material domination of CHURCH AND STATE.

"One of the first acts of power destined to be exercised by this 'IRON PEOPLE OF THE NORTH' (Daniel 7 chap. 19 verse) is the devouring and utter extinguishing the Clay people on the southern part of their continent. The people of Mexico are doomed, and both they and the Spanish races of the southern continent are destined to amalgamate, or to disappear in the same manner that the red races have disappeared, on account of their unfitness for amalgamation."

The view which he takes on these subjects he carries out further, thus:—

"The observer will next direct his attention to that section of the Anglo-Saxon race previously spoken of, who have commenced to populate the extensive lands which overspread the Southern Pacific Ocean. They are now the possessors of two islands, whose united surface is greater than that of the continent of Europe. This large territory, situated between parallels which extend from the tropical to the temperate zones, enjoy that peculiarity of climate which is especially favourable for the propagation of the human species, so that the population of Australia and New Zealand are destined to be multiplied with a rapidity surpassing even that of America.

"Placed at a distance from the parent state, beyond the limits of monarchical, oligarchical or sacerdotal influences, the rising population of these rich territories are following in the steps of their Western relatives, in establishing those wise self-governing institutions, which are best calculated to promote their domestic and political welfare. And it needs no great power of divination to foretell that the circuit of one or two centuries will suffice to place these people as masters over the vast extent of the Polynesian Archipelago.

"Succeeding generations are destined to be the witnesses of the removal of the black and yellow races of Polynesia, in the same manner and from the operation of the same causes which are effecting the removal of the red races in America. One of the clearest manifestations of the workings of Providence is the indisputable operation of the 'Law of Progress,' and this law manifestly enjoins the removal of those who, from inferior organisation, are morally and physically unfitted to amalgamate with civilisation.

"We have seen that the red race in America is in the act of removal, and that the yellow and black races of Asia have commenced to be removed; and in pursuance of the 'Law of Progress,' the observer will point to the proximate extinguishment of the black race of Africa.

"The Anglo-Saxon population of Southern Africa are destined to surge northwards from the Cape of Good Hope, over the vast surface of that continent, without encountering any opposing obstacle, until the southern boundary of the 'Great Desert' shall command a halt. The prodigious sources of mineral and vegetable wealth which abound in Central and Southern Africa, will then be opened out for the benefit of the civilised world. Here again succeeding generations will recognise the workings of Providence in the 'Law of Progress.' Of the old but unimproveable black race, a population of international slaves, all who are unfitted to amalgamate shall most certainly disappear.

"These are the stupendous workings appointed for the 'LATTER DAYS,' for the improvement of the people of the earth. They are written in the book of Destiny, and must be fulfilled by means of the people of the West.

"All honour to the 'OMNIPOTENT POWER,' whose overruling will has, for the wisest of purposes, confided these changes to the hands of a 'CHOSEN PEOPLE,' who, placed at the head of civilisation, are competent to fulfil their high mission, and to work out the 'Law of Progress.'"

The idea is a curious one and is carried out with considerable skill.

Rationale of Justification by Faith. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co. 1856.

We are often presented with sermons, and, occasionally, with treatises on this most important doctrine, but we have never yet met with one so clear and philosophical as the present. The author, so far as his views prevail, will render the evangelical body a great service by rendering it more liberal; but he must be prepared by every kind of obloquy on the part of many, for putting forth such doctrines as the following:—

> "We should be doing the grossest injustice to Christianity, were we to say that it limits the benefit of the atonement to the numerically insignificant portion of the human race, who apprehend the principles involved in Christ's death, in that complete state of development, in which they live in the thoughts of a Christian theologian. Millions of our race are fed by the bounty of heaven, who have very inadequate notions of the divine existence and character; so millions, both in christian and heathen lands, participate in the blessings of the cross, who have no more than a glimmering conception of the source from which those blessings flow. Nor is this remark to be confined to such fruits of our Saviour's passion as depend, for their enjoyment, in no way upon ourselves. There is, in the universe of mind, as in the physical universe, the first ray of twilight and the full blaze of meridian splendour, and, between these two opposite extremes there are a million advancing stages of spiritual illumination. 'In every nation, he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him,'—such is the great catholic apostolic maxim approved of by natural conscience, and the truth whereof all religious and ethical systems acknowledge and confirm. This maxim implies that no man can, anywhere or under any circumstances, be acceptable to God, who is not sincerely and earnestly working out of his conscience the problem of his duty, and acting under its promptings with the design of, thereby, securing Heaven's approval. And, further, if the efforts of the sincere conscience to work out its salvation by a necessarily imperfect obedience, be baffled, as they always will be, by the impossibility of attaining thereby mental quiet, and if it be of the nature of a conscience so baffled to sympathize with the sacrificial principle, and to attract to itself all the information upon that subject within its reach, it follows, that the state of mind indicated by the expression, 'feareth God and worketh righteousness,' involves something more than working out an imperfect righteousness by the observance of precept,—it involves, also, the associate element of groping after a perfect and conscience-satisfying righteousness, through the medium of sacrifice. Now, this groping after an unknown, or an imperfectly-known Christ, is, in reality, the germ of the doctrine of justification by faith; so that there is no true peace of conscience in the world except that which is derived upon principles of which justification by faith is the Christian formula. Such being the state of facts—the sacrificial principle, of which the cross is the type, being adapted to man's moral nature, and justification by faith being the formula which expresses this adaptation—Christianity, it is obvious,

could never have been intended, like Judaism, for one nation and one cycle of time only. It is, from its very constitution, fitted for all nations and all time, and must, naturally and necessarily, ascend to its true position of universal empire, in the exact ratio of man's moral progress. The apostolic heart was but beating in harmony with the pulsations of an expectant world, when, planting the gospel standard and anticipating its triumphs, Paul exultingly exclaimed, 'God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ!' The relations between man and heaven alter not with times and climes. Man stands to God in the relationship of a redeemed sinner, whether in the unknown regions of Central Africa or in favoured Britain. Sincere religion, wherever it exists, must, of necessity, consist of the same elements; the only difference being that thoughts and feelings which, in gloomier lands, have only a stunted growth, yield, under a sunny evangelical sky, a luxuriant frondescence, and clothe the landscape with joyous beauty. Hence, it would be a mistake to describe experimental Christianity as peculiar phenomena of the human mind, never exhibited except under one phase of religious truth: its true character is that of a bolder development of phenomena, which are always, to some extent, exhibited whenever religious truth, natural or revealed, exerts its power. When, therefore, we refer, by way of example, to the peace-giving efficacy of the Christian atonement, we are entitled to treat it as an illustration and proof of the more general position, that the principle of sacrifice has had, through all time, a peace-giving efficacy, varying with the degree of its development and the vividness of its subjective apprehension. Unless the anxieties and thanksgivings of the Christian world be resolvable into imagination and fanaticism,—a conclusion to which no candid and truly philosophic mind can come,—the number of successful experiments evidencing the peace-giving power of the atonement upon the conscience, is not to be reckoned by hundreds or thousands merely, but by myriads. Persons of both sexes, of all ages, of every clime, of every grade in society, of mental and moral constitutions as widely different as any two of the human race can be, and of every degree of intellectual and moral condition, have, on their consciences being aroused, by faith sought refuge in the atonement, and all alike have experienced its power. Hence, the imagination has been taxed for metaphors to express the sentiments with which the cross is regarded. It is that to which the awakened spirit turns instinctively, as the flower to the light; it is the oak, which the ivy clasps with its tendrils; the bridge thrown across the gulf, whereby we pass over; the city of refuge, where alone we can be safe from the avenger; the ark, riding high amid the deluge of waters; the light upon our pathway, flashing as from heaven's opened gates; the golden streams of the aurora, cheering the darkness of a Greenland winter; the polar star to the pathless ocean's voyager, he to whom, like the tremulous needle to the north,—

'The hope of the spirit turns, trembling;'

land-marks, guiding the storm assailed vessel into port; bread to the hungry; water in the desert; the mystic sympathy whereby loving spirits beckon their comrades to the skies; the rock, whereon, amidst the roaring surge of the tempest, our fearless hope is founded; the impregnable fortress, that defies, alike, the battle and the gale; the dawning day, before which the stars fade 'in the light they love.' Of all the emotions of the human heart, to none is Tennyson's metaphor so beautifully applicable, as to love kindled at the cross; no love so spirit-actuating, none so self-sacrificing as love to Christ:—

'Love took up the harp of Life, and smote on all the chords with might;
Smote the chord of Self, that, trembling, pass'd in music out of sight.'"

This is admirahly written, and it is as true as it is beautiful.

The English Bible and its History. A Lecture, delivered in the School-room at Tortworth Court, Gloucestershire, January 23rd, 1854. By the Rev. C. E. Oakley, B.A., Demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Chaplain to the Earl of Ducie. London: Hatchard. 1855.

We shall only extract from this pleasing and instructive lecture an anecdote worth preserving:—

"Early in her reign, (that of Elizabeth), many of the new Protestant bishops (at their head, Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury), undertook another revision of the Bible, which went by the name of the 'Bishop's Bible,' from the number engaged in it. It was published in 1568; and, when finished, the good old prelate said, with Simeon, 'Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace; for mine eyes have seen Thy salvation.' Of this edition I am happy enough to possess a perfect copy, which I greatly regret that I have not here with me to show you to-night. There is a circumstance connected with it, which tells us somewhat of the life of an English gentlewoman of the olden time. In the worn black-letter page which contains the 53rd chapter of Isaiah, detailing, as you must all remember, the prophecy of His sufferings, whose 'visage was marred more than any man,' but whose blood was to 'sprinkle many nations,' there is a rusty iron-moulded stain, made by the folding of the leaves together over a pair of very ancient scissors, evidently laid there as a mark, and so forgotten. Those who are skilled in such matters say, that, from the print left by them, the scissors must have been amongst the earliest introduced or manufactured in England; and, from some deep dents left in the print, probably highly embossed with gold and other ornaments. This Bible, therefore, in all likelihood, belonged to some noble lady in the days of Queen Elizabeth or James I., who, from the notes in the margin, now grown very faint, would seem to have found no less comfort in reading the travail of the Lord on the earth, than did the Ethiopian courtier returning from Jerusalem in

his chariot, when he read this passage in Esaias the prophet, and the Deacon Philip preached Christ unto him."

Earnestness in the Pulpit. A few Hints to the Clergy. By Abdelrachma. London: 1855.

The author of this admirable tract observes that it is "chiefly designed for his younger brethren, to stir up their hearts and quicken their souls to greater earnestness in their pulpit ministrations. But should it fall into hands of more matured experience, and rally the energies of mellower years, to burnish up their armour in the loved and honoured service of the best of Masters, to God alone be all the praise."

The following observations are well worthy of consideration:—

"The matter of a sermon may be excellent; the language classical; every period rounded; every sentence correct; with a voice as soft and musical as the rippling brook; but if there be no gush of feeling, no roused emotion, no earnest look; if all seems still and passionless within; he may be a good man, sound in faith, but he grievously wrongs himself by *appearing* to have neither faith nor interest in what he preaches. Thus, without emotion himself, he cannot excite it in others, and manifesting no feeling while preaching on the solemn realities of eternity, no wonder his words fall like the flaky snow, beautiful but cold.

"The subjects which are proper to the sacred ministry, are such as demand the deepest earnestness: coldness or indifference are exceedingly out of character in the pulpit. And this demand arises, not only from the dignity and importance of the subjects, but also the nature of the work, the difficulties to be overcome, the enmity of the human heart to be subdued, and the soul in its deadly revolt to be won back to God, to holiness, and heaven. It is true that no amount of earnestness can succeed without the influence of God's Holy Spirit, and equally true that God is not restricted to any particular instrumentality. But the question is, not what God can do, but what He is pleased to do; for the same argument would dispense with preaching altogether. The most earnest preacher, if a right minded man, feels his dependence on God's Holy Spirit as much as the weakest. And will it be affirmed that the smooth philosophic preacher, with his cold intellectual style, has been more richly blessed in the work of converting souls than the earnest feeling preacher, with less logic, but more heart.

"But we are told by the admirers of a high intellectual style, that we must come up to the requirements of the age: be it so, we reply, with all our heart. However, if there is one thing more than another, in which the present age presents a high and pressing demand upon the pulpit, it is for a bold, vigorous, and earnest style of preaching. This is the tone of the public mind, and the only one tolerated in other spheres of business; such as the senate, the bar, the exchange, or the great thoroughfares of trade and commerce. In every class of the nation, from the peer to the mechanic, the minds of men are strung to a high and intense tone. And under such circumstances can we expect that cold, soul-less, pointless discourses, supinely delivered, will meet the requirements of the age, or concentrate round the pulpit the attention of a listening congregation. If earnestness and energy respond to the universal call, and meet the public mind in every department of the walks of life, can they be left out of the pulpit without serious detriment to the cause of truth? I am willing therefore to endorse the cry, 'the clergy must come up to the requirements of the age.' Only of this I am convinced, it is not by the puerile refinement of sentimentalism; nor by decorating their altars with flowers, and garnishing their churches with faded robes of medieval popery: nor yet again is it by a display of learned intellectuality, clear statements of abstract truth, the cool professorial science of theology, or the mere didactic delivery of familiar precepts. No, we may have deep science, profound learning, and the flash and the blaze of oratory, but if the pulpit is to command the mind of the masses, we must have heart and feeling, earnestness and energy, faithfulness and truth."

How full of deep and solemn meaning is the following passage:—

"Preparation for the pulpit does not consist in mere reading and study; there is the solemn and holy frame of feeling; the attuning of the mind; the lifting up of the heart in calm communion with God; and the waiting of the soul under the mercy-seat. The preacher must get strength for the pulpit; where is he to find it? He may have strength of intellect and a voice of thunder, but pulpit strength is only to be found by waiting on God. Without this the preacher has no spiritual force, he stands in the pulpit like the pendulum that swings when the motive power is removed; he preaches, but it is cold and laboured; he exhorts or warns, but it is artificial; he tries to kindle emotion, but it is a faint flicker which sinks the deeper for the effort. O, my brethren, if we would not stand in the pulpit with a feeble arm, a faltering lip, and a stammering tongue; if we would have the power and unction of the Holy Spirit, we must renew our strength in the closet, and gird on our armour in the shade of the cross.

"These are strange times, is a trite saying; and yet, perhaps, rarely more applicable than at the present day. The conflict between truth and error is revived under new phases: the assaults of the latter assume varied and complex forms, from the open glare of infidelity to the most refined and insiduous undermining; the weapons of finest edge and highest temper, being forged in classic halls of venerable fame. There sage professors, as master spirits, sit, guiding and maturing a complicated plan, dark, deep, and grand, to lower the standard of *revealed* religion, and overthrow the citadel of gospel truth. In those mingled ranks are to be found men of opposite opinions, grasping at their own peculiar ends, only bound by the common sentiment of contempt for the pure Gospel of Christ. The devoted admirer of Popery would destroy the characteristic features of our noble Protestantism; the sceptic aims at undermining the inspiration of the Bible; the philosopher attempts to correct and improve the writings of Moses; while another with the flag of Protestantism floating over his head, casts the Old Testament into an alembic, in order to extract some shreds of truth which he courteously admits it contains. But however varied their special objects may be, their united aim and dark design are against the pedestal of supremacy, on which the Book of God has long sustained, invulnerable, the onslaught of open foes and pretended friends."

The Holy Bible: containing the Old and New Testaments, now translated from Corrected Texts of the Original Tongues, and with the former Translations diligently compared; together with a General Introduction and short Explanatory Notes. By B. Boothroyd, D.D. London: Partridge and Co. 1853.

This book has been for some time before the public, and we take this opportunity of calling attention to its merits, because we have lately devoted a considerable portion of our space to the examination of the present authorized version. Dr. Boothroyd's labours are highly praiseworthy, and we candidly admit that on the the whole they have been successful also. We shall just give the reader an idea of the peculiarities of this version, and then proceed to point out some omissions and errors. The version proceeds on the paragraph principle, having the numbering of the verses at the sides. The proper names are translated in brackets in the text, and the meanings are printed in small capitals—a valuable addition. The version itself does not wantonly depart from the old and venerable one so long authorized, but only when the author of the present one thinks the more ancient either incorrect or inadequate. Thus he rightly defends David from the charge of cruelty against the inhabitants of Rabbah, showing that so far from the king of Israel putting them to torture by means of harrows of iron, and axes of iron, and fire, the sacred historian merely means that he reduced them to a state of slavery, and put them to work with instruments of iron such as those described. We should have been glad if a similar and correct view had been taken of the closing scene of the psalmist-king's life, and if we had been informed that he confirmed instead of revoked his pardon to Shimei and to Joab. We must also notice the translation of *ἄιωνιος* by "*everlasting*," instead of "*eternal*;" a translation philosophically wrong, and avowedly adopted *instead of* the right one, because it seems to the translator that a correct rendering would call in question the doctrine of everlasting punishments. If Scripture reveals *eternal* punishments, why not be satisfied with them, without wishing to support a doctrine concerning them by wrongly translating God's word, and doing this openly and avowedly. But the defects of this translation are few, and its merits numerous; and it certainly proceeds on a sensible and intelligible plan, which is not the case in all attempts of the kind, and therefore we are glad to see this handsome book published in a form and at a price which will both suit the convenience and meet the means of all ministers of the gospel.

Christian Evidences for the Working Classes. A Lecture on the Authenticity of the Bible, delivered at the Hall of Science, Sheffield. By the Rev. Thomas Kerns, M.D., Secretary to the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews, and late Missionary in Syria. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.

The history of this pamphlet is as follows. Seeing it announced by placards through the town that the anniversary of T. Paine would be celebrated on a certain evening at the "Hall of Science," Dr. Kerns went there, being grieved that his fellow-townsmen, in this land of Bibles and day of privileges, should not only close their eyes on the glorious gospel of Christ, but thus endeavour to propagate the soul-destroying system of that bold despiser of revealed religion.

> "I resolved," he says, "that at least my humble voice should be raised in earnest and affectionate warning, as one who loved their souls, and sought their best interests. I asked and obtained permission of the chairman to address the meeting, and was heard with patient attention for an hour, while I endeavoured to lay before them with all plainness the evils and inconsistencies of infidelity in contrast with the *words of eternal life.* I have since, by request, delivered in the same place, several lectures on the 'Authenticity of the Bible.' The lectures occupy an hour, after which they are at liberty to ask me questions and propose difficulties or objections, which, with my replies, occupy another hour: the whole is conducted with order and decorum."

Here is an argument familiar to the scholar, but never brought so clearly before the minds of the working classes:—

> "We admit that it is quite possible for a man to go into a cave, as Mahommed did, and write a book of pretended revelation, and

assert that it is the production of Moses, written five hundred years before; all this is quite possible. But here we apply the second rule or test, for on coming to examine this book we find it stated therein, that from the time of Moses down to that period, say 500 years, the whole nation of Israel annually observed the institution of the passover; that throughout the families of Israel the paschal lamb was killed on a certain night with appointed ceremonies. If the whole was a forgery, and that the passover had never been heard of before, I ask you what reception would such a forged book meet with from the most moderately intelligent people? Suppose that I had forged a book, in which I affirmed that for the last 500 years the whole nation of England, in their respective families, annually upon a certain night, and in accordance with a religious ceremony, killed a lamb: and yet that the whole story of the lamb and its attendant rites were a mere fiction, of which the English nation had never heard before,—what do you suppose would be the reception of my book? Would not the indignant voice be heard on every side—'Neither we nor our fathers ever practised this annual rite; we never so much as heard of this lamb before, and consequently the whole story is an impudent fraud?' Could any amount of assurance or dexterity on my part succeed in imposing such a gross fraud upon the public? And yet this imposition such men as Thomas Paine suppose to have been successfully practised upon the Jewish nation."

The same idea is well carried out with regard to the miracles of Christ:—

"Allow me now to call your attention to the miracles of the New Testament. And first to the fact that the disciples of Christ, not only state that Christ wrought miracles, but make this statement publicly in the streets of Jerusalem, and further affirm that the men whom they addressed were eyewitnesses of his miracles. It will be admitted that this was a bold step, and one that impostors with a forged story would never attempt. Peter, with the eleven, stood up and said, 'Ye men of Israel, hear these words; Jesus of Nazareth a man approved of God among you by miracles, and wonders, and signs which God did, by him, in the midst of you, *as ye yourselves also know*.' (Acts ii. 22.) If this was a mere fiction, if the history of Christ and his miracles was a forgery or a fable,—then was the moment for a public exposure and condemnation. But, instead of rejecting Peter and his companions as rogues, fools, or madmen, three thousand, on that occasion, set their seal to the truth of his statement. Thus, instead of twelve men we have 3012 testifying to the facts stated. Were I to stand up in the streets of London and in the midst of 3000 men affirm that a certain man had performed several wonderful works of which they were eyewitnesses; and that so far from my statement being contradicted, these 3000 men set their seal to the truth of it, thus voluntarily becoming evidences of the facts,—if human testimony could establish anything, must not my statement, thus confirmed, be admitted? But some may be ready to reply, that if the *historical* parts of the New Testament were substantiated, then no reasonable man could refuse to admit the force of such overwhelming evidence; that if these statements were made before eye-witnesses of the facts; and those historical books published during the same generation, when they might be tested, and that both statements and books were received by the public, who, if the statements were false would have rejected them; then the question is settled."

Speaking of the cumulative evidence of Scripture, Dr. Kerns says:—

"I wish it to be clearly understood that my proposition is not that the Bible may be true, but that having been received under those various and successive circumstances, IT CANNOT BE FALSE. On the supposition that the historical books of the Bible are false, let us see how the case stands. To give you every advantage, we shall allow you to choose your own proposition. Do you affirm that Moses was an impostor, and imposed a mere fiction upon the Hebrew nation; or, that the Books of Moses were forged by writers 500 years after? Which do you prefer? Do not content yourself with carping at little apparent difficulties. Come boldly to the question —*true* or *false*. Let the whole fabric stand or fall by this. You profess to be men of mind and to be guided by reason; come then, let us reason together. On the first supposition,—that Moses was an impostor. He must have succeeded in persuading the Hebrew nation that they had seen miracles in Egypt, marched out of it, saw the waters of the Red Sea divided while they crossed on dry land, eat of miraculously supplied food in the wilderness,—when the whole was an idle fiction; and, passing strange! he deliberately rehearsed these things again (Deuteronomy) before the people: they give their assent. He writes the whole story in five books, and delivers them to the people, who, instead of burning them as mere fictions, place them in the sacred depository of the nation. Do you really believe in your hearts that Moses could possibly befool the people to such an extent? Can you conceive of a similar case in the history of the world? Do you think that you could impose such a cheat upon the Chinese, the Singalese, the Indians, or the Hottentots? Your common sense tells you the thing would be utterly impracticable. Now, if you honestly give up the first supposition, confess that it will not do; that it is better for your cause to deny the existence of Moses altogether than attempt to prove him an impostor."

The other consideration is disposed of with equal ability:—

"Then, feeling that I can afford to be liberal, I shall allow you a second choice, that being the only remaining one on your side—namely, that the books ascribed to Moses were written in his name several hundred years after, say 500 years; and if you consider that it will strengthen your argument, you may deny that there ever existed such a person as Moses. Let us then see how the case stands. These five books [of Moses] appear before the public, at what period is immaterial, but professing to record events which took place 500 years before; but, for the more complete deception, they are written apparently by an eye-witness or contemporary. Now, I do not think Thomas Paine could state your side of the case more favourably. I wish to give it every advantage; and then, if it cannot stand, I trust no reasonable and intelligent man will obstinately cling to it. On examining these books, we find it stated that, to commemorate the deliverance of the nation from Egypt, there was instituted the passover, *i.e.* on a certain night the several families throughout the whole Hebrew nation killed a lamb, and, with specified observances, eat it as a religious institution, and that this was observed annually with a sacred punctuality. Further, these books stated that there were several fasts, feasts, and ordinances observed weekly, monthly, or annually; and, in addition, that a numerous priesthood was established as the priests of the nation, and supported by the nation: that the people brought their sacrifices to these priests, who offered them on the altars in the tabernacle and temple. Now, if the books of Moses are forgeries, all these rites, ceremonies, and institutions must have been heard of for the *first time* when these books appeared, and, therefore, it would be necessary to persuade the people, that they, their fathers, and forefathers habitually observed all these things, of which they had never heard before, and that they supported a numerous order of priests, of whose existence they had never heard."

The following observations about the resurrection are extremely well adapted to the audience:—

"And not only is the fact stated, but the circumstances and persons connected with it are mentioned. Observe the statement which is publicly made in Jerusalem, where fraud might be easily exposed and impudent impostors quickly punished. It is stated, that in consequence of Christ having predicted that he would rise again the third day, the influential Jews obtained from the Governor a guard of Roman soldiers to watch his tomb. It is further stated that this guard of soldiers fled in terror from the sepulchre. Do you suppose that these fishermen of Galilee would dare to fabricate such a story, and openly declare it in Jerusalem, mixing up as it did the Governor and the principal Jews, and reflecting discreditably on the conduct of the military? Dare they trifle with the authorities of the city in such a manner? Could I assert publicly in the streets of London, that the Duke of Wellington sent a military guard on certain duty, which guard were frightened and ran away? And this is what the Apostles are supposed by some to have done, in support of a falsehood; and not only to have escaped punishment, but to have succeeded.

"It is evident that when the Jews took the trouble of setting a guard, they made sure that the body was there: and on the first day of the week the body was missing. Some said one thing and some another, but all agreed that the body was not there.

"Now, on the supposition that there was no resurrection and that there was fraud somewhere, I ask you what part you really believe the Apostles must have taken in the affair? Was it the part of fraud and deception, or of honest enthusiasm? Or, in other words, were they rogues or fools? I thing you will admit that they must have been *either*, unless there was a resurrection of Christ's body. Against the supposition of a fraud on their part we may observe that everything conspired to deter them from so hazardous a scheme. The head and leader of the party had been just put to death as a common malefactor, which must have struck terror into their hearts. They must have seen that the government, the influential Jews, and the populace of Jerusalem, were resolved upon putting down the name and existence of their party. And it does not appear that the Apostles were very brave, for, according to the tastimony of their friends, when Christ was apprehended in the garden, 'they all forsook him and fled.'"

Now we do not quote these passages or cite this lecture as though it presented anything new to the studious reader, but to show how such subjects may be successfully presented to an unlearned and, in many respects, an unpropitious audience.

Christian Family Life. Translated from the German of H. W. J. Thiersch, Doctor of Philosophy and Theology. By J. R. Gardiner, late Student of Christ Church. London: Bosworth and Harrison. 1856.

Mr. Gardiner has done well to give us what he rightly calls a volume of "universal practical interest." It is principally devoted to the two questions of marriage and education. With much that the author says we should hesitate wholly to agree, but of much we willingly admit the great importance. The following observations on marriage as a civil rite are very valuable:—

"Every marriage is in the first place a civil contract; and the temporal government has the right to lay down its conditions. Yet there lies in marriage, even so far as it is common to all men, something higher than in any other contract about earthly things, as being a moral relationship of the most exalted kind.

"Christians may not pass by the marriage law of their own land, since marriage is for them also a civil contract. But they are at the same time bound in conscience to a higher law, which Christ has laid down in His Church. Christian governments may well consider what they do, when they lay down regulations, by which Christians are tempted and led astray to contract marriages, which contradict the commands of Christ.* If marriages are permitted between divorced persons, or too near kindred either by blood or marriage,† the civil authorities alone should take this upon their conscience, but should not demand of a Christian minister that he should share their guilt, and thereby heap upon himself the greater part; for out of his mouth should the law of Christ be sought, and he should be to high and low an undaunted witness for the truth.

"But besides this, every Christian should know, that it is not permitted him to contract a merely civil marriage. Even if the law of the land allows it, his duty as a Christian does not. He cannot descend to a lower grade; he cannot, with impunity, act as though he were a heathen and not a Christian. If he attempts it, he denies Christ, and sells his birthright. When a Christian enters into marriage, he may only do it with the intent of fulfilling the peculiar duties of Christian marriage. If this be his purpose, how can he marry without a Christian benediction? The civil marriage indeed is also valid before God and indissoluble: but it is only the marriage which is blessed in the Church which is furnished with the blessing needful to a Christian life in that state. For where but in the Church should this grace be found?

"He who has contracted a marriage contrary to the laws of Christ, even though it be in ignorance, has thereby drawn down upon his whole life the gloomy shadow, and indelible reproach of denying, and failing to fulfil his Christian calling. But he too who contracts a marriage which is allowed by Christ's law, but does not receive the blessing of the Church upon it, denies Christ, despises his own dignity as a Christian, and makes himself guilty of a neglect, the consequences of which he can never obliterate by any later efforts. Mere civil marriage may, even now, in those places where there is no Christian Church, still, if it be observed with fidelity, stand upon the same honourable grade with morality before the times of Christianity. But the Christian may only enter into marriage with the perception of its highest aim, and with the acceptance of its highest sanction."

The following observations on some religious books, and especially religious novels, are worthy of attention. We must remember, when we read of beer-shops, that it is a German who writes:—

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* In this it is not intended to object to those instances where the civil power approves of civil marriage as the only possible way of escape in particular instances. But we may object to the state of the law when it is such as to invite persons to be content with a civil contract, and to despise the blessing of the Church. So, for instance, the law of 1848, upon the subject in Hesse Cassel, was expounded by certain of the authorities to the common people.

† On affinity by marriage as a hindrance: consult Walter's Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts, § 313. Richter's Lehrbuch des Kirchenrechts, § 258. The principle of the old universal law of marriage, that a man is not allowed to marry his deceased wife's sister, or his brother's widow, is, in consequence of the modern dissolution of marriage laws, and of discipline, vanished from the consciousness, and even from the memory of the Protestant populations of Germany, as is also the case in the United States of North America.

"The Scripture speaks of men who possess 'the form of godliness, but deny the power.' It reckons this condition of spirit amongst the greatest corruptions of the last times, and bids us to shun such men. (2 Tim. iii. 5.) There is no result which is more sad to be imagined, than when an intended religious education makes our children to be such as these.

"Should we not then most carefully keep at a distance in educating them, all which may give cause to such a result? Therefore we will know nothing of those hours of edification, in which the participators are misled to lay bare shamelessly and ostentatiously the inmost sanctuary of their being, by prayer which comes from their hearts at command, and by conversation on their inward experiences, for this is the surest way to destroy all simplicity and strength, to make hollow all good that may have been there, and to grow up into an artificial life of lying, from the entanglements of which it is seldom possible to escape. The writings of the noblest mystics even have something dangerous in them, inasmuch as they open to the day the hidden mysteries of the communion of the soul with God, and give them up to deceptive imitation, and antichristian misuse.*

"Meanwhile, as far as regards the writings of godly authors in old days, we hold a healthy use of them to be very possible, but we have great doubts with respect to a modern class of 'edifying books;' the religious novels.† Their number and the taste for them is on the increase; but far from finding a cause of satisfaction in it, we must recognize therein a notable sign of the prevailing low tone of mind in the religious world. Such books as a succedaneum for the majestically solemn, sound, and powerful activity of the Church, serve to the promotion of a Christianity of artificial feelings, and of powerless phrases. Tales of love, and tales of conversion do not belong to one another. We can rejoice in no popular literature, by which such a mixture is furnished: it will yet more root out from its readers all taste for the dry earnestness of the Catechism. If children are to learn religion in sport, where and when will they learn to distinguish between sport and earnestness? It is only with sorrow and displeasure that we can regard the mass of children's books, collections of songs, calendars, &c., in which jests are mingled with devotion. What can arise from such means of culture, but a generation which imagines its æsthetic diversions to be religion, and at last counts the terrible earnestness of religion to be a diversion. Ball-room and church, or beer-shop and church, do not suit under one roof. If the ball-room and beer-shop are to serve as vestibules to the church, let us look to it, into what kind of church they will lead us.

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* More than a hundred years ago, J. A. Bengel expressed the same fear of the misuse of the writings of the mystics. (J. A. Bengel's Leben and Wirken d; Von Burk. Stuttgart, 1831, 297, 303). Since then it has received a sad confirmation in the rise of the modern pantheistic philosophy.

† An exception must be made in favour of John Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." Yet in reality this is no exception, for that work, so full of deep earnestness and inward experience, which has been the means of so much blessing, is not a religious novel in the modern sense.

"This whole hybrid literature seeks to find its justification, or at least its excuse, because thereby Christian truths reach a circle, from which they would otherwise be excluded. It is the same loose morality which found it good and right to smuggle Bibles into China together with chests of opium. Divine truth has no need of such missions. It will find an entrance in the legitimate way alone, and clad in that seriousness which belongs to it, at the same time simple and overpowering."

Select Works of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D. Edited by his Son-in-law, the Rev. Wm. Hanna, LL.D. Vol. IX. Political Economy. Edinburgh: Constables. 1856.

This excellent selection is making favourable progress. The present volume will be interesting to a different circle from those who have most anticipated the preceding; but, perhaps, it may be a wider one. Chalmers is almost equal as a political economist to the greatest men in that science.

Faith in God as to Temporal Things. An Account of the Rise and Progress of the New Orphan House, Ashley Down, Bristol. Under the Superintendence of the Rev. E. Müller. London: Houlston and Stoneman. 1856.

It is generally known that the Institution here described has no funds—no public meetings—no committee—makes no appeals—does nothing, in fact, save its own internal work, and *waits* on God's providence for daily supplies. It is the object of this volume to show how, under these circumstances, it has grown to its present state of prosperity. We have, first, a very interesting life of Mr. Müller; an account of the internal economy of the Orphan House; and a history of its progress to the present time.

"The Institution which forms the principal subject of the present work, is situated on Ashley Hill, one of the many eminences which surround Bristol—a most salubrious and desirable spot—and about one mile distant from that ancient city. It was commenced in the year 1848, at an expense of about fifteen thousand pounds, and opened on June 18th, 1849. It is a low, and rather irregular building; the architects having evidently consulted the comfort and convenience of the inmates more than external appearance. Altogether three hundred orphans are boarded, clothed, and educated within its walls, viz.—one hundred and forty girls, eighty boys, and eighty infants of either sex. The overseers, teachers, servants, &c., engaged in the Institution, amount to about thirty or forty more.

The inmates of this establishment rise in winter and summer at six o'clock, and after leaving their bed-rooms, the children enter the lavatories, each of which is provided with a bath. At seven o'clock they are summoned to their respective school-rooms, where they spend about half-an-hour. On quitting the school-room they amuse themselves in the house, or in the play-grounds, till eight o'clock, when a bell summons them to breakfast. Boys and girls take their meals together in one large room, shaped somewhat like the letter T,—the boys occupying one part of the room, and the girls another. The breakfast consists of oatmeal porridge, with milk.

"After a short interval of play, school opens for the boys at half-past nine, and for the girls at ten o'clock. The course of instruction includes READING, SPELLING, WRITING, ARITHMETIC, GRAMMAR, GEOGRAPHY, HISTORY, and for the girls SEWING, and the boys KNITTING. The system of education followed, very closely resembles that practised in the British Schools, and usually called the MONITORIAL. The teachers are chiefly trained teachers.

"At half-past twelve the boys enter the play-ground, and the girls their play-room or play-ground, as they prefer. One of the prettiest sights we have ever seen is that of the toys of these poor orphan girls, to each of whom is appropriated a compartment in a large cupboard. Here the toys are all stowed away in one hundred and forty pigeon holes, about one foot square, and with as much care and order as the merchandise of any tradesman.

"Dinner is on the table precisely at one o'clock. This meal varies somewhat each day. On Mondays and Thursdays they have boiled mutton or beef. On Sundays and Wednesdays they have rice, and the remaining three days of the week they dine on soup. After dinner, play is again the order of the day, until half-past two, when they are summoned to the school-rooms—the boys attending to their lessons, and the girls sewing. At half-past four the children lay aside their work and play till five, when they have their evening meal of bread and butter, or treacle, and milk and water. The vast quantity of milk consumed, or made into butter in their dairy, might lead one to think that cows are kept on the establishment. But although this is not done, the milk is purchased at wholesale price, and on such moderate terms that the difference, we believe, is very trifling.

"The children have some little schooling in the course of the evening; and some of the boys are engaged out of doors in digging and other garden occupations. At nine they retire to their bed-rooms.

"We need scarcely add, that the greatest attention is paid to the religious and moral training of the children. A religious service is held every morning and evening, and also on Sunday afternoons. The whole of the inmates attend on these occasions, in the large room used for meals. Mr. Müller himself conducts this service when practicable. It should be added, that the strictest moral discipline is enforced whenever necessary—but none can help observing that the great principle which animates the whole system of management is that of LOVE.

"Mr. Müller receives no remuneration for his labours in superintending the affairs of this large and increasing Institution—although nearly his whole time is devoted to the work. He usually arrives at the Orphan House, from his residence on Kingsdown, about ten o'clock in the morning, and remains there until about eight o'clock at night. He is seldom seen in the schools; his whole time being required in the work of attending to the correspondence, and other business connected with the superintendence of the Institution.

"It is particularly worthy of notice that no kind of interest is required to procure the admission of children to the benefits of this Institution. All that is required is that, 1. The children should be born in lawful wedlock. 2. That they should have lost BOTH parents by death. 3. That they should really be in destitute circumstances. These points, it is well known, are not made essentials in some other large Orphan Asylums in the present day. Wherever satisfactory answers can be given respecting these three points, the child's name is entered down on the books. Frequently, however, a considerable interval elapses before it is admitted, as there is always a large number waiting to be received, and they are admitted in the order in which they have applied."

We shall next take a portion of the work, which it will be well if the managers of other charitable institutions would diligently study.

"We take the opportunity of directing attention to one important feature in the management of the New Orphan House on Ashley Down, Bristol, and that is—*The remarkable economy of means observable.* With a number of children, seldom less than 300, the whole expenses year by year have been little more than £3000, or at the rate of ten pounds for each child. Let us now contrast this with two other large public Institutions for the support of destitute children. 'The Orphan Working School,' founded in 1760, contained in 1852, only 269 children and expended in that year £5,749! That is at the rate of more than *twenty* pounds per child: just double! The 'New Asylum for Fatherless Children,' on Stamford-Hill, had in 1853 only 106 children, and expended in that year £4,376, or at the rate of forty pounds for each child.

"We need scarcely say that this rigid economy of means is highly commendable, and renders the Institution most deserving of the support of all who are in any way able to assist the poor destitute orphans. It must not be supposed, however, that this economy arises, *in any degree*, from insufficiency of food, or from its being of an inferior description. This, all who visit the Orphan House have abundant opportunity of ascertaining; as they see the childrens' meals set out, and are taken into the store rooms to inspect the various kinds of provisions. Besides this, the healthy appearance of the children, and the general health which they enjoy are plain proofs that they have abundance of good nourishing food. Their apparel, too, is exceedingly suitable and good, and the most scrupulous regard appears to be paid to the cleanliness both of the clothes of the orphans and the apartments which they occupy. So far as we can learn, the extremely small expenditure of the Orphan House, under Mr. Müller's care, is owing to the following causes:—the plan of raising all the vegetables used in the establishment, except potatoes, on the land surrounding the house—purchasing flour, oatmeal, rice, &c. in large quantities at wholesale prices—the fact of no salary, being received by Mr. Müller, for superintending the whole establishment—the comparatively low salaries required by the overseers and teachers of the orphans—and, lastly, the admirable system adopted by Mr. Müller, by which the strictest economy is enforced in every department of the Institution.

"2.—*The seasonable arrival of supplies.*

"The most striking and palpable evidence of the hand of God in this work is, undoubtedly, the extraordinary manner in which, from the very first, supplies have come in just as they were needed. Repeatedly in reading the Reports, we find that their funds were quite exhausted, and no means whatever of procuring what was needed for the morrow, when suddenly help has come in, and they have been delivered from all their need.

"In order fully to appreciate the force of this argument, it must be remembered, that Mr. Müller never incurs any debt, and never issues orders for goods without having in hand the means to pay for them. Now this, it will be observed, renders the position of a large establishment, without any fixed or regular means of support, one of extreme and unprecedented difficulty. We are strongly inclined to believe that the objection entertained to debt is a right and a scriptural one, yet their can be no doubt that the trials experienced by the director and his assistants in the Orphan House have been immensely increased by adhering to this principle. This may easily be shown. If a monthly or quarterly bill were opened with tradesmen, then, whether they had money come in the beginning, the middle, or towards the close of the month or quarter, would not in the slightest degree matter, so that it came in *some time* during the period. But where the provisions consumed each day by a large household—335 in number, must be paid for at the time they are procured, it is obvious that the funds by which the orphans are supported must come in beforehand. A week's, or a day's—sometimes a single hour's, delay in the arrival of means, when the funds are exhausted, would be attended with serious consequences."

Inventorium Sepulchrale. An Account of some Antiquities dug up at Gilton, Kingston, Sibertswold, Barfriston, Beakesbourne, Chartham, and Crundale, in the County of Kent, from A.D. 1757, to A.D. 1773. By the Rev. Beyan Faussett, of Heppington. Edited from the original MS. in the possession of Joseph Meyer, Esq., with Notes and Illustrations by Charles Roach Smith, Author of Collectanea Antiqua, &c. &c. London: Printed for the Subscribers only. 1856.

The Rev. Beyan Faussett was a clergyman beneficed in the county of Kent, about a century ago. A man of taste and learning, and distinguished at the University of Oxford, he seems to have found himself a little at a loss for occupation in a small parish with a sparse population. In a happy hour it occurred to him that he might turn his archæological knowledge to account, and at the same time acquire a further stock, as well as a valuable collection, of antiquities, if he would examine with minuteness, as well as accuracy, the various barrows which were so frequent in that part of Kent. He applied himself therefore to the work, and devoted to it the unintermitted labours of sixteen years. The record of these operations is now before us, and we are bound to admit that so valuable a contribution to antiquarian science has not appeared for many a year. It will naturally be asked, if the work be indeed so valuable why is it that it has been kept so long in the back-ground, and why has not some pains been taken to make the public aware of the value of the treasures thus gathered together? The reply to this is easy and pertinent. The collection has been retained until very lately as a kind of heir-loom, and the family, though hardly aware of its full historic value, have never ceased highly to prize it; and the "*Inventorium*" they regarded as a kind of classed catalogue, and, indeed, as a part of the collection itself. But recently it became known, through the means of Mr. Roach Smith, how noble a museum had been formed by Mr. Faussett; and the late Rev. Professor Faussett, into whose hands it had fallen, kindly gave permission to the British Archæological Association to examine it; and thus it became known to the antiquarian world. On the decease of Dr. Faussett, the family resolved to dispose of it, if it could be kept together, and be made to subserve the interests of historical science. For this purpose the executors offered it to the British Museum, at a price merely nominal; and though backed by the Society of Antiquaries, and by hosts of the first scholars in Europe, they could for a long time get no reply. At last the offer was declined; those who urged it were told that "the trustees were not to be dictated to;" and the offer of the valuable Wylie collection gratuitously, if that of Mr. Faussett were purchased, was of no avail. Fortunately, just when it appeared that these treasures were about to be taken out of the kingdom, Mr. Meyer of Liverpool, a gentleman equally spirited and enlightened, stepped forward and purchased them to make the nucleus of a collection for the great and important commercial capital of the North. We have now only to speak of the volume before us. Mr. Meyer determined that the MS. of Mr. Faussett, which had, with the objects described in it, come into his possession, should be published; and for that purpose placed it in the hands of Mr. Roach Smith, giving him at the same time "*carte blanche*" as to illustrations. The result is now before us in a superb quarto, profusely and magnificently illustrated, sumptuous in paper and typography, and, with great propriety, both dedicated to Mr. Meyer and adorned with his portrait. It contains a preface giving the history of the collection; an Essay of Archæological Studies, by Mr. Roach Smith; the *Inventorium* itself, with most judicious and erudite notes; an appendix, giving a brief life of Mr. Faussett, and some extracts from his correspondence; and a classified index, so copious and careful, as to serve for a model for all future index makers. Such a work makes us look forward with additional interest to the forthcoming work on Roman London, which Mr. Roach Smith has promised to the public.

The Books of the Marine and Fresh Water Aquaria. By Shirley Hibbard. London: Groombridge. 1856.

These two convenient, useful, and prettily illustrated manuals, are sure to have a large sale, being upon subjects which are just now exceedingly popular. Like the same author's beautiful volume on "Rustic Adornments," which we had occasion to recommend to our readers a short time since, they are plainly and pleasantly written, and afford all the information that can be required by those who would adorn their homes with glazed tanks, with its animal and vegetable inhabitants, and amuse their leisure hours by observing the motions and operations of the former, and the growth and development of the latter. The fern case and the aquarium have now become almost indispensable in a home where intellectual pursuits are at all valued; and the more cultivation this growing taste for the study of natural history receives, the better for the community at large, therefore we say, by all means circulate such little books as these as widely as possible.

A Voice from Australia; or, an Inquiry into the probability of New Holland being connected with the Prophecies relating to New Jerusalem. By Hannah Villiers Boyd. London: Partridge and Co. 1856.

There is something startling in the claim put forth by this title; but when we have first worn off the surprise it appears very reasonable. Why should not Australia share in all the blessings of the last days? and, if so, why should there not be some prediction about it in Scripture? Mrs. Boyd has a fair claim to be heard on behalf of the land of her adoption; nor can we understand any principle which can entitle those who claim to read the future history of England, Russia, France, and India, by the light of prophecy, to neglect that of the largest, and certainly one of the most important, islands of the globe.

The Language of the Eye. The Importance and Dignity of the Eye as indicative of Manly Genius, Female Beauty, and General Character. By Joseph Turnley. London: Partridge and Co. 1856.

In this graceful volume, Mr. Turnley, who has now abundant reason to style himself a popular author, gives his ideas on genius, beauty, and character, as displayed and revealed in the eye. He has profusely illustrated his subject by apposite citations from the poets, and above all from Shakspere. Nor has he confined himself to this kind of illustration—the burin of the artist has likewise been laid under contribution, and the result is as elegant a volume as we could wish to see on a boudoir table.

The Run and Read Library.—Adonijah; A Tale of the Jewish Dispersion. By Miss Jane M. Strickland.

Modern Accomplishments. By Catherine Sinclair. London: Simpkin and Marshall. 1856.

These volumes are of a more didactic, controversial, and religious tone than those in the "Parlour Library;" although there are exceptions in both cases. "Adonijah" is a pleasing and instructive tale, well written, and with a due attention to costume. Miss Strickland has made herself well acquainted with the times in which she lays her story, and thus preserves herself from the many inconsistences which frequently disfigure such attempts. Of "Modern Accomplishments," it is sufficient to say that it is dedicated, by permission, to Her Majesty, and sold by tens of thousands.

The Parlour Library.—Cardinal Mazarin. By Alexander Dumas.
Daniel's Cardinal's Daughter.
Count of Monte Christo. By A. Dumas.
Rosa; or, the Black Tulip. By A. Dumas.
Memoirs of a Physician. 2 Vols. By A. Dumas.
The Queen's Necklace. By A. Dumas.
Father D'Arcy. By the Author of "Amelia Wyndham." Hodgson, Paternoster Row.

Here we have a little batch of railway reading, for though the title of the series is the "Parlour Library," yet it is in reality both intended and adapted for the rail. Of all writers of fiction in France, Alexander Dumas is undoubtedly at present the most extensively read, and this not only because of his great dramatic ability, but also because of the universally entertaining character of his fictions. French novels are far better, in a literary point of view, than the majority of English ones; their writers rarely become prosy: and if their moral tone is occasionally sadly too lax, yet in many cases their volumes may be read again and again without the evil being perceived. With regard to Dumas, he is not chargeable with any great moral delinquency; he represents faithfully enough the moral aspect of the times in which he lays his fiction, and in no way either exaggerates or defends them. From his writings a very fair estimate might be made of the progress, forward or backward, of ethical feeling in France; and those who know how to read with such a purpose would not read in vain. We do not indeed say that we should *prefer* the novels of Dumas to those, for instance, of Mrs. Marsh; but, with all the ability of this lady, the French romances will find fifty readers where she would find only one; and this being the case, it is well that there is so little to object to in the works under consideration. It is said that the translations which we have here before us, and which are very good ones, are more successful than any other works of fiction presented to the British public since the appearance of "Uncle Tom;" and we intend, at no distant period, to enter on an examination of the general character of French romances, and of those of Dumas in particular. These volumes are prettily got up, well printed, and for the most part well chosen.

The History of the Cheltenham Grammar School; from its remodeling under the Chancery Deed of 1851, as collected from the Newspaper Reports. Edited by Alfred Harper, Editor of the Cheltenham Free Press. Cheltenham: Harper. 1856.

Away from Cheltenham there can be comparatively little interest excited by the narrative contained in this volume; but to all who are concerned in the welfare of that important town, it cannot but be pleasing to have so well-digested a record of the history of their Grammar School, to which Dr. Humphreys has been so large and so willing a benefactor, and by means of which he has conferred on the town of Cheltenham, obligations which will not soon be cancelled.

The World in which I live, and my Place in it. By E. S. A. Edited by the Rev. John H. Broome, Vicar of Houghton, Norfolk. London: Wertheim and Macintosh. 1856.

This is a book, the equal, or even the like of which, we do not often see. It comprises a digest of the world's history, well arranged, and marked by considerable literary ability. We should recommend it to all schools without hesitation. At the same time we would advise in the next edition, for it ought to go through many, an alteration in certain particulars of style. It addresses itself to children only—it is fit for older persons; and we would also suggest that the authoress should leave out some rather antiquated political doctrines, then the volume would be perfect in its degree.

Hints to Husbands: a relation of the Man-Midwife's Mysteries. By George Morant, late Grenadier Guards. London: Simpkin and Co. 1856.

We need do no more than give the title of this brochure. The author has some reason on his side, and it would be well if a certain number of women were properly instructed to relieve the physical necessities of their own sex; but beyond this we see little to praise, and much to condemn, in the manner and spirit in which this volume is written.

Waters of Comfort. A small volume of Devotional Poetry of a Practical Character. Addressed to the Thoughtful and the Suffering. By the Author of "Visiting my Relations." Cambridge: Macmillan and Co. 1856.

The present volume appears under some unnecessary disadvantages, for the author commences her preface by saying, "I wish, in the first place, to state, that it is not as a poetical performance,—not by any means as a work of art, that I present this little volume to public notice; for poetry requires, in an especial manner, the exercise of the faculties of fancy and invention, in both of which I consider myself to be wanting." Now we think that the author in this is unjust to herself, as her work does undoubtedly possess much practical merit, as well as much tenderness and piety of feeling.

The Old Bridge, and other Poems. Original and Translated. By G. E. Shirley. Rochester: Macauley. 1856.

We have here a handsome volume of over three hundred pages, got up in a way that would do no discredit to a first-rate London publishing house, and filled with poems of which the least that can be said is that they are far above mediocrity, and that, in these days of universal rhyming, is no faint praise. Mr. Shirley is evidently a ripe scholar, and has a highly cultivated mind; he gives us here his rendering of "the Acharnians" and "the Frogs" of Aristophanes, with some selections from "the Birds," and fragments from the "Greek Anthology," all tasting strongly of the true Attic salt. He presents us also with very spirited, and sufficiently close, translations from the German of Schiller, Schwarb, Sallet, Herder, Mueller, Gruen, Hulshop, Chamisso, and Freiligrath, all exhibiting a good acquaintance with the sentiment and feeling of the originals. Our author's own poems, which number about twenty, are well constructed, they want neither point nor polish; and if his muse attempts no very ambitious flight, it is evidently not because she is incapable of soaring; whatever she does is done well. Whether the contents of this volume may fairly lay claim to the name of "poetry," according to the true meaning of that much-abused term, is a question which we are not going to discuss; it is, at least, very excellent verse; and of how few of the thousand-and-one volumes of so-called poetry, which every year issue from the press, can that be said. If we may judge by the goodly list of subscribers appended hereto, we should say that Mr. Shirley has no reason to complain of a want of appreciation of his talents in the good old city of Rochester; he *has* "honour in his own country" even, as he, and every man of genius, ought to have. We cannot enter into a critical analysis of these pieces, but quote to justify our praise what we conceive to be one of the best of them. If to some it appears to read too much like an extract from Tennyson's larger poem of the same name, they should remember that it was dictated by the same feeling of affection and regret for a dearly loved friend, to whose memory his volume is dedicated, in a sonnet of great pathos and beauty.

IN MEMORIAM.

" The autumn leaves were falling fast,
The fruits of earth were gathered in;
From fields once clad in gold and green,
Homewards the thronging labourers passed.

" I turned me to a neighbouring field,
And watched a labourer toiling there,
Though faint and weary, worn with care,
He struggled on and would not yield.

" Spring, summer, autumn, winter came,
His toil through every season ran,
And every morn the weary man
Rose up to labour on the same.

" Nay more, the field he laboured in
Was that of human pain and grief,
'Twas his to minister relief
And ease where agony had been.

" Familiar with each source of pain,
And skilled to battle with disease,
Scant was the rest and slight the ease,
The soother for himself could gain.

" But unremitting toil like this
Proved more than strength of man could bear,
And while the looked-for goal was near,
He sank—eternal rest was his.

" God in his mercy, God all-wise,
Took pity on the toiler's pain,
Released the prisoner from his chain,
Sent down and called him to the skies.

" Blest are the dead: our eyes are dim
With grief we cannot yet restrain,
We mourn our loss, we hail his gain,
And sigh when we remember him."

MEADEN, PRINTER, HIGH STREET, CLAPHAM.